UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
3 1761 01918991 9

ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE
LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/louisfourteenthc01parduoft

BOOKHOUT Sc

LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH,

AND

THE COURT OF FRANCE

IN

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY MISS PARDOE,

AUTHOR OF "THE CITY OF THE SULTAN" ETC

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,

329 & 331 PEARL STREET

FRANKLIN SQUARE

1874.

TO

JOHN HEARNE, ESQ.,

THIS RECORD OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV., AND THE MANNERS OF HIS COURT,

IS

Most affectionately Inscribed,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

The reign of Louis XIV. of France, whether regarded politically, socially, or morally, was undoubtedly the most striking which that country has ever known. The magnificence of his court, the successes of his armies, and the number of illustrious names that embellished the century over which his rule extended, drew the attention of all Europe to the person of the monarch who had relieved the nation from the unnatural thrall to which it had so long been subjected by the domination of a grasping and imperious minister, and assumed the authority and power of regality, as well as its mere visible attributes.

Louis XIV. was kingly from his birth. Even when deprived, by the penuriousness of Mazarin, not only of the luxuries which were his birthright, but even of the very necessaries which nine tenths of his subjects could command at will, his spirit remained unbent; while his innate sense of the indignity offered to his person engendered a feeling of hatred toward the Cardinal, which enabled him patiently to await the hour of his emancipation. Child as he was, he spurned at pity, and consequently uttered no complaint; but kept his eye firmly fixed upon that future whose perspective was a throne, and whose watchword was empire.

That Louis XIV. was, throughout his reign, a great king, must be conceded at once; but that he was ever

a great man is considerably more doubtful. Supremely egotistical, he never hesitated in compelling the sacrifice of whatsoever opposed or impeded his personal interests, passions, or views: recklessly inconstant, he trampled unmoved upon the affections which he had called forth; and, tediously and childishly minute in the observances and etiquet of his exalted station, he frequently frittered away the time, rendered precious by circumstances, in puerile elaborations and unmeaning detail.

We are not about to offer to our readers an *historical* record of the century of Louis XIV., as the term would be understood by statesmen and politicians; for we shall pass lightly over the campaigns, the battles, and the intrigues of the several European cabinets, upon which a firmer hand than our own has very recently been employed in this country. Our aim will simply be to display more fully than has yet been done the *domestic* life of the "Great Monarch," and to pass in review the wits, the beauties, and the poets of his court. For this purpose we shall select, from the stores of the many biographers of the time, all that may tend to perfect the portraiture which we have undertaken; simply premising that we shall put forth neither fact nor anecdote which is not fully authenticated either by one of the chroniclers of the time, or verified by some competent recent authority.

Perhaps, for a task like that now before us, no reign has afforded so many and such rich materials. The passion for personal narrative, of which Marguerite de Valois displayed so extraordinary an example in royal life, afterward spread like an epidemic in the Court of France; and, under Louis XIV., princesses, warriors, statesmen, courtiers, and beauties, vied with each other

in recording, not only passing events, but also the individual passions, interests, and prejudices by which they were influenced; and, while amazed and breathless Europe saw only the working of the great monarchical engine, by whose movements it was affected throughout its whole extent, the denizens of the most gorgeous court the world had ever known, in the intervals of their devotions, their dissipation, and their intrigues, still found time to emulate the professional writers of the age, and to record the hidden and intricate springs by which it was forced into action. Not a word, not a gesture, not a weakness of the monarch escaped either his friends or his enemies, or was suffered to remain unchronicled; the hopes or the attachments of the first made them dwell with adulation and delight upon every brilliant quality which they discovered in their idol; while the jealousies and the vindictiveness of the last caused them to batten upon every failing, and to dilate upon every vice.

It is from these materials, then, that we propose to work out a whole, which may enable our readers to estimate the character of Louis XIV., not merely as a monarch, but also as a man. The severe historian has to deal only with his conquests, the internal economy of his reign, and its influence over the other nations of Europe. His sterner pen traces only the broad outline of events, and condescends merely to portray the prominent personages who figure in its annals. Like the eagle, he embraces the whole glory of the orb upon which he gazes, and does not pause to cast a glance upon the inferior objects which are vivified and nourished by its warmth; and it is, consequently, to the personal memoirs of the time that we are indebted for the power of looking more closely and more curiously

at a phase of society as extraordinary as it is interesting, and of comprehending the minuter shades of individual character.

To the historian the reign of Louis XIV. is like the kaleidoscope, of which every evolution presents a new phase of harmony and beauty; but to the more humble chronicler, captivated as he can not fail to be by its general effect, it loses somewhat of its splendor—compelled as he is to dismount the machine, and by observing analytically the concomitant atoms from whence proceed the marvelous combinations which, as a whole, produce such wonderful effects, to recognize the utter worthlessness of many of its details.

Some indulgence must be conceded to the writer who is called upon to examine and to combine such incongruous materials, especially when it is remembered that the *familiar* annals of a court three centuries ago bear no analogy with those destined to record the habits, the manners, and the morals of our own. The oaths ever upon the lips of the courtiers of Louis XIII.—and which Anne of Austria had, according to Dangeau, great difficulty in suppressing even upon those of her son—and the indecent masquerading of some of the first personages composing the royal circle of the Louvre in the "Great Century," would very rationally create consternation alike at St. James's and the Tuileries in the present day.

FEBRUARY, 1847.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME

CHAPTER I.

1615-24.

Reign of Louis XIV.—Retrospective Glance—Children of Louis XIII.—Policy of Marie de Medicis—The Royal Favorite—His Pedigree—Matrimonial Exchange—Anne of Austria; her Portrait—Royal Marriage—The Cardinal de Richelieu—Assassination of the Marshal d'Ancre—Ingratitude of Richelieu—Richelieu and the Queen-Mother—Anecdote related by Bassompierre—Escape of Marie de Medicis from Blois—Abortive Rebellion—Submission of the Queen-Mother—Subtilty of Richelieu—Madame de Chevreuse—Levity of Anne of Austria—Gaston, Duke d'Anjou—Jealousy of Louis XIII.; his failing Health—Richelieu in Masquerade—The Discovery—Feud between the Queen and the Cardinal—Disgraceful Rumors . PAGE 13

CHAPTER II.

1624-26.

Embassy of the Earl of Carlisle—Lord Rich—Demand of the Hand of Henrietta-Maria for the Prince of Wales—Assent of Louis XIII.—Conditions—Lord Rich and the Duke of Buckingham—A new Embassy—Buckingham in Paris—The scattered Pearls—Passion of Buckingham for Anne of Austria—Price of a Court Lady—The Fête—The King's Present—Disguises of the English Duke—The Masque—The White Lady—The Royal Marriage—The Court at Amiens—Courtly Festivities—Tender Regrets—A garden Interview—Unhappy Result—Parting between Anne of Austria and Buckingham—Detention of the Bride of Charles I.—The Messenger—Return of Buckingham and Lord Rich to Amiens—Interview of the Duke with Anne of Austria—The Aiguillette—New Leave-taking—Embarkation of the Bride—Intrigues of Marie de Medicis—A suspicious Argument—Surveillance of the young Queen—The missing Aiguillette—The Bride—The triumphant Minister—The City Ball—Tranquillity of Anne of Austria—Defeat of the Cardinal—The Secret revealed—

Distrust of Louis XIII.—The Romance of Chalais—The Conspiracy—The Duke d'Anjou—The Princess of Vendôme—Proposed Assassination of Richelieu—The Cardinal at Fleury—The Hunt—Indiscretion of Chalais—The Commander de Valancé—The Interview—Rochefort—Remorse of Chalais—The Cardinal in his Closet—The King and his Minister—Guard at Fleury—The Plot defeated—The Duke and the Cardinal—Politic Politeness—Previsions of Richelieu 34

CHAPTER III.

1626.

Question of the Duke d'Anjou's Marriage—Foresight of Gaston—Marie de Bourbon—Opposition—The Vendôme Princes—The Grand Prior—Alarm of Louis XIII.—The Cardinal and the Grand Prior—Insidious Advice—Departure of the Grand Prior for Brittany—Dissimulation of Louis XIII.—Repentance of Chalais—Affected Alarm of Richelieu—The forty mounted Guards—Triumph of the Cardinal—Arrest of the Vendôme Princes at Blois—The Count de Rochefort—The Capuchin Monastery at Brussels—The Plot at its Climax—Arrest, Trial, and Confession of Chalais—Marriage of the Duke d'Anjou—Madame de Chalais—Condemnation of her Son—Execution of Chalais—The Queen before the Council 61

CHAPTER IV.

1627–42.

The Cardinal's Enemies—Projects of Buckingham—Death of the Duchess d'Orleans—The Count de Bouteville; his Duels—The Challenge—New Executions—The King before La Rochelle—Court Treachery—Arrest of Lord Montagu—Famine in La Rochelle—Tragical Death of Buckingham—Laporte in the Bastille—Renewed Banishment of Marie de Medicis—Self-Expatriation of the Duke d'Orleans—Destitution of the Duke d'Epernon and the Marquis de Vieuville—Execution of the Duke de Montmorency—Mazarin in France—The Siege of Landrecy—Birth of the Count de Guiche—The Duke de Grammont; his Father—The Triple Alliance—Private Marriage of Gaston d'Orleans with Marguerite of Lorraine—Estrangement of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria—Mademoiselle de la Fayette—Father Joseph—The 5th of December, 1637—Morality of Louis XIII.—Visit to the Louvre—Pregnancy of Anne of Austria—The Count de Chavigny—General Rejoicing—Indisposition of the Cardinal—The royal Hunts—Declining Health of Louis XIII.—The Cardinal and the Astrologer—Birth of Louis XIV.—The Swaddling-clothes—Poverty of Louis

XIII.—Social Position of the Kingdom—Partial Reconciliation of the King and Queen—M. de Cinq-Mars—Birth of the Duke d'Anjou—Execution of Cinq-Mars and De Thou—Death of Marie de Medicis at Cologne—Fatal Indisposition of Richelieu; his Quarrel with Louis XIII.—The State Prisoners 81

CHAPTER V.

1642–44.

Marriage of Mademoiselle de Brézé—Increased Illness of the Cardinal—Indifference of Louis XIII.—Death of the Cardinal—Ancient and Modern Biographers—Liberation of State Prisoners—Reconciliation of the King and the Duke d'Orleans—Arrival of the Remains of Marie de Medicis—Illness of Louis XIII.—Recognition of Madame—Christening of the Dauphin—Death of Louis XIII.—Anne of Austria Regent—The new Ministry—The Duke d'Orleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom—The Duke de Beaufort—The Three Days—"The Queen is so good"—Louis XIV. and the State Companies—Anne of Austria and Voiture—The Improvisation—The Count de Guiche and his Governess—Piety of Anne of Austria—Return of Madame de Chevreuse—Her Intrigues—Coldness of the Queen-Regent—Diplomacy of Mazarin—The Duke de Beaufort a bad Conspirator—Escape of Mazarin—Arrest of the Duke de Beaufort—Renewed Exile of Madame de Chevreuse—The Duke d'Enghien—The Challenge—Death of Coligny—Mourning Balls 107

CHAPTER VI.

1645.

The Palais-Cardinal—"What's in a Name?"—Establishment of Louis XIV.—Amusements of the royal Children—The Children of Honor—Education of the young King—Historical Readings by Laporte—Aversion of the King to Mazarin—M. de Mancini and the Bougeoir—The Grand Turk—The Wardrobe of Louis XIV.—A royal Fast—Campaign of Flanders—The Rodogune of Corneille—Arrival of Queen Henrietta in France—Avarice of Mazarin—Battle of Nordlingen—Selfishness of Mazarin—Contract of Marie de Gonzague and the King of Naples—The Cardinal de Retz—Madame de Sévigné—The Polish Nobles—A Contrast 135

CHAPTER VII.

1646–48.

Fontainebleau—The Polish Envoys—The Forest—Darkness in a Palace—Anger of the Regent—A Quarrel on Etiquet—The Coadjutor

of Paris—A mistaken Word—Reconciliation between the Cardinal and the Coadjutor—Threat to the Queen of Poland—The Marriage-Munificence of Anne of Austria—The King and his Brother—Precocity of Louis XIV.—Effeminacy of Philip d'Anjou—A Court-Ball-The first Campaign of Louis XIV.—Mademoiselle and the Emperor of Germany—Death of the Marshal de Bassompierre—Feud between the Regent and the Parliament—Revolt of the United Provinces—The Duke de Guise at Naples; his Capture at Capua—Mademoiselle and the Prince of Wales—Illness of the King—The Family of Mazarin—Revolt of the Parisians—Richelieu versus Mazarin—M. d'Emery—Paris under Arms—Arrogance of the Queen-Regent—The King at Nôtre Dame—Dissensions in the Parliament—The new Edicts—Declaration of the Regent—Opposition of the Corporate Bodies—A new Leader 156

CHAPTER VIII.

1643

The Duke de Beaufort at Vincennes—The Prediction—La Ramée—Preparations for Flight—The Pasty—The Prince and the Valet—The Evasion—Discontent of Mademoiselle—The Archduke Leopold—Arrest of Saujon—The Retort courteous—Increase of Popular Disaffection—Popularity of the Coadjutor—Victory of Sens—Triumph of the Court—The Te Deum—Arrest of Broussel and Blancmesnil—Consternation of the Capital—The impromptu Council—Advice of the Coadjutor—The revolted Citizens—The Coadjutor and the Mob—The Coadjutor and the Faction—The Fronde—The Liberation of Broussel—Terror of Mazarin—Sudden Calm 176

CHAPTER IX.

1643.

Removal of the Court to Ruel—Recall of the Prince de Condé—Arrest of Chavigny—Rivalry between Gaston d'Orleans and Condé—Declaration of the Parliament against Mazarin—Private Marriage of the Queen and the Cardinal—Madame de Beauvais—The Cardinal's Hat—Reply of the Marshal d'Estrées—Politeness of the young King—Mazarinades—Reconciliation of the Duke d'Orleans with the Court—The Abbé de la Rivière—Favor of the Prince de Condé; his ill-judged Advice—The Twelfth-Cake—Evasion of the Court from Paris—Mademoiselle in the Queen's Coach—The Court at St. Germain—Effect of the King's Flight upon the Populace 209

CHAPTER X.

1648, 49.

Tranquillity of the Coadjutor—Idle Rumors—Mob-Enthusiasm—Declaration of Louis XIV. to the Corporate Bodies—Interdict upon the Parliament—Attempt to create a Famine in Paris—Parliamentary Decree against Mazarin—Contempt of the Court—Madame de Longueville at the Town-Hall—Disaffection of the Princes—Intrigues of Madame de Longueville—Perplexity of the Coadjutor—Arrival of the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Longueville at Paris—The Prince de Conti and the Parliament—M. d'Elbœuf and his three Sons—The Princes offer their Services to the Parliament—Madame de Longueville and the Populace—Siege of the Bastille—A dangerous Witticism—The Citizen-Court—Measures of the Prince de Condé—Alarm at St. Germain—Intended Flight of Mazarin—Indignation of Condé—The Hunchback—Fronde-Pasquinades—Royal Retorts—Political Scandal—The Duke de Beaufort in the Capital—"The King of the Markets"—Leaders of the Fronde—Tancred de Rohan . . 228

CHAPTER XI.

1650.

Prudence of the Parliament—Seizure of the Cardinal's Property—Munificence of the City to the Queen of England—An exiled Princess—The condemned Prisoner—Exchange of Prisoners—Check of the Royal Forces before Rouen—The first Sortie—"The First of the Corinthians"—Death of Tancred de Rohan—Battle of Charenton—Death of Chanleu—The Ball and the Bâton—Defeat of the Frondeurs at Charenton and Ville-Juif—The Herald—Treaty with the Princes—Turenne declares for the Parliament—Terms of the Treaty—Venality of the Princes—The Citizen-Prince 254

CHAPTER XII.

1650.

Return of the royal Fugitives—Reluctance of the Queen and her Minister—Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Mademoiselle and Henrietta of England—The Duke of York—Return of Monsieur to Blois—The Duke de Beaufort and Madame de Montbazon—The Court at Compiègne—Mademoiselle and Charles II.—Egotism of Mademoiselle—Character of the Prince de Condé—Ambitious Projects of Madame de Longueville—Disaffection of Condé—Libelous Publications—Rescue of the Printers—Altercation between the Duke de Beaufort and the Marquis de Jarzé—Arrival of Charles II.—Reconciliation of the

Queen-Regent and Condé—The Coadjutor at Compiègne—Reception of Madame de Chevreuse—Entry of the King and Queen in Paris—Popularity of Mazarin—The Duke de Beaufort at the Palais-Royal—Death of the Empress of Germany—Renewed Hopes of Mademoiselle—The Courtship of Charles II.—Illness of Mademoiselle—Confirmation of the young Princes 264

CHAPTER XIII.

1650.

Hollow Reconciliations—Arrogance of the Prince de Condé—Defiance of Mazarin—"Adieu, Mars!"—The Tabouret—A new Affront—Marriage of the Duke de Richelieu and Mademoiselle de Pons—The Cardinal and Madame de Chevreuse—A War of Wits—Meditated Arrest of the Princes of Lorraine—Autograph Letter to the Coadjutor—His Distrust of the Regent—Sincerity of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Stipulations of the Coadjutor—Treachery of the Abbé de la Rivière—the Duke d'Orleans and Madame de Soyon—Adhesion of Monsieur to the Conspiracy—The Cardinal's Secretary—Apprehensions of the Dowager-Princess de Condé—Arrest of the Princes—The Journey to Vincennes—Public Excitement—Flight of the Duchess de Longueville—Separation of the Duchess and her Daughter—The Princesses de Condé banished from the Court—The Queen-Regent at Rouen—Disgust of Madame de Longueville—Her Escape—Her Arrival in Holland—Evasion of the Duke de Bouillon and Marshal Turenne—Return of the Court to Paris 286

CHAPTER XIV.

1650.

Arrest of the Duchess de Bouillon; her Escape with her Daughter; their Seizure; they are conveyed to the Bastille—Evasion of the Princess de Condé and the Duke d'Enghien—Appeal of the Princess-Dowager to the Parliament; her Banishment to Valery—Madame de Longueville and Turenne make a Treaty with Spain—Turenne at the Head of his Troops—The Court at Compiègne—Madame de Condé at Bordeaux—Danger of the royal Envoy—Mademoiselle and the Emperor of Germany—Court of Madame de Condé—The King's Troops march against the Princes—Journey of the Court to Bordeaux—Capture of Vayres—Execution of the Governor—Reprisals—Execution of the Baron de Canolles—Siege of Bordeaux—Submission of the City—Interview of the Queen-Regent and Madame de Condé—Levity of Mademoiselle—Coldness of the Bordeaulese toward the Regent—March of Turenne and the Archduke on Paris—Preparations for a Renewal of the Fronde—The Regent sick at Poitiers—Exasper

ation of the Coadjutor—Madame de Rhodes, the Princess-Palatine, and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Henry, Duke de Guise; his romantic Career—The double Divorce—Procrastination of the Duke d'Orleans; his Indignation at the proposed Removal of the Princes to Havre; his narrow Policy—The extorted Signature—Arrival of Charles II.—Coldness of the French Court—Retirement of the English King to Jersey 313

CHAPTER XV.

1650, 51.

The Battle of Rethel—Death of the Dowager-Princess de Condé—Remonstrance of the Parliament on the Imprisonment of the Princes—Quarrel of the Duke d'Orleans and the Cardinal—Misgivings of Mademoiselle—Reconciliation between Mademoiselle and Condé—Mazarin offers the Hand of Louis XIV. to Mademoiselle—The Cardinal foiled—The interpolated Factum—Energy of Gaston d'Orleans—Alarm of the Court—Evasion of the Cardinal—Riot in the Capital—Mademoiselle de Chevreuse and the Duchesse d'Orleans—Pusillanimity of Monsieur—Seizure of the City Gates by the Frondeurs—The Populace in the Palais-Royal—M. Desbuches in the Royal Chamber—Mazarin at Havre—Emancipation of the Princes; their Arrival in Paris 336

CHAPTER XVI.

1650, 51.

Reception of the Princes by the Court—Intrigue against the Coadjutor—Vanity of Mademoiselle—Projected Marriage of the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Proposition of Condé—Illness of Madame de Condé—Mademoiselle indulges in a new matrimonial Speculation—Retirement of the Coadjutor—An armed Neutrality—Pretensions of the Prince de Condé—The Queen makes Overtures to the Coadjutor—Fresh Intrigues—The Projected Assassination—Noble Resistance of the Coadjutor—Sentence against Mazarin—Private Meetings of the Queen and the Coadjutor—Retreat of the Princes to St. Maur—The royal Envoy—Rage of the Duke d'Orleans—Return of Condé to the Capital—Close of the Regency—Majority of Louis XIV.—The Bed of Justice—Renunciation of the Regency by Anne of Austria—The King and Madame de Frontenac 355

CHAPTER XVII.

1651, 52.

Youth of Louis XIV. and Philip d'Anjou—Early Associations—Ignorance of the young King—Armand de Guiche—Subjection of the King

to the Cardinal—State of the Kingdom—Discontent of Monsieur—Courage of Mademoiselle—Revolt of Condé—March of the Court against Bordeaux—Return of Mazarin—Paris in Arms—Submission of Turenne—Declaration against the Princes—Sale of the Cardinal's Library—Charles II. after the battle of Worcester—The Duke de Nemours—Madame de Châtillon—Diplomacy of Mademoiselle—The City of Orleans declares for the Fronde—Cowardice of Monsieur—The Countess de Fiesque—Mademoiselle declares herself, and takes Orleans 379

CHAPTER XVIII.

1652.

Royal Progress through Orleans—Harangue at the Town-Hall—Defeat of the Duke de Beaufort—Ludicrous Struggle between the Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Beaufort—Arrival of M. de Condé at the rebel Army; his Letter to Mademoiselle—State of the royal Army—Singular Quarrel between the King and his Brother—Anecdotes of the young King—The female Generals—Return of Mademoiselle to Paris; she heads the Faction—Defeat of the Fronde at Etampes—Courage of Louis XIV.—Sufferings of the royal Troops—Monsieur refuses to act—Accredits Mademoiselle—Mademoiselle at the Town-Hall 412

CHAPTER XIX.

1652.

Battle of the Porte St. Antoine—Mademoiselle turns the Cannon of the Bastille against the Royal Forces—Retreat of the King's Army—Acknowledgments of Condé to Mademoiselle; her Suspicions of Condé—Flight of the Court to St. Denis—Meeting at the Town-Hall—Extraordinary Party Badge—New Dilemma of Monsieur—Project of a Union—Attack on the Town-Hall—The Provost of the Merchants—Removal of the Court to Pontoise—Monsieur declared Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom by the Parliament; his Want of Authority in the Capital 438

CHAPTER XX.

1652.

Divisions among the Princes—Quarrel of the Dukes de Nemours and Beaufort—Fatal Duel—Death of M. de Nemours—Forbearance of M. de Beaufort—The Prince de Condé receives a Blow—Answer of the President Bellièvre—Death of the young Duke de Valois—Severe Indisposition of the Princess de Condé—Renewed Hopes

of Mademoiselle—Reconciliation of Mademoiselle and the Duke de Lorraine—New Opposition of the Parliament—Resignation and Retirement of Mazarin—Resignation of the Duke de Beaufort and M. Broussel—Return of the King to Paris; he Dislodges Mademoiselle from the Tuileries—Alarm of Monsieur; refuses to Lodge Mademoiselle in the Luxembourg—Monsieur leaves Paris—Mademoiselle retires to Pons—Position of the Kingdom—Declaration of Lèse-Majesté against the Princes—The Prince de Condé and the Duke de Lorraine continue their Military Operations in the Provinces. . 461

CHAPTER XXI.

1652.

Imprudence of the Coadjutor—The Court are anxious for its Overthrow—Louis XIV. asserts himself—Resolves on his Arrest—Autograph Order to that Effect—Arrest of the Coadjutor—The Opiate-Paste—Termination of the Second Fronde—Return of Mazarin—Deaths of the Duke de Bouillon, the Marshal Caumont de la Force, and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Marriage of the Poet Scarron and Frances D'Aubigny—Early History of Frances D'Aubigny . . 482

CHAPTER XXII.

1652–54.

Proceedings of the Prince de Condé—Position of Mazarin; his first Measures—Marriage of the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle Martinozzi—Condemnation of the Prince de Condé; his Retort—Marriage of the Duke de Richelieu and Mademoiselle de Beauvais—First Attachments of Louis XIV.—Madame de Frontenac and Madame de Châtillon—Caution of the Cardinal—Mademoiselle d'Heudecourt—The Nieces of the Cardinal—Madame de Beauvais—Court Festivities—The Etourdi of Molière—Louis XIV. an Actor and a Dancer—The Superintendent Fouquet—The Coronation of Louis XIV.—The Marquis de Fabert—The Coadjutor becomes Archbishop of Paris—M. de Bellièyre as an Ambassador—Transfer of the Archbishop to Nantes; his Evasion; Order for his Arrest 500

CHAPTER XXIII.

1654–57

Court of Louis XIV.—Olympia de Mancini; her Favor with the King—Henrietta of England and her Daughter—Rudeness of Louis XIV. to the English Princess—Misunderstanding between Louis XIV. and

Anne of Austria—Attempted Opposition of the Parliament—Extraordinary Proceeding of the King—the Cardinal de Retz in Rome—Marriage of Laura de Martinozzi with the Duke of Modena—Capitulation of Landrecies—More Victories obtained by the Royal Forces—The Count de Soissons—Arrival of Christina of Sweden; her Portrait by the Duke de Guise—Jealousy of Olympia de Mancini—The Reception of Christina; her Destitution; her Portrait by Mademoiselle; her Visit to Ninon de l'Enclos; her Departure—New Campaign of Louis XIV.—Death of Madame de Mancini and the Duchess de Mercœur—Compliments of Condolence—Mortification of Olympia de Mancini; her Resentment; her Marriage—Coldness of the King—Courtly Conjectures—the Italian Opera—The young Stranger . 529

CHAPTER XXIV.

1654–57.

Mary de Mancini—The Prophecy—The Portrait—Hortensia de Mancini—Presentation of the Sisters to the King—Secret Passion of Mary for Louis XIV.—Mademoiselle de la Motte d'Argencourt—Flight of the King—Return of Louis to Court—Insolence of Mademoiselle d'Argencourt—Remonstrances of the Queen—Growing Attachment to Mary de Mancini; her conversational Talents—Negotiations for the Marriage of Louis XIV.—Partial Reconciliation of Monsieur with the Court—Rival Princesses—Alliance with Cromwell—Arrival of the Princess of Orange—Departure of the Princess-Royal and the Duke of York—The Hand of Mary de Mancini demanded by Charles II.—Refusal of the Cardinal—Return of Christina; her Residence at Fontainebleau—The Murder of Monaldeschi 553

CHAPTER XXV.

1657, 58.

Reconciliation of Monsieur and Mademoiselle; her return to Court—Interview with Anne of Austria—Presentation to the King—Project of Marriage between Mademoiselle and the Duke d'Anjou—Christina at Court—Increasing Passion of Louis XIV. for Mary de Mancini—Uneasiness of the Queen—Overtures of the Duchess of Savoy—M. de Vérue—The Lottery of the Cardinal—Insolence of Mazarin toward Anne of Austria—Influence of Mary de Mancini over the Mind of the King—Their literary Studies—Historical Misstatements relative to Louis XIV.—Mary de Mancini and Molière—Opposition of the Queen—Molière at Paris 569

CHAPTER XXVI.

1658.

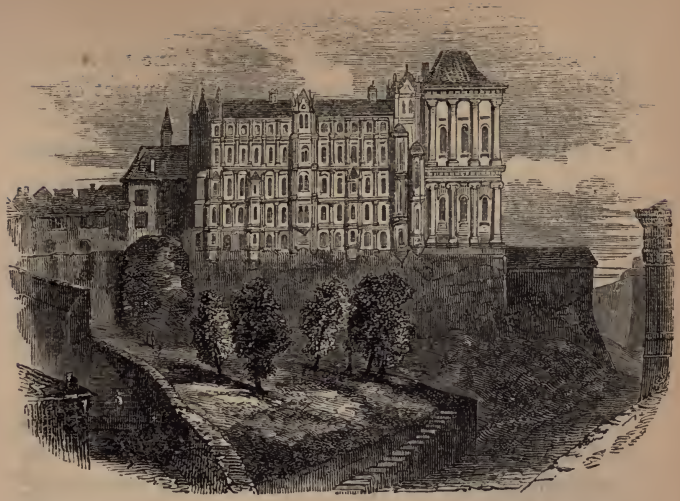
Success of Molière—Anxiety of the Queen for the King's Marriage—Hopes of Mazarin—Firm Opposition of Anne of Austria—Treason of Marshal d'Hocquincourt—Submission of the Duke de Beaufort—The King before Hesdin—Precautions of Mazarin—Serious Illness of the King—Mazarin conceals his Wealth—A Cabal—Madame de Fienne in the King's Antechamber—Recovery of the King—Mary de Mancini in the Sick-Room—Exile of the Conspirators—Journey of the Court to Lyons—Meeting of the Courts of France and Savoy—The Princess Marguerite—Coldness of the Royal Suitor—The Duke of Savoy—Determination of the King of Spain—The Hand of the Infanta offered to Louis XIV.—Departure of the Duke of Savoy—Rejection of the Princess Marguerite—Departure of Madame Royale and her Daughter 588

ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

	PAGE
Portrait of Louis XIV. (full length)	*Frontispiece.*
The Castle of Blois	13
Perspective of the Louvre	34
The old Chateau of Versailles	61
The Bastille	80
Nôtre-Dame and the Hôtel-Dieu	107
The Palais-Cardinal	135
Grand Avenue of the Tuileries	176
The Palace of Chantilly	209
Castle of Vincennes	228
Palace of the Luxembourg	254
Inner Court of the Louvre	264
Palace of St. Germain-en-Laye	286
Palace of the Tuileries	313
Porte St. Denis	412
Porte St. Antoine	438
Hôtel de Ville	461
Pont Neuf	482
Louis XIV. Hunting	500
Portrait of Molière	528
Cour du Cheval Blanc, Fontainebleau	529
Portrait of Lulli	552
Convent de l'Oratoire	553
Palace of St. Cloud	569
Portrait of Boileau	587
Val de Grace	588



LOUIS XIV.

AND THE

COURT OF FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I.

Reign of Louis XIV.—Retrospective Glance—Children of Louis XIII.—Policy of Marie de Medicis—The Royal Favorite—His Pedigree—Matrimonial Exchange—Anne of Austria; her Portrait—Royal Marriage—The Cardinal de Richelieu—Assassination of the Marshal d'Ancre—Ingratitude of Richelieu—Richelieu and the Queen-Mother—Anecdote related by Bassompierre—Escape of Marie de Medicis from Blois—Abortive Rebellion—Submission of the Queen-Mother—Subtilty of Richelieu—Madame de Chevreuse—Levity of Anne of Austria—Gaston, Duke d'Anjou—Jealousy of Louis XIII.; his failing Health—Richelieu in Masquerade—The Discovery—Feud between the Queen and the Cardinal—Disgraceful Rumors.

The reign of Louis XIV. may be divided into three separate sections. From his succession, in 1643, at the early age of five years, to his majority, in 1651, the history

of the country is that of the regency of Anne of Austria and the Fronde, when he was merely the puppet of the Queen-Mother and her minister: from his majority until the death of Mazarin, in 1661, it is that of the cardinal himself, who was the one prominent figure upon the national canvas, absorbing in his own person all the authority of sovereign power; and it is, consequently, only after the decease of that subtile and intriguing churchman that Louis XIV. can be considered as the real sovereign of France, wielding as well as grasping the scepter which had been bequeathed to him by his ancestors.

It is, however, expedient, in order thoroughly to understand the position of the French nation at the period when this monarch was called to the throne, that we should turn a retrospective glance upon the reign of his predecessor, and give a hasty sketch of the prominent events by which it was distinguished. Moreover, throughout the two epochs which we have designated, circumstances bearing upon the future fortunes of the young sovereign, and shades of individual character, are to be detected, which, although occasionally trifling in themselves, still serve, like the first touches of a skillful artist, to indicate the physiognomy of the coming portrait; while, blended with these, are, necessarily, facts and occurrences which tend to explain the peculiar nature and intricacies of the Franco-Italian-Spanish court, which, at the commencement of the "great century," offered all the romance and all the incongruity of an earlier age.

The childhood of Louis XIII. had been one of constraint and disgust. The inherent cruelty of his nature was so great that his father, Henry IV., is stated to have twice inflicted upon him corporal punishment with his own royal hands, in order to correct him of this revolting and unmanly vice; and to have replied to the expostulations of his mother, Marie de Medicis, that she had need pray to God for her husband's life, seeing that her son would ill-treat her

when she was no longer protected from his violence. The words were prophetic.

On her side, Marie de Medicis, anxious to maintain the royal authority, instead of directing the studies of the young king, called prematurely to the throne by the crime of an assassin, suffered him to remain in complete ignorance of all with which it behooved him to become familiar, in order to reign worthily over a great people. Occupied by her own political aggrandizement, and devoted to the indulgence of her own vices, she condemned the unformed and moody mind of Louis to the constant and familiar association of her two favorites, Concini and Galigaï, both of whom were peculiarly obnoxious to him. She never saw him save when necessity compelled her to do so; and his reception was generally cold and repelling. Thus he grew to manhood, a combination of opposing qualities. The royal blood which flowed in his veins endowed him with a pride, which the consciousness of his mental deficiencies obscured by a timidity almost painful; the ready and reckless courage which he inherited from his father, was marred by an indecision readily traced to a coerced boyhood, and the non-inculcation of moral dignity; a vindictiveness at once violent and lasting, which was compensated by no answering faculty of affection; and a dissimulation induced from constant companionship with persons displeasing to him; patient and weak in the common commerce of life, but suspicious and even violent by fits; such were the qualities of Louis XIII., of the son of the frankest, the bravest, and the most joyous monarch who ever swayed the scepter of France; and of the boldest, the haughtiest, the most revengeful, and the firmest princess who ever bore the name of Medicis.

To one favorite, and to one alone, Louis XIII. was faithful unto death, and that one was Charles-Albert de Luynes; the only companion of his own age who was permitted to associate with the young king, and who was considered by

the Queen-Mother as a harmless and safe companion for the monarch, from his frivolity and insignificance. De Luynes accepted the privilege upon the proffered terms, and excited neither envy nor suspicion when he established himself and his two brothers at court, their birth being too humble to authorize any competition on their part with the haughty young nobles by whom they were surrounded.

One word on their origin.

Among the private musicians of Francis I. figured a certain lute-player, a German by birth, named Albert, to whom the king was much attached, not only on account of his talent, which was extraordinary, but because his intellect was no less remarkable. So greatly, indeed, was he in favor, that when the monarch made his entrance into Marseilles, where the brother of the musician was a priest, he presented to him a rich canonry which chanced then to be vacant. The said canon had two sons, one of whom he brought up to a learned profession, and the other to that of arms. The elder, who was a physician, took the name of Luynes, from a small estate of which he became possessed, and, having acquired considerable riches, attached himself to the fortunes of the Queen of Navarre; with whom he continued till her death, and to whom, in her season of necessity, he is stated to have lent the sum of twelve thousand crowns.

The younger was one of the bowmen of King Charles, and by his extreme bravery attracted the attention of M. Danville, the Governor of Languedoc, who pushed his fortune, and ultimately intrusted to him the government of Beaucaire, where he died, leaving behind him three sons and four daughters.

The three sons, Albert, Cadenet, and Brantés, were introduced to the Duke de Bassompierre by La Varenne, who had been to Henry IV. what Lebel afterward became to Louis XV.; and Bassompierre, who had incurred obligations to La Varenne during the reign of the deceased king, did not cease to acknowledge them after his court

favor was at an end. He therefore placed Albert near the person of Louis XIII., and provided for his brothers about the Marshal de Souvré, who added them to the household of his son.

The young king, who was at that period without a single friend, and reduced to the companionship of a huntsman and a falconer, welcomed this new associate with delight; and hastened to claim his coöperation in his favorite pursuits. He could not have chanced upon a more able ally, for Albert was expert in all bodily exercises, and possessed an indomitable energy, which proved a great and lasting relief to the dull and monotonous existence of his royal master. The amusements of Louis were few and simple; his only luxury consisted of an aviary, which he had caused to be built in his garden; while, to the care of his birds, he superadded the pleasure of driving, whip in hand, the loads of sand with which he constructed miniature fortresses. His home occupations were music, of which he was passionately fond; and the study of some of the mechanical arts, which he pursued without any assistance. But that which tended the most strongly to attach Louis to his first favorite, was his skill in training jackdaws for the pursuit of small birds in the gardens of the Louvre and the Tuilleries; a sport in which the young monarch took such delight, and to which he devoted so much time, that the Queen-Mother congratulated herself upon having procured for him, in Luynes, a companion who would occupy his mind and divert his thoughts from his obligations to the state.

It was at the commencement of 1615, just as he was about to attain his fourteenth year, that it was announced to the young king that his marriage was shortly to take place with the Infanta Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III. He received the intelligence coldly; and far from congratulating himself upon an event which must necessarily change the whole current of his existence, and diver-

sify alike his pleasures and his duties, he contemplated it with the distrust and self-love of one who resolves not to be duped.

A species of royal barter was to take place between the two courts of France and Spain; for, at the same time that Louis XIII. became the husband of Anne of Austria, the Infant Philip was to receive the hand of Henrietta of France, commonly called *Madame;* and the young king no sooner ascertained that his affianced bride was on her way to Bidassoa, where the exchange of the princesses was to be made, than he dispatches Luynes to meet her; ostensibly to convey a letter, but in reality in order to hear, from the lips of a man in whom he had firm faith, whether the beauty of the infanta were equal to the representations which had been made to him.

The report of the favorite exceeded the hopes of the king; but, still unable to overcome his natural distrust, he left Bourdeaux, whither he had been accompanied by the court, and mounting his horse, he galloped, accompanied only by two or three persons, to a house which she must pass on her way, and entering by a back door. seated himself at a window on the ground-floor, where he awaited the coming of the cavalcade. A nobleman of the court, who had been previously instructed, stopped the Infanta, for the purpose of pronouncing a congratulatory harangue, during which time Louis was enabled to convince himself of the extreme loveliness of his young bride; a loveliness which, according to all the historians of the times, was of the highest order. They represent Anne of Austria, says Dumas, "as combining in her person sufficient to satisfy even the exactions of royalty. Beautiful with a majestic beauty, which subsequently tended admirably to assist her projects, and a thousand times compelled the respect and love of the turbulent nobility by whom she was surrounded; as a woman, captivating to the eye of a lover; as a queen, perfect to

the eye of a subject; tall and well shaped; possessing the whitest and most delicate hand that ever made an imperious gesture; eyes of exquisite beauty, easily dilated, and to which their greenish tinge gave extraordinary transparency; a small and ruddy mouth, that looked like an opening rose-bud; long and silky hair, of that lovely pale shade of auburn, which gives to the faces that it surrounds, at once the sparkling complexion of a fair beauty, and the animation of a dark one—such was the wife whom Louis XIII. received as his companion."*

The royal marriage took place on the 25th of November, 1615, in the cathedral at Bourdeaux; and immediately on his return to Paris, the young king was fully occupied in terminating the quarrels of the princes of the blood, which had originated in the unprovided regency of Marie de Medicis, who, upon one pretext or another, was continually creating discontent in every part of the country, which, still writhing beneath the effects of the (miscalled) religious wars, could ill support these senseless and ceaseless troubles.

We must now turn aside for a while from our direct narrative, to introduce a personage who, at this period, made his first appearance at the court of France.

Armand-Jean Duplessis was the son of Francis Duplessis, lord of Richelieu, a man of high birth, notwithstanding all the doubts which may have been put forth upon that point; for we have, in support of the fact, the testimony of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, than whom no better authority on questions of nobility and precedence ever existed in any age.† He lost his father when he was five

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

† "All that can tend to ornament a house," says Mademoiselle de Montpensier, on the occasion of a visit which she made to the estate of the cardinal, near Champigni, "is to be seen at Richelieu; which will not be difficult to believe, when it is remembered that it is the work of the vainest and most ambitious man in the world; and, moreover, of one who was first minister of state, and long possessed of

years old, who died leaving three sons and two daughters; Armand-Jean being the youngest of the former. The first entered the army, where he lost his life; and the second, who was Bishop of Luçon, resigned his See, in order to enter a Carthusian community; when the subject of our sketch, who had also been bred to the church, succeeded to the bishopric.

In 1607 he departed for Rome, in order to receive the consecration of his new dignity at the hands of Paul V., who inquired of him whether he had attained the age required by the canonical law, which is twenty-five years. The embryo prelate replied at once in the affirmative; but, immediately after the ceremony, he requested the holy father to receive his confession; in which, with the same composure, he admitted the falsehood of which he had just been guilty. The Pontiff absolved him of the sin; but, in the course of the same evening, he pointed out the new bishop to the French ambassador, remarking that he would one day become a great impostor.

On his return to France, the Bishop of Luçon formed a friendship with the advocate Boutheiller,* who was in constant communication with Barbin, the confidential agent of the Queen-Mother; and it was under his roof that the Controller-General made his acquaintance. Struck by the great and varied talents of the young prelate, he instantly

absolute authority. The furniture is handsome and costly beyond all description. Nothing can equal the immense profusion of beautiful things which are contained in this house. Among all that modern invention has employed in its embellishment, he has caused to be preserved, in the chimney-piece of a saloon, the arms of the house of Richelieu, as they were emblazoned there during the lifetime of his father, because they contain the collar of the Holy Ghost; in order to prove to those who are accustomed to sneer at the birth of favorites, that he was born of a good race. Upon this point he deceived no one." —*Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.*

* Claude Boutheiller was of an ancient family of Angoulême, and subsequently at the head of the Finance department.

foretold his future greatness; of which he was so thoroughly convinced, that, in order to hasten its advent, he presented him to Léonora Galigaï, who employed him for a time in certain unimportant negotiations, which he conducted with such ability, that she finally brought him under the notice of Marie de Medicis, who, judging of her young *protégé* as favorably as herself, after sundry trials of his zeal and capability, appointed him to the responsible office of Secretary of State, in the year 1616. In 1617 Louis concerted and executed, through his agents, the assassination of the Marshal d'Ancre,* who was murdered on the bridge of the Louvre, on the morning of the 26th of April, 1617—a crime of which the whole moral responsibility rests upon the king himself, while it gained for Luynes the sword of constable, and for Vitry the bâton of a marshal.† In the month of July following, his wife,

* Concino Concini, Marshal d'Ancre, was a Florentine gentleman who followed Marie de Medicis to France, where he married Léonora Galigaï, the foster-sister of the queen, over whom she possessed extraordinary influence. He became the first equerry and house-steward of his royal mistress, and was the confidant of the intrigues of both the king and the queen; was marshal of France, and governor of Normandy, at the death of Henry IV.; but incurred the hatred of Luynes, who, when he became possessed of the constable's sword, resolved to effect his destruction. He was about to divorce Léonora, in order to marry the heiress of the house of Vendôme, when he was assassinated by Vitry, captain of the guard, who succeeded to the *bâton* of his victim. Léonora Galigaï made many enemies by her *hauteur* and insolence. She was, upon the accusation stated in the text, beheaded, and afterward burned, and her ashes scattered to the wind. She died with great courage.

† An official and titled dignity, which existed in the Roman Empire, under the name of *comes stabuli*, and which was recognized as such during the first race. Under the two following, the constable had the chief command of the army after the king himself, whom he accompanied into action, and whose sword he was privileged to gird on. He was also intrusted with the *surveillance* of the royal stables; and held at court, as well as in the army, the first rank after the king. He carried the sword of state erect and unsheathed on all occasions of cere-

Léonora Galigaï, was publicly executed as a witch, in the *Place de Grève:* but the worst passions of the king, once awakened, were not easily appeased; and his next act of authority was to deprive the Queen-Mother of her rank and honors, and to banish her to Blois, rather as a prisoner than as an exile.

Upon this occasion two prophecies were verified—that of Henry IV., when he foretold the cruelties to which Marie de Medicis would be subjected by her son, and that of Paul V., who foreshadowed the future hollowness of Richelieu.

The young secretary of state inhabited the house of the dean of Luçon, at the time of Concini's assassination; and it is well authenticated, that on the night before it took place, a packet was delivered to the dean, with strict injunctions that it should be forthwith placed in the hands of the bishop, as its contents were of the most serious and pressing importance. Although it was near midnight, the host ventured to disturb the slumbers of his guest upon so earnest an assurance; and having been admitted, he transmitted to him at once the letter and the intimation he had received. The bishop broke the seal calmly, read the missive to an end, and then fell into a revery; at the conclusion of which he turned toward the dean, who stood still at his bedside, and, after thanking him for his zeal, remarked that he need detain him no longer, as the affair was by no means pressing, and that he always found the night bring counsel. After which he thrust the letter under his bolster, and again composed himself to sleep.

And yet the fearful document was indeed of no common importance, for it apprised him that at ten o'clock on the morrow the Marshal d'Ancre would be assassinated; while

mony. Albéric (in 1060) was the first constable; and the Duke de Lesdiguières, who died in 1627, was the last; Louis XIII. having, at that period, suppressed the dignity, which Napoleon revived in our own times, in favor of the Prince of Wagram, who had no successor

the spot on which the deed was to be committed, the names of those who were intrusted with its execution, and the details of the whole enterprise, were given with a minuteness which forbade all doubt that it was written by one well acquainted with the truth that he advanced.

Let not our readers overlook the fact, that the state secretary owed his elevation to the unhappy Marshal and his equally unhappy wife; and they will assuredly be ready to concede that the term applied by the sovereign pontiff to the crafty and ambitious Bishop of Luçon, might rightly have been exchanged for one of far darker signification.

On the morrow he remained in his closet until eleven o'clock; and the first tidings which reached him when he emerged from it were those of the catastrophe of the previous hour. Three days previously to this occurrence, and, as if he could have foreseen the ruin of his benefactors, and was anxious to secure himself from a participation in their fate, he had dispatched M. de Pontcourlay to Luynes, to request the latter would assure the king of his devotion to his person; but Louis vouchsafed no comment upon the circumstance, and it was generally believed that the bishop, known to have been in the confidence of Concini, had fallen into disgrace in consequence. Apprehensive, himself, that such might be the case, he accordingly applied to the monarch for permission to follow the Queen-Mother in her exile—a favor which was at once conceded. He soon, however, repented the step that he had taken; and after remaining only forty days at Blois, he affected to believe that he was suspected of disloyalty, and expressed his determination to retire to a priory which he possessed, near Mirabeau, desiring, as he asserted, to shut himself up with his books, and to labor, as become his profession, in the extirpation of heresy. But, notwithstanding the shortness of his sojourn with the exiled queen, his purpose was attained; for while, on taking leave, he represented to the

mistress whom he was about to abandon, that the necessity which had arisen for his departure was a new persecution, to which he was subjected by his enemies, in consequence of his devotion to herself, he caused it to be represented at court as an act of obedience to what he felt to be the wishes of the king.

The arrogance and despotism of Marie de Medicis had made her many enemies, and these were not idle in nourishing the exasperation of the monarch against her. We have already stated that vindictiveness formed a strong feature in his character; and having once roused himself to so extreme a step as that of her banishment, he lent a ready and willing ear to every insinuation which tended to justify its prolongation. Bassompierre relates an anecdote, which tends to prove that neither time nor absence had weakened this feeling, many months after her removal to Blois had taken place. On one occasion he entered the apartment of Louis when he was practicing the French horn, and ventured to expostulate with the young monarch, reminding him that it was injurious to the chest, and that it had shortened the life of Charles IX. "You are wrong, Bassompierre," was the reply of the king, as he laid his hand on the duke's shoulder; "it was not that which killed him. It was his having exiled his mother, Queen Catherine, from the court on the occasion of a misunderstanding between them, and his having afterward recalled her. Had he not committed that imprudence he would have lived longer."

Acting upon an inverse principle to that of his predecessor, Louis XIII. not only continued the exile of his mother, but even increased its rigor to an extent which reduced it to absolute imprisonment; and Marie de Medicis, at length convinced that neither time nor submission would lessen the determined estrangement of her son, resolved to emancipate herself from his severity; and accordingly, during the night of the 22d of February, 1619, with the assistance

of the Duke d'Epernon,* she escaped from the castle of Blois.

The princes, always ready to seize upon every pretext for revolt, soon gathered round the royal fugitive; and she found herself at the head of a rebellious force, which compelled the king to assemble an army in order to suppress it. Only one solitary engagement, however, took place between the opposing parties, in which the monarch charged the enemy in person, and at once terminated the war. "Thus," says Duplessis Mornay, "a skirmish of a couple of hours put an end to the grandest game that had been played in France for two centuries." The Queen-Mother tendered her submission, and was admitted to an interview of reconciliation with her son, in which a hollow peace was made between them; and this was scarcely done, when, on the departure of M. de Sillery as ambassador to Rome, the first cardinal's hat which should become vacant was asked of Gregory XV., who had succeeded Paul V., for the Bishop of Luçon, and promptly conceded; for on the 5th of September, 1622, Armand-Jean Duplessis became a member of the Holy Conclave, and thenceforth assumed the name and title of Cardinal de Richelieu.

* Nogaret de la Valette, Duke d'Epernon, or Espernon, the representative of the younger branch of a Gascon family, went to seek his fortune at the French court, under the name of Caumont. After the death of Charles IX., he first attached himself to the King of Navarre, afterward Henry IV. He was subsequently admitted to the familiarity of Henry III. who caused him to study politics and literature, and made him one of his favorites (*mignons*). Created Duke d'Epernon, first peer of France, admiral of France, and colonel-general of the infantry forces, he held several governments. After the death of Henry III., D'Epernon again allied himself to Henry IV., who opposed him to the Duke of Savoy. During the reign of this king, he lived in a constant state of misunderstanding both with him and the court. He is even accused of having assisted in the assassination of Henry; at whose death he convoked the parliament, caused the recognition of Marie de Medicis as regent, and placed himself at the head of public affairs, by forming a private council, of which he was the chief. Compelled to retire from the court during the influence of the Concini, he reappeared there after their fall.

History is silent as to the nature of the services which procured for the cardinal this two-fold protection; but it is certain that he had not wasted his time in inaction since his affected return to Mirabeau; for some time subsequently to the flight of the Queen-Mother from Blois, M. d'Arlincourt, the governor of Lyons, having ascertained that he had left Avignon, where he had been residing in disguise, and inferring from this extraordinary precaution that he was about to rejoin his royal mistress, caused him to be arrested at Vienne, in Dauphiny. The composure of the bishop was, however, no whit ruffled by this circumstance; as, with perfect politeness, he drew from his pocket an autograph letter of the king, wherein it was ordered that all governors of provinces should not only allow him free passage, but, moreover, assist him in every emergency.

M. d'Arlincourt had not, nevertheless, been deceived in his suspicions. Richelieu was in fact on his way to the Queen-Mother; but it had become extremely doubtful whether it were in her interests or those of the king.

Return we now to Anne of Austria; the "Little Queen," as from her arrival in France she had been called, to distinguish her from the Queen-Mother.

When composing the household of the Infanta, Marie de Medicis had placed near her person the celebrated Madame de Chevreuse, whose first husband was the Charles Albert de Luynes,* whose favor with Louis had pushed his fortune so rapidly, and who had been at once enriched and ennobled by the blood of the unfortunate Concini. Historians imply that this selection had been made for the vilest purposes by the Queen-Mother, who dreaded that the precocious intellect of Anne of Austria might overcome the lethargy of her young husband, and induce him to exchange his frivolous pursuits for the duties of his exalted station. Be this as it may, and the suspicions which rest

* Marie de Rohan-Montbazon, Duchess de Chevreuse, was the daughter of Hercules de Rohan, and was born in 1600.

upon Marie de Medicis upon this subject by no means end in what we have here stated, it is certain that a more dangerous confidant could not have been chosen for the young and inexperienced bride of Louis XIII.

Vain of her person, coquettish by nature, although virtuous in principle, and easily deluded by all that bore an appearance of mystery or romance, Anne of Austria readily fell into the snare which had been prepared for her; and although she unquestionably never forgot what was due to her own honor, either as a woman or the consort of a king, she accustomed herself too easily to affect a disregard for that virtue which in her inmost heart she held at its proper value. To this fatal facility may be traced much of the unhappiness and mortification of her married life.

Madame de Chevreuse was the more dangerous, that she was one of the wittiest, most beautiful, least scrupulous, and most intriguing woman of the age. During the life of her first husband, she occupied apartments in the Louvre, and her advances to the young monarch were so undisguised, as to have awakened for a time the uneasiness of Anne of Austria; but, soon convinced that she could not overcome the indifference of Louis, an enterprise to which she had probably been urged as much by her ambition as by any softer feeling, she turned, like an able tactician, to the young queen, who, isolated, and rigorously watched by Marie de Medicis, was ever ready to welcome every appearance of attachment; and who, consequently, after a few reproaches, which the subtile Madame de Luynes received rather as a victim than as a culprit, forgot her just cause of resentment, and ere long they became inseparable.

On the death of the constable, his widow found herself rich beyond her hopes; for she inherited not only an immense fortune, but also all the diamonds of the Marshal d'Ancre, which the king had confiscated in her favor; and at the end of eighteen months she remarried with Claude

de Lorraine, Duke de Chevreuse, the second and handsomest of the Messieurs de Guise, but a man of double her own age. Some idea may be formed of the precocious spirit of intrigue possessed by this extraordinary woman from the fact that she afterward passed into a proverb, as is proved by a passage in one of the letters of Bussy-Rabutin to his cousin, Madame de Sévigné, in which he urges her to pursue her correspondence with him during the period of his service in the army of the Prince de Condé. "The cardinal will never know it," he writes; "and even if he should make the discovery, and send you a *lettre de cachet*, it is a fine thing for a woman of twenty years of age to be involved in matters of state. The celebrated Madame de Chevreuse did not begin earlier."

Such was the intimate associate of Anne of Austria, whose continued sterility began to alienate the king, and to render him morose and distrustful, while it gave rise to rumors injurious to their object, whose natural levity tended, unfortunately, to strengthen the suspicions of the malevolent. The first tangible cause for complaint, upon which Louis could ground his displeasure and estrangement, was the friendship formed between the young queen and his brother Gaston, Duke of Anjou, and subsequently of Orleans. The royal brothers had never loved each other, for they differed alike in temperament and habits; while Marie de Medicis did not affect to conceal her preference for her younger son, whose intellect partook of that of Henry IV., while his joyous spirits contrasted advantageously with the moody and unsocial nature of the young monarch. It was, beyond all doubt, to this habitual gayety that Gaston was indebted for the favor of Anne of Austria, and the delight which she evinced in his society; it is possible, also, that she hoped, by giving free course to her flights of fancy, and exhibiting the fascinations alike of her person and her mind in the presence of his own brother, that she might ultimately succeed in inspiring the king with a greater taste

for her society. It would be alike monstrous and unnatural to impute to a woman just emerging from girlhood (for, be it remembered, that at the period of her marriage she had only attained her eleventh year) the wish seriously to captivate the affections of a stripling of fifteen, who was, moreover, the brother of her husband!

Here again, however, the machinations of Marie de Medicis were painfully successful; for, with that love of intrigue which she had imported from the court of Florence, she encouraged the demonstrations of the young queen, and aroused in the bosom of Louis a jealousy which deepened the hatred that he had long felt toward Gaston, whose vanity delighted in exciting the anger and annoyance of the monarch, alike openly and in secret.

Ere long the king, whose health, never robust, began to give way under the effects of his ungenial temper, had a new and more dangerous rival, of whom, however, he had not the most remote suspicion. We can do no more than allude to the first demonstration of this passion, which was destined to operate so powerfully on the after-fortunes of Anne of Austria. About three months subsequently to the receipt of the cardinal's hat by Richelieu, and when he had already begun to possess himself of the power by which he became aggrandized on the degradation of his royal master, profiting by the coldness which Louis felt toward his young consort, and which he did not make an effort to disguise, the new minister, impelled alike by his ambition and by the desire of gaining the affections of so beautiful a princess, dared, says a writer of the period, to make proposals to her, unmeet for the ears of a princess, and unseemly from the lips of a churchman.*

* This declaration was productive of fearful results, according to M. de Montmerqué, who asserts, in his notes to the *Tales* of Tallemant des Réaux, that the queen complained to the Marquis de Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador, of the insult to which she had been subjected by Richelieu; and the marquis, in his turn, informed the Count d'Olivarès

The increasing languor of the king had at this period created considerable apprehensions for his life; and Richelieu was aware that, in the event of his demise, both the young queen and himself had every thing to fear; the one from the hatred of Marie de Medicis, and the other from that of Gaston, should Anne of Austria continue childless; nor was the latter blind to this alarming truth; and whatever want of sympathy might exist between herself and Louis, she was quite conscious how heavy a misfortune her widowhood must prove at such a crisis, from the fearful changes which it would necessarily produce in her position.

Richelieu had, nevertheless, like most of those by whom she was surrounded, mistaken the real character of Anne of Austria; and it is even asserted that, misled by his vanity, he interpreted the patience and self-command with which the queen, fearful of changing into an enemy the powerful and crafty lover at her feet, compelled herself to listen and to temporize with his outrage upon her virtue into an encouragement of his hopes. How far he was justified in this opinion may be gathered from the result of the experiment; and we should not have ventured upon the record of such an anecdote, had not its veracity been thoroughly authenticated. We give it, therefore, upon the faith of M. de Brienne.

Anxious to devise some method of curing the cardinal forever of his presumptuous passion, Anne of Austria confided to Madame de Chevreuse the scene to which we have just made allusion; and it was at length decided between them that the queen should affect to doubt the vows which he so profusely poured forth, and exact, as a proof of their sincerity, that Richelieu should dance a saraband in her presence, in the costume of a Spanish jester. The queen declared that she consented to the experiment, only because

of the circumstance, who ordered him to effect the assassination of the cardinal, for having dared to made such a proposition to the daughter of the King of Spain.

she felt convinced that Richelieu, at once a churchman and the minister of a great nation, would never submit to such a degradation; and that, consequently, she should secure a defense against the prosecution of his suit, in his denial to gratify her caprice; while Madame de Chevreuse, on the contrary, maintained that they should see His Eminence, castanets in hand, at any hour which his royal mistress might deem expedient; and the favorite did not reason idly, for she was no stranger to the extent of Richelieu's passion for the young queen.

Ten o'clock on the morrow was accordingly appointed; for the cardinal at once verified the assurance of Madame de Chevreuse, only stipulating that no one should be present but Her Majesty during the travestie save Boccau, a musician of his own band, of whose discretion he was assured. Anne of Austria, still half-incredulous, was nevertheless the first to declare to her favorite that the concession of the cardinal was, should he indeed fulfill his pledge, at once too great or too trifling to effect her purpose, were no other spectator of the ecclesiastical masquerade to assist her in profiting by its absurdity; and, accordingly, Madame de Chevreuse, Vauthier, and Béringhen, two of the gentlemen of her household, were concealed behind a folding screen in her cabinet; the queen still persisting that the precaution was unnecessary, for that the cardinal would send to excuse himself, and Madame de Chevreuse resolutely asserting that he would appear in person; when, punctually to the moment, Boccau made his entry, armed with a violin, and announced that he should be speedily followed by His Eminence. All doubt was at an end.

Ten minutes later a muffled figure appeared upon the threshold, advanced with a profound salutation, unfolded the enormous mantle in which it was enveloped, and the cardinal prime minister of France stood before the wife of its monarch in a tight vest and trowsers of green velvet, with silver bells at his garters, and castanets in his hands!

It required an immense effort on the part of Anne of Austria to restrain the mirth which, at this spectacle, caused her to lose all apprehension of the consequences that it might involve; she succeeded, however, in preserving sufficient gravity to receive her visitor with a gracious gesture, and to request him to complete his self-abnegation in courteous and fitting terms.

She was obeyed, and for a time she watched with both curiosity and amusement the evolutions and contortions of the cardinal; but the extreme gravity with which he executed his task at length rendered the spectacle so supremely grotesque, that she could no longer preserve her self-possession, and gave way to a violent fit of laughter. Her merriment was instantly reëchoed from behind the screen; and Richelieu, at once perceiving that he had been betrayed, strode furiously from the room; upon which the merry trio emerged from their concealment, delighted with the adventure of the morning. Little did they guess that they had roused a slumbering serpent, whose sting was sure and fatal! Little did they understand, as they indulged in witticisms of which the cardinal-duke was the subject, that he had, as he left the palace, vowed an undying hatred to Anne of Austria and her favorite, from the effects of which neither the one nor the other was destined to escape.

"This anecdote of the most austere minister ever known in France," says Dumas; "this condescension of the proudest gentleman whom nobility ever counted in its ranks; in fine, this error of the most serious man whom history has celebrated in its annals, will superabundantly indicate how high an importance the cardinal attached to the good graces of Anne of Austria."

Now, however, all was over between them. Neither as a man nor as a minister could Richelieu forget that the queen had degraded him, not only in his own eyes, but in those of her private friends. Never, since he had knelt in confession at the feet of Paul V., had he felt his position to

be so precarious. Should the king die, his fortune was at an end; and the perspective of such an overthrow was terrible to one who had made so many sacrifices to attain to power. A ray of hope came, however, to his relief, when, in the spring of the following year (1623), a report of the pregnancy of the queen was promulgated; but it was destined to be short-lived, for three months had scarcely elapsed when Anne of Austria, while at play with Madame de Chevreuse, had a violent fall, which destroyed the prospect that had filled the nation with delight.

Certain writers of the time have endeavored to build upon this circumstance the most disadvantageous theories relative to the young queen, and affected to have good grounds for assigning the paternity of the expected infant to the cardinal; but we think that enough has been shown to exculpate her from the accusation. They must know little of a woman's nature who believe that she can ever give her affections to a man whom she has seen guilty of a gross absurdity. She may forgive a vice, but she never shows mercy to a ridicule.

CHAPTER II.

Embassy of the Earl of Carlisle—Lord Rich—Demand of the Hand of Henrietta-Maria for the Prince of Wales—Assent of Louis XIII.—Conditions—Lord Rich and the Duke of Buckingham—A new Embassy—Buckingham in Paris—The scattered Pearls—Passion of Buckingham for Anne of Austria—Price of a Court Lady—The Fête—The King's Present—Disguises of the English Duke—The Masque—The White Lady—The Royal Marriage—The Court at Amiens—Courtly Festivities—Tender Regrets—A garden Interview—Unhappy Result—Parting between Anne of Austria and Buckingham—Detention of the Bribe of Charles I.—The Messenger—Return of Buckingham and Lord Rich to Amiens—Interview of the Duke with Anne of Austria—The Aiguillette—New Leave-taking—Embarkation of the Bride—Intrigues of Marie de Medicis—A suspicious Argument—Surveillance of the young Queen—The missing Aiguillette—The Bride—The triumphant Minister—The City Ball—Tranquillity of Anne of Austria—Defeat of the Cardinal—The Secret revealed—Distrust of Louis XIII.—The Romance of Chalais—The Conspiracy—The Duke d'Anjou—The Princess of Vendôme—Proposed Assassination of Richelieu—The Cardinal at Fleury—The Hunt—Indiscretion of Chalais—The Commander de Valancé—The Interview—Rochefort—Remorse of Chalais—The Cardinal in his Closet—The King and his Minister—Guard at Fleury—The Plot defeated—The Duke and the Cardinal—Politic Politeness—Previsions of Richelieu.

The next phase of the life of Anne of Austria involved still more serious results. Hitherto she had been guilty only of the imprudence attributable, in a great degree, to her youth, and she was enabled, from the height of her own innocence, to look down with proud contempt on the malevolence of her enemies; but the vanity of her nature, aided by constant association with a woman so unscrupulous and so venal as Madame de Chevreuse, was fated to induce her to acts of levity, which sullied the dignity of her character, and tended to justify the evil opinions of those whom personal feeling, or party spirit, actuated against her.

In 1624, the Earl of Carlisle was sent as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, to ask of Louis XIII. the hand of his sister, Henrietta-Maria, for the Prince of Wales, son of James I.; and returned to England with the assent of the French king, provided that the same concessions were made to Henrietta-Maria which had previously been promised to the Infanta of Spain—to whom, before the rupture between that court and England, the prince had been betrothed. James, who had resolved that his son should not (as he expressed it) be degraded by an alliance with any princess who was not of the blood-royal, and apprehensive that if he hesitated to accept the terms of the French king, Charles would be altogether disappointed of a bride, meekly consented to comply; forgetting or willfully overlooking the fact, that the portion of Henrietta was very inferior to that promised with the Infanta, and that the peaceable restitution of the palatinate, which he had so much at heart, could not be promoted by this alliance.

The concessions to which we have alluded were never made public; or there can be no doubt that they would have created great national disaffection. The most exceptionable among them was that in which the king engaged that the princess should herself direct and control the education of her children until they had attained their tenth

year—which condition could evidently only have been stipulated with a view of imbuing their minds with Romanist ideas and principles; but, beside this, there were several private articles to which the king pledged himself. Among others, to suspend the execution of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics; to cause them to be repealed in parliament; and to tolerate the popish rites in private houses. Moreover, as the prince had given a personal pledge to the Infanta, during his chivalrous visit to Spain, that he would commit to her the entire education of her children until their thirteenth year, this article was also inserted in the treaty by Richelieu, and accepted, as much by anxiety on the part of Charles himself, as by weakness upon that of his father; for, while on his way to Madrid to ask the hand of the Spanish princess, accompanied by Buckingham, the prince and his attendants had passed disguised and undiscovered through France, and had even ventured to attend a court ball, where he had an opportunity of seeing the Princess Henrietta, then in the first bloom of youth and beauty.

The Earl of Carlisle was accompanied in his embassy by Lord Rich, afterward the Earl of Holland, whose beauty of person, elegance of manner, and profuse expenditure produced a very favorable effect upon the ladies of the court; and it would appear that the English noble had been no less impressed by the beauty of the fair dames from whom he was so soon compelled to part; for, on his return home, he expatiated to his friend the Duke of Buckingham, in no measured terms, upon the pleasures and magnificence of Paris, concluding his report by the declaration, that there was, nevertheless, one object at the French court which eclipsed all else, alike in beauty and in brightness, and that one was the young queen, of whom he drew a picture which more than sufficed to excite the daring and reckless fancy of the hot-headed George Villiers.

Chosen, as the representative of Great Britain, to terminate the negotiations of marriage, Buckingham arrived in Paris,

in his turn, magnificently attended, and at once became the idol of the people, the admiration of the ladies, and the aversion of every handsome cavalier, alike of the court and the city. We are not about to trace the mad and reckless career of the hot-headed envoy; it is a page in the romance of the world's history, and must be familiar, in nearly all its details, to nine tenths of our readers; we shall merely remark that, from the hour of his entrance into the presence, with his doublet of white satin embroidered with gold, and his mantle of silver-gray velvet, upon which the oriental pearls were so loosely sewn, that he scattered them at every step as he advanced, for the profit of the surrounding courtiers, the duke produced a powerful impression on the imagination of the young queen. His chivalric devotion and noble bearing were in accordance with her national associations, while his profusion was not without its effect; for the wars which the princes of the blood had successively waged against the state, had exhausted the treasure amassed by Henry IV., and reduced his successor to an income very inadequate to satisfy the necessities of royalty.

Buckingham was by no means unconscious of his advantages, but he was too able a tactician to intrust his hopes of success, in a cause in which he was so much in earnest as the subjugation of the heart of Anne of Austria, to mere adventitious superiority. He was soon aware that he was regarded with suspicion, both by the king and the cardinal, and he instantly felt the necessity of securing an able and efficient ally. He was not long ere he arrived at a decision. He knew that by half-measures he should be ruined, for he was playing for a desperate stake; and he had heard enough from his friend, Lord Rich, to believe that he could select no confederate half so genial as Madame de Chevreuse. It is asserted that the court lady was purchased with a hundred thousand livres, and the loan of two thousand pistoles. Whatever were her price, it is at least certain that it was

paid; and that Anne of Austria was betrayed into all her levity with Buckingham by her friend and favorite.

Affecting to be enamored of the beautiful duchess, Buckingham was constantly beside her, save when the interests of his mission obliged him to visit the Louvre, or to wait upon the cardinal; while the same pretext enabled him to approach the person of the queen in public, and to treat her with a respectful tenderness, which, although exaggerated in the subject of another sovereign, was protected by its very audacity.

These demonstrations, however flattering though they might be to the vanity of Anne of Austria, by no means satisfied the views of Buckingham. His aim was a private interview; but the queen was too closely watched to enable even her crafty and intriguing favorite to achieve his object. In this emergency, Madame de Chevreuse, prompted, no doubt, by the Mephistophiles at her elbow, proposed to give a fête at her hotel in honor of her royal mistress. The courtesy was accepted; and the king, being unable to adduce a plausible reason for absenting himself upon such an occasion; or, probably unwilling to leave the queen unguarded to the familiar contact of the English ambassador, also signified his intention to be present. He did more, for he presented to her a splendid shoulder-knot, whence depended twelve diamond tags.

During the evening, Buckingham assumed numerous disguises, danced in a ballet of demons, and lent the Chevalier de Guise* three thousand pistoles, and the diamonds of the English crown, to permit him to appear as his substitute in a masque in which the princes of the sovereign houses of France were to represent the oriental kings doing homage to Louis and his queen. In this disguise he was selected by Anne of Austria as her partner in the dance; and had full opportunity, amid the noise and hurry of the festi-

* Son of Henry, Duke de Guise, surnamed *Le Balafré*, and younger brother to M. de Chevreuse

val, to pour into her ear a tale of passion, for which Madame de Chevreuse had, without doubt, previously prepared her.

A report of the disguises assumed by Buckingham at the fête of the duchess soon reached the court, and it doubled the watchfulness and hatred of Richelieu; who, well aware that she was the confidant and accomplice of this mad passion, extended his *surveillance* to her also; a proceeding which rendered the suit of the adventurous duke so desperate, that he resolved to attempt any method, however hazardous, which afforded a prospect of meeting the queen, once at least, in private. The only means which could be devised, after the consent of Anne of Austria was obtained to this imprudence, was to introduce him into her apartments in the garb of a phantom, said to have haunted the Louvre for centuries, and known as the White Lady. Through the expert agency of Madame de Chevreuse this wild scheme was accomplished; but Buckingham had scarcely been closeted five minutes with the queen, when an alarm was raised of the approach of Louis, and the duke was compelled to make a rapid retreat by a private stair-case. This new apparition of the White Lady (who had not succeeded in leaving the palace entirely unobserved) created no suspicion in the mind of the king, as he put firm faith in the tradition; but Richelieu was not so easily deceived; and he soon ascertained through his agents that the advent of the phantom was another device of Buckingham. Chance, however, served him better than any measures which he could himself devise; for, while these events were taking place, news arrived at the court of the death of James I. of England, and the accession of Charles I. Coupled with this intelligence, Buckingham received an order to hasten the marriage of his new sovereign by every means in his power; and the cardinal, who desired nothing so earnestly as the absence of the English envoy, forthwith wrote to the Pope, to inform him, that if he did not immediately forward

the dispensation, the marriage would take place without his sanction; an announcement which produced its arrival by a special courier.

Buckingham was in despair; but no ingenuity could now suffice to prolong his sojourn in the French capital. In a few weeks the royal marriage was celebrated by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld,* on a platform erected in front of the entrance of Notre-Dame; M. de Chevreuse acting as proxy for the English king, with whom he claimed relationship through Mary of Scotland.

We have already stated that Charles had once seen his bride on the occasion of a state ball; and the impression which he had carried away of her personal charms caused him to urge her immediate departure for England; the court, consequently, without loss of time, started for Amiens, whither they were to accompany the young queen; and it was in this city that the imprudence of Anne of Austria and the audacity of Buckingham reached their climax.

Madame de Motteville,† Tallemant des Réaux, and La-

* A descendant of one of the most ancient and illustrious houses of France, which was originally of Angoumois, and into which that of the counts of Roucy was merged in 1557. Francis V., who died in 1650, was the first duke; and from the brother of his great-grandfather descended Anthony de la Rochefoucauld, who was general of the galleys in 1528, died in 1537, and was the ancestor of the branch of the marquises of Langeac. Another ramification, that of the counts of Randau, terminated in the person of John-Louis de la Rochefoucauld, killed at Issoire, in 1590.

† Frances Bertaut, lady of Motteville, was the daughter of a gentleman-in-waiting, and received an appointment about the person of Anne of Austria. She was, however, dismissed by Richelieu, and during her exile from court, married the First President of the Chamber of Records at Rouen. who, two years subsequently, left her a widow. Recalled to court in 1644, she remained with the queen until her death, and survived her royal mistress until 1689. Her *Memoirs to elucidate the History of Anne of Austria*. which extend through six volumes, in 12mo, are very curious, and full of the most minute details on the manners and cabals of the court at that period.

porte,* alike relate an adventure which proves that even while Anne of Austria preserved her virtue intact (and whatever were the opinions of the time, posterity has, upon this point, done her justice), she nevertheless occasionally placed it in peril; and only extricated herself resolutely at the eleventh hour, from difficulties which it would have been at once more simple and more dignified to have avoided altogether. Such was the case at Amiens on the evening preceding the departure of Henrietta for England.

This city, which had never before boasted the simultaneous presence of three queens, and which now possessed Marie de Medicis, Anne of Austria, and Henrietta of England, did not afford fitting accommodations for so many and such illustrious visitors, under the same roof; and thus each occupied a separate hotel. That assigned to Anne of Austria was situated on the bank of the Somme, and had large gardens, which descended to the river; an advantage which rendered it the favorite rendezvous of the other princesses, and consequently of the rest of the court, whose stay at Amiens had been prolonged, by every means in his power, by the Duke of Buckingham, who counted the hours which yet remained to him upon the French territory with jealous anxiety. Not a pleasure had been spared to induce delay; and in every expedient the ambassador was eagerly seconded by the three queens, who found the diversions of Amiens a delightful exchange for the languor and ennui of the Louvre. The liberty was also rendered more perfect by the fact, that the king and the cardinal had, three days previously, been compelled to return to Fontainebleau. Thus nothing was thought of, nothing projected but amusement; and there was probably no member of the courtly circle who did not witness with regret the advent of the last evening

* Train-bearer to Anne of Austria, and afterward first *valet-de-chambre* to Louis XIV.

which Madame Henrietta was to pass in the bosom of her family.

Among these regrets there is little doubt that those of Anne of Austria and Buckingham were the most poignant. Deeply imbued with the romance of her native country, the Infanta was about to part from the only man who had realized in her eyes the poetry of her imagination; to exchange the chivalric devotion of an adventurous and high-hearted lover, for the society of a moody and distrustful husband; and to find herself cast down from the proud elevation of a beloved and idolized beauty, to the chilling depths of a suspected and neglected wife. Let us at once admit that now, when party spirit is laid at rest, and individual prejudices are buried in the grave, some indulgence may well be conceded to her youth; and that while we are compelled to regret her imprudence, an imprudence the more reprehensible that she had to support her station as a queen as well as her dignity as a woman, we may nevertheless infer that the trial was perhaps beyond her strength. Buckingham, moreover, was no common lover. The court of France offered no example of the reckless, uncalculating, and indomitable spirit with which he braved every danger and every difficulty, in pursuit of the one coveted object. To him kings and cardinals were alike indifferent; he acknowledged no fear; recognized no peril; his whole soul was absorbed in his passion, and he deemed no sacrifice too great to insure its success. They were about to part, probably forever; and it is in this fact that we have endeavored to find some excuse for the weakness of Anne of Austria; who, according to the authorities already quoted, so far forgot her self-respect as a sovereign, as to separate herself from her court on the last evening of its sojourn at Amiens, and to wander alone with Buckingham, long after twilight, among the shades of the garden shrubberies.

Ere long a piercing cry was heard, and the voice of the queen was at once recognized; when instantly, M. de Putange, her first equerry, sprung into the shrubbery sword in hand, and saw, as it is asserted, Anne of Austria struggling in the arms of the Duke of Buckingham. On perceiving Putange, Buckingham also drew his sword, but the queen rushing between them, and desiring the duke to retire lest he should compromise her, she was obeyed without hesitation; and this had scarcely been effected, ere the whole of the courtiers were collected about their royal mistress, anxiously inquiring the cause of her terror. Anne of Austria called up her presence of mind, and answered, that the duke had suddenly left her alone in the darkness; and that, terrified on finding herself in so unusual a position, she had, without considering the alarm which such an expedient must necessarily create, cried aloud in order to summon some one to her presence.

The idea did credit to her ingenuity, but it failed to convince her auditors; and neither the ball of Madame de Chevreuse, nor the episode of the palace-phantom, bore so heavily upon the reputation of Anne of Austria as this adventure on the banks of the Somme.

On the morrow, the Queen-Mother expressed her determination to accompany her daughter a few leagues on her way, ere she bid her a final farewell; and when they ultimately parted, Buckingham rendered his leave-taking with Anne of Austria so conspicuous, that it served to strengthen all the prejudices which had been excited against her: while overcome, probably, by the memories of the past and the anticipations of the future, she, on her side, lost all her self-possession, and remained drowned in tears during the return to Amiens. This want of caution was the more imprudent that she traveled in the same carriage with the Queen-Mother, the Princess of Conti, and a lady of the court; and thus exposed herself to suspicions which, without doubt, outran the truth.

On his arrival at Boulogne, Buckingham found the elements favorable to his passion. A succession of high winds had rendered the sea so rough as to preclude all possibility of the departure of Madame Henrietta; who easily consoled herself for the delay, by remembering that she was still upon her native soil. Nor was the English duke a whit less philosophical. If he did not possess the consolation which presented itself to the queen of Charles I., he had the still dearer one of knowing that he was yet within reach of the idol of his affections; and that the feeling was reciprocated he had soon ample proof, by the arrival of Laporte at Boulogne; ostensibly to inquire into the movements of Madame Henrietta and the Duchess de Chevreuse, by whom she was to be accompanied to England.

It needed little discernment on the part of the bystanders to decide that the official inquiry of the messenger by no means laid bare the whole of his mission, but the exact nature of its duties never transpired. The rough weather lasted for eight days, and during that interval Laporte made three journeys to the coast; while, in order to facilitate his movements, M. de Chaulnes, the provisional governor of Amiens, left the city gates open all night. On his return from the third journey, Laporte informed Anne of Austria that she would see Buckingham again that very evening. The duke had stated that the receipt of a dispatch from his sovereign would oblige him to have another conference with the Queen-Mother; and that he should leave Boulogne three hours after the royal messenger; moreover, he privately implored Anne of Austria, in the name of the love he bore her, to afford him an opportunity of taking leave of her alone.

The request was one which agitated the queen with fear, and filled her with anxiety. She well knew the reckless and overbearing character of her English lover, and felt too late the danger to which her unmeasured

condescension had subjected her safety. Only a few hours remained to her for decision; and pressed by her consciousness of the peril to which she was exposed, and it may be also, by her innate feeling of tenderness for the duke, she determined at once to affect a sudden indisposition, and to request her ladies to withdraw in consequence. Her project was, however, rendered unavailing by the entrance of Nogent Bautru,* who publicly announced the arrival of the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Rich, to treat on some affair of importance with the Queen-Mother. In this emergency Anne of Austria felt that she had no alternative but to play out her personage to the end; and accordingly she lost no time in sending for her physician and causing herself to be bled: but despite her entreaties, and almost her commands, she could not rid herself of the attendance of the Countess de Lannoy, who persisted in watching by her bedside; and finding that she was resolved on fulfilling the duties of her office to the letter, the young queen did not venture to insist on her obedience, having already had occasion to suspect that the zealous lady of honor was in the interests of the cardinal; and she was consequently compelled to await, in increased anxiety, the issue of the adventure.

Her worst apprehensions were realized when, at a late hour, the Duke of Buckingham was announced.

During the interview which ensued, the duke was more passionate and more unguarded than he had ever before been; and replied to the remonstrances of the lady of honor by a vehement declaration of his love for her royal mistress; ultimately rushing from the room in a state of agitation unbecoming alike to his own manhood, and the respect which was due to the exalted personage whom he quitted.

* Nicholas Bautru, Count de Nogent, jester at the court of Anne of Austria.

He was no sooner gone than the queen, aware that she could not be further compromised by the countess, insisted upon her immediate absence; and without loss of time summoned Doña Estefania, a Spanish lady, who had accompanied her from her own country, and in whom she had entire confidence; and, brushing away her tears, she wrote a letter to Buckingham, in which she besought him immediately to leave France. This done, she gave into the charge of her attendant not only the letter, but also a casket containing the aiguillette, with its diamond pendants, which had been presented to her by the king, and in which she had appeared at the ball of Madame de Chevreuse. The first she knew would inflict a pang; and the second was intended to heal the wound, by serving as a memorial of their friendship.

It may for a moment create surprise, that the queen should venture to dispossess herself of so recently acquired and so remarkable an ornament; but be it remembered that her resources were scanty, that she had already done honor to the present of the king by appearing with it upon her person in public; and that, while as a sovereign, she could not offer to the magnificent duke a remembrance without some intrinsic value, she was also enabled, by sacrificing the jewel in question, to gratify her softer feelings, by the conviction, that as this was a decoration worn indifferently by both sexes, Buckingham would be reminded of her whenever it formed a portion of his dress.

On the morrow Anne of Austria took leave of the English envoy in presence of all the court, and his bearing was that of a finished gentleman and a respectful courtier. No eye could detect a glance, no ear gather up a sentence, which was not in accordance with the most scrupulous etiquet. Buckingham carried away with him a pledge of royal regard which almost consoled him for his departure.

Three days afterward, Madame Henrietta and her suite

embarked for England; and the cardinal, early informed by Madame de Lannoy of the scene between Anne of Austria and Buckingham, lost no time in detailing, not only this, but also the adventure of the garden to Louis; whose indifference toward the queen was rapidly degenerating into hate, thanks to the imprudence of Anne of Austria herself, and the evil offices of the Queen-Mother; who believed that she saw, in this estrangement between the royal pair, the guaranty of her own authority. Richelieu profited, with his usual ability, of these two new causes of suspicion; and the result of the impression which, by his representations, he produced upon the mind of the king, was the dismissal and disgrace of several members of the queen's household. Among others, Madame de Vernet met the former fate, and M. de Putange the latter. Louis was probably, in his secret heart, unable to forgive him, either his discovery, or the escape of Buckingham from the garden of Amiens.

The levity of Anne of Austria had strengthened the hands of the Queen-Mother, acerbated the jealousy of Richelieu, and greatly injured her cause in the public mind; and this at a moment when, deprived of the support of Madame de Chevreuse, she was less than ever able to contend against the increasing difficulties of her position. Marie de Medicis in this conjuncture put forth all her talent for intrigue; and while she affected great anxiety to effect a reconciliation between the royal pair, she nevertheless attempted no interference with the extreme act of the king in disorganizing the household of his consort; but when the arrangement was completed, and that she knew Anne of Austria to be without one confidential friend, she took her son apart, and endeavored to prove to him, that despite all appearance the queen was innocent; that her regard for Buckingham had never exceeded the limits of propriety, and that she had been too well guarded to have had an opportunity of compromising his dignity.

Louis listened moodily. He had no faith in the assurance; nor was he inclined to give Anne of Austria any credit for the preservation of a virtue which, according to the view of the case now presented to him, was dependent upon the watchfulness of those by whom she was surrounded. The master-stroke of the wily Florentine was, however, still to come. As a climax to her argument, she declared herself to be the more anxious that he should overlook the past, as she felt that the position of the queen was precisely similar to her own, when the high spirits and thoughtlessness incident to youth had occasionally caused her to excite the suspicion and displeasure of her husband, Henry IV., although her own conscience acquitted her of all blame.

The effect which such an argument must produce, even upon the mind of her own son, requires no explanation; nor is it wonderful that, when they parted, Louis XIII. was more than ever convinced of the guilt of his royal consort. His next act of hostility toward her was the dismissal of the faithful Laporte, in whom she had the most entire confidence, and who was devoted to her service. Madame de la Boissière alone was retained near her person; and no more efficient and repelling duenna could have been selected. The *surveillance* was complete. Coupled with this open persecution, a secret conspiracy was in action against Anne of Austria of which she had no suspicion. Madame de Lannoy, the zealous spy of the cardinal, had detected the disappearance of the diamond aiguillette from the queen's casket; and, with the ready perception of malice, she suggested to Richelieu that it had, in all probability, been sent to Buckingham as a parting present. The cardinal lost not an instant in writing to one of the ladies of Charles's court who was in his interest—for, like the spider, he attached his web on every side—offering to present her with fifty thousand livres if she could succeed in cutting away a couple of the tags of the shoulder-knot, the first time that Bucking-

ham appeared in it, and forwarding them forthwith by a safe messenger to himself.

A fortnight afterward, the two tags were in the possession of Richelieu. The duke had worn the the aiguillette at a state ball, and the emissary of the cardinal had cut away a couple of its pendants unobserved. The vindictive minister gloated over his prize! Now, as he believed, his revenge was certain.

The first care of Richelieu was to carry the diamonds to the king, and to acquaint him with the method by which they had been procured. Louis examined them closely. There could be no doubt that they had indeed formed a portion of the ornament which had been his last present to his wife; his pale brow flushed with indignant rage; and, before the cardinal left the royal closet every precaution was taken to insure the speedy exposure of the queen.

On the following morning, Louis himself announced to Anne of Austria that a ball, given by the civil magistrates of Paris, at the town-hall, would take place the day but one following; and he coupled this information with the request that, in order to compliment both himself and the magistrates, she would appear in the aiguillette which he had lately presented to her. She replied simply and calmly that he should be obeyed.

The eight-and-forty hours which were still to intervene before his vengeance could be accomplished, appeared so many centuries to the cardinal-duke. Anne of Austria was now fairly in the toils, and still her composure remained unruffled. How was this apparent tranquillity to be explained? Richelieu had already experienced that, aided by Buckingham and Madame de Chevreuse, she had possessed the power to baffle even *his* ingenuity; but she now stood alone; and even had she ventured upon so dangerous a step as that of replacing the jewels, he well knew that on the present occasion she possessed neither the time nor the means.

The hour of the festival at length struck; and as it had been arranged that the king should first make his entrance into the ball-room, accompanied by his minister, and that the queen should follow, attended by her own court, Richelieu was enabled to calculate upon commencing his triumph from the very moment of her appearance upon the threshold.

Precisely an hour before midnight, the queen was announced, and every eye at once turned eagerly toward her. She was magnificent alike in loveliness and in apparel. She wore a Spanish costume, consisting of a dress of green satin, embroidered with gold and silver, having hanging sleeves, which were looped back with large rubies, serving as buttons. Her ruff was open, and displayed her bosom, which was extremely beautiful; and upon her head she had a small cap of green velvet, surmounted by a heron-feather; while from her shoulder depended gracefully the aiguillette, with its twelve diamond tags.

As she entered, the king approached her; avowedly to offer his compliments upon her appearance, but actually to count the tags. His arithmetic amounted to a dozen. The cardinal stood a pace behind him, quivering with rage. The twelve tags were hanging from the shoulder of the queen, and, nevertheless, he grasped two of them in his hand at the same moment. Ay, in his hand; for he had resolved not to lose an instant in triumphing over the proud and insolent beauty who had laughed his passion to scorn, and made him a mark for the ridicule of her associates. The vow that he uttered in his heart, as he gazed upon her calm and defying brow that night, probably cost Buckingham his life; for Richelieu was not duped by the belief that the shoulder-knot of the duke, from whence his own two tags had been severed, was not identical with that now floating over the arm of Anne of Austria.

The plot had, nevertheless, failed; and once more the cardinal was beaten upon his own ground

It is, however, time that we should disclose the secret of this apparently mysterious incident to our readers.

On his return from the state ball, at which he had appeared with the aiguillette of Anne of Austria, Buckingham, who would confide to no one the care of this precious ornament, was about to restore it to its casket, when he perceived the subtraction which had taken place, and for a moment abandoned himself to a fit of anger, believing that he had been made the victim of a common theft; an instant's reflection, however, convinced him that such was not likely to be the case, as he had upon his person jewels of greater value, which it would have been equally easy to purloin, and these all remained intact. A light broke upon him—he suspected the agency of his old enemy and rival, the cardinal-duke; and his immediate measure was to place an embargo upon the English ports, and to prohibit all masters of vessels from putting to sea, under pain of death. During the operation of this edict, which created universal astonishment throughout the country, the jeweler of Buckingham was employed day and night in completing the number of the diamond tags; and it was still in full force when a light fishing-smack, which had been exempted from the general disability, was scudding across the channel on its way to Calais, under the command of one of the duke's confidential servants, and having on board, for all its freight, the aiguillette of Anne of Austria.

In the course of the ensuing day the ports were again opened, and the thousand and one rumors which had been propagated by the people died gradually away, as no explanation of the incomprehensible and rigorous measure ever transpired; whose result was the receipt of her shoulder-knot by the queen, the very day before the ball of the magistrates.

Thus the apparent tranquillity of Anne of Austria, which had been for the first few hours the apathetic calmness of despair, ultimately grew out of the certainty of security;

and the ready wit and chivalric devotion of Buckingham, which had so frequently threatened her destruction, for once supplied her ægis.

Her trials were, however, far from their conclusion; for although the king, reassured by the departure of the English duke, and this failure of the accusation of the aiguillette, for which he could not in any way account, did not permit the memory of Buckingham longer to occupy his mind, Marie de Medicis renewed her efforts to disgust him with his young wife, lest a reconciliation between them should decrease her influence. Louis XIII., although he had, for a time, ceased to look upon his brother with the same suspicion as formerly (the episode of the British envoy having of late entirely occupied his attention), had by no means overcome his old misgivings; and upon this foundation the Queen-Mother wrought. She again flung the vain young prince constantly into the way of her intended victim; who, wearied by the monotony in which she lived, was indebted to his sallies for some of her least dreary hours; and having accomplished a renewal of their familiar intercourse, both herself and Richelieu, united by one common interest, skillfully reawakened the slumbering jealousy of the king, and caused reports to be circulated on every side, which were calculated to ruin the queen forever in his opinion. Among others, it was officiously communicated to him that Anne of Austria, weary of a life of ennui—young, beautiful, and passionate—was anxiously awaiting the death of a cold and melancholy husband, whose failing health appeared to give consistency to her hopes, in order to complete a marriage more in accordance with her peculiar tastes; and thenceforward Louis XIII. believed himself to be surrounded by conspirators, eager to place the crown upon the head of the Duke d'Anjou. Marie de Medicis covertly encouraged his suspicions; and the king, whose distrust of his wife increased with every succeeding day, brooded impatiently over his imagined

wrongs, while he awaited the opportunity to revenge them signally. That opportunity was not long wanting; and here again history supplies us with an episode which contains almost a romance in itself.

Henry de Talleyrand, Prince de Chalais, of a junior branch of the illustrious house of Talleyrand, was master of the wardrobe to the king.* He was young, handsome, and high-spirited; remarkable for the extreme elegance of his attire; and very popular with the ladies of the court. Thoughtless, sarcastic, and vain, he made many enemies; but, thanks to a duel in which he had been engaged some time previously, and which had created great excitement, his position in society was assured and brilliant; for the spirit of chivalry was not yet extinct in France; and this, its last and worst observance, still turned the heads of all the young and idle cavaliers about the court. His antagonist was M. de Pongibaut, brother-in-law of the Count de Lude,† by whom he believed himself to have been injured.

* "He was the grandson of the Marshal de Montluc, and connected on the female side with the family of the brave Bussy d'Amboise, whose sister was the wife of that marshal."—*Louis XIV. et son Siècle.*

† Bussy-Rabutin, Grand Master of the Artillery, in his malicious sketch of Madame de Sévigné, inserted in the most scandalous and the most popular of his works, draws the following picture of the Count de Lude:—"His face is small and ugly; he has a profusion of hair, and a fine figure; he was born to be very fat, but the dread of being inconvenienced and disagreeable has caused him to take such extraordinary pains to keep down his flesh, that he has ultimately succeeded. His fine figure has in truth cost him a portion of his good health, for he has ruined his stomach by spare and rigid diet, and the quantity of vinegar which he has taken. He is a clever horseman, dances well, is a good fencer, and fought bravely. Those who doubted his courage consequently did him injustice. The foundation of this calumny may be traced to the fact, that all the young men of his standing having shared in the campaign, he contented himself by serving as a volunteer; but this circumstance arose from his idleness and love of pleasure. In one word, he is brave, and has no ambition. His disposition is mild; he is agreeable in female society, has always been well treated by the ladies, but has never loved any one long. The causes of his success, beside

He accordingly took his post upon the Pont-Neuf, and there awaited his enemy, who had no sooner appeared than he drew his sword, defied him to instant combat, and killed him. Bois-Robert wrote an elegy upon his death.*

It was the fashion of that day to conspire against the cardinal, who had monopolized the sovereign power, and reduced the authority of the king to a mere cipher; and Chalais, who loved nothing so well as the fashion, especially when its worship involved a certain degree of danger, was therefore delighted to follow a mode so congenial to his tastes.

On this occasion, however, the conspiracy was far from contemptible, for at its head was the young Duke d'Anjou; excited to this demonstration of hostility, not only by the hatred which he personally felt for Richelieu, but also by the instigations of Alexander de Bourbon, Grand Prior of France,† and Cæsar, Duke de Vendôme,‡ who had originally suggested the assassination of the cardinal, and induced the coöperation of Chalais. Half-a-dozen other young men of rank joined the party of Gaston, and to these (including the prince himself, and Chalais) was to be intrusted the murder of the minister.

Richelieu, who was by no means blind to the hatred

his reputation for discretion, are his good looks, and, above all, his faculty of weeping when he pleases; for nothing so persuades women that they are loved as tears."—*Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules.*

* François le Métel de Bois-Robert, born at Caen in 1592. A poet and a wit, he became the favorite of Richelieu, although he was a gambler, a glutton, and a rake. He was one of the founders of the French Academy, whose sittings were long held under his roof; and died in 1662. Bois-Robert left behind him poems, tales, and dramas.

† Son of Henry IV. and of Gabrielle d'Estrée. He married the daughter of Philip-Emanuel de Lorraine, Duke de Mercœur, by whom he had three children—Isabella, married to Charles Amedée, Duke de Nemours; Louis, who died in 1669; and Francis, Duke of Beaufort.

‡ Philip de Vendôme, brother of Cæsar, born in 1655, followed the profession of arms. In his person terminated the posterity of the dukes de Vendôme, descendants of Henry IV.

with which he was regarded by a great proportion of the nation, and by a strong party at court, was in the habit of perpetually pretexting his weak health, in order to withdraw from Paris. He was shrewd enough to comprehend that, for an unpopular minister, the walls of a palace afford very inefficient protection; while in a more retired and less official residence, precautions might be taken with a greater probability of success. Thus he had once more retired to the Benedictine abbey of Fleury,* where he busied himself in forwarding the affairs of state, and whence he directed the destinies of the kingdom.

The Duke d'Anjou and his friends, pretexting that a hunt had brought them into the neighborhood, were to pay a visit to the cardinal, to claim his hospitality, and afterward to seize the first favorable moment to surround him, and put him to death.†

All was prepared; when Chalais, either irresolute, and desirous of further arguments against his own reluctance, in doubt of the legitimacy of the act in contemplation, or anxious to include his friend in the plot, confided every

* Fleury, or Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire, an abbey of Benedictines, was situated in the little town of Fleury, near Orleans. It was founded in the seventh century, by Léodobold, abbot of Saint-Aignan, and only assumed the name of Saint-Benoit when the relics of that saint were transferred to its guardianship. It was an educational community, and both divine and human sciences were taught there. The number of pupils amounted to five thousand. It possessed a very fine library, containing from one hundred and fifty thousand to two hundred thousand volumes. The abbey of Fleury was united to the congregation of Saint-Maur in 1627.

† "All these plots, which to-day appear to us so impossible, at least so extraordinary, were quite common at that time, and made, in some degree, the tour of Europe. Visconti had been assassinated thus in the Dôme at Milan; Julian de Medicis in the cathedral at Florence; Henry III. at Saint-Germain; Henry IV. in the *Rue de la Ferronerie;* and the Marshal d'Ancre on the bridge of the Louvre. Gaston, in ridding himself of the favorite of Louis XIII., was consequently imitating the example of Louis XIII. with regard to the favorite of Marie de Medicis."—*Louis XIV et son Siècle.*

detail to the Commander Valancé. The second supposition appears to be warranted by the result; for it is certain that, at the conclusion of their conference, De Valancé had obtained sufficient influence over the mind and conscience of Chalais to induce him to see Richelieu, and to reveal the whole conspiracy.

The cardinal was writing in his closet, in company with one of his most devoted adherents, the Count de Rochefort —a protean genius, who was incessantly at work in the interests of his patron, under all ages, names, figures, and costumes. He was long-headed and courageous; and was, in one shape or other, involved in every state mystery; consequently, it is almost needless to add, that he was one of the most favored and confidential agents of the minister. When Chalais and De Valancé were announced on an affair of extreme importance, His Eminence made a sign to Rochefort, who retired behind a screen of tapestry that separated the chamber of the cardinal from the cabinet in which he was working; and the visitors were admitted as he disappeared.

Chalais was more dead than alive. He felt all the odium of his position; and his vain and haughty spirit was probably more stung by a consciousness of his personal disgrace, than his moral feelings were wounded by the enormity of his projected crime. In his first error there had been some shadow of courage; for, assassination as it was, the game which he had been about to play, if unsuccessful, involved his certain destruction; while that which he was about to commit, while it tended to insure his own security, periled that of those who had confided in his honor. As his eyes fell upon the cardinal, who, cold and pale and stern, was seated at the table, with his hand supporting his chin, and his glance occasionally wandering over the mass of papers heaped before him, he could not utter a syllable. It was accordingly De Valancé who undertook to lay before Richelieu all the details of the con

spiracy which had been formed against him. The countenance of the minister remained unmoved as he listened in silent attention to the narrative. No expression of either astonishment or indignation escaped him. He possessed in an eminent degree that passive courage which is the firmest defense of statesmen. No mask of wax could have continued more immobile; and, at the conclusion of the interview, there was almost a smile upon his lips as he thanked Chalais for his zeal, and begged him to return and visit him alone.

He was obeyed, and spared neither promises nor pledges to attach the young courtier to his interests. He flattered his self-love, and excited his ambition; while Chalais, conscious that he no longer merited the confidence and regard of his former friends, suffered himself to be seduced, upon the understanding that no steps should be taken by the minister against any of his late confederates. Richelieu conceded the point at once,* and then proceeded to inform the king of his discovery; demanding, in his turn, impunity for a conspiracy formed only against himself, and affecting in no degree the safety of his royal master. This was an able stroke of policy, for it permitted the minister to display less lenity, should he ever detect any of its members engaged in a plot likely to compromise Louis; while it impressed the mind of the king with the conviction, that the cardinal was more devoted to his individual interests than even to those which involved his own welfare. Moreover, it enabled Richelieu to accomplish a point which he had long desired; for when Louis, after having given the desired pledge, inquired in what manner the minister intended to act in this conjuncture, he replied, that he had already resolved upon his mode of action, but that having in his

* "This was the more easy to him, as the heads of the Duke d'Anjou, the Duke de Vendôme, and the Grand Prior, being all royal, they were not such as habitually fell under the ax of the executioner."—*Louis XIV. et son Siècle.*

service neither guards nor armed men, he would ask the king to lend him a detachment of his *gens d'armes*. Louis immediately authorized him to take sixty cavaliers; who arrived at Fleury in the night preceding the day fixed upon for the assassination, where they were at once concealed.

At four o'clock in the morning the officers of the kitchen to the Duke d'Anjou arrived at Fleury in their turn; stating that at the termination of the hunt their royal master would come to claim the hospitality of His Eminence; and that, in order to obviate all inconvenience, he had sent them forward to prepare the dinner. In reply, the cardinal informed them that both he and his *château* were entirely at the disposal of the prince, who had only to command whatever he might desire; and after this assurance, he immediately rose, dressed himself, and without apprising any one of his intention, he at once started for Fontainebleau to wait upon Gaston. It was eight o'clock when he arrived there; and the duke was already putting on a hunting-dress when the door of his room abruptly opened, and a valet de chambre announced His Eminence the Cardinal de Richelieu. It is probable that Gaston would, at any risk, have evaded this interview had it been possible, for, as his after-career amply proved, his courage was apt to fail in the face of danger, although at times he was capable of the most magnificent projects. He had also, upon this occasion, the consciousness of a projected crime to augment his repugnance as well as the natural distrust of discovery; which, in a secret already confided to so many individuals, could terminate only with the accomplishment of his purpose. There was, however, no possibility of retreat in the present instance, for the cardinal had followed closely upon the heels of his conductor; and when the prince turned toward the door to announce that he was not visible, his eyes met those of his unwelcome guest.

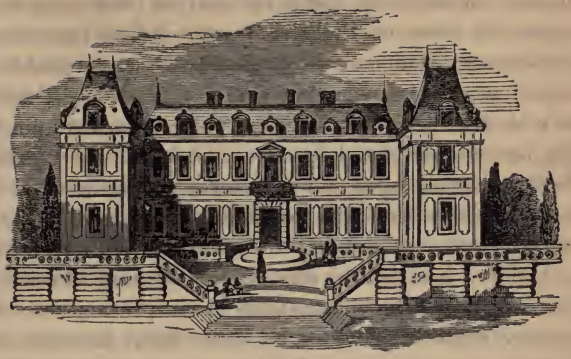
The bland smile of Richelieu contrasted strangely with

the agitation of the royal duke, who could scarcely command sufficient self-possession to utter a confused and hurried greeting; and his emotion sufficed to convince the cardinal of the truth of all that he had heard. Nevertheless he advanced into the room with a calm and dignified composure, well calculated to dispel the ready apprehensions of Gaston; who, gaining courage from desperation, was about to approach him, when the minister, with the same suavity in his voice which he had already exhibited in his features, declared that he had great cause of complaint against his royal highness. This assurance tended to renew all the terrors of the Duke d'Anjou, who inquired, in an unsteady accent, in what manner he could have incurred the displeasure of His Eminence?

The cardinal explained with increased courtesy, that he alluded to the circumstance, that when the prince had determined to honor him by his presence, and to dine under his roof, and that it would have afforded him the most heartfelt gratification to entertain so distinguished a guest to the best of his ability, he should have sent forward his establishment to prepare his repast; and the rather that he could only interpret this arrangement as conveying an inference that his royal highness desired to be relieved from all intrusion; and thus, in order that his pleasure should be fulfilled in all things, he now hastened to assure him that he had quitted the château in order that it might remain at the complete disposal of the prince and his friends, so long as he should honor him by making it available: and having terminated his address, the cardinal withdrew, wishing the duke a good day's sport.

Gaston was too wily to be duped by this excess of courtesy, and felt at once that he had been betrayed. He, consequently, feigned sudden indisposition, and the hunt was abandoned. He could not conceal from himself that Richelieu, already predisposed against him, would henceforward continue his implacable enemy; and he well knew

the power of the cardinal over the mind of the king, who had by this time become the mere tool of his imperious will. He was not deceived in his conjectures; for the minister, although he had displayed so much apparent magnanimity, was far from feeling the forbearance which he professed. He was aware of the whole extent of the danger by which he was menaced, and he felt that he was lost if he did not succeed in overthrowing at once the formidable league which the princes had formed against him. There might not always be a coward or a traitor in the ranks; and he had now acquired the bitter experience that his agents, numerous and active as they were, could not in every case protect him against the machinations of his enemies, by a premature discovery of their plots. His first care must therefore be to divide their interests; and that done, he felt no apprehension that he should be enabled to subjugate them individually.



CHAPTER III.

Question of the Duke d'Anjou's Marriage—Foresight of Gaston—Marie de Bourbon—Opposition—The Vendôme Princes—The Grand Prior—Alarm of Louis XIII.—The Cardinal and the Grand Prior—Insidious Advice—Departure of the Grand Prior for Brittany—Dissimulation of Louis XIII.—Repentance of Chalais—Affected Alarm of Richelieu—The Forty Mounted Guards—Triumph of the Cardinal—Arrest of the Vendôme Princes at Blois—The Count de Rochefort—The Capuchin Monastery at Brussels—The Plot at its Climax—Arrest, Trial, and Confession of Chalais—Marriage of the Duke d'Anjou—Madame de Chalais—Condemnation of her Son—Execution of Chalais—The Queen before the Council.

At this period the question became mooted of the marriage of the Duke d'Anjou, who received the proposition coldly, for his views in forming an alliance of this nature were by no means in accordance with those of the minister. He never for a moment lost sight of the possibility which existed. that he might one day inherit the throne of

France; and he was anxious to unite himself to a foreign princess, whose family might serve him as a support in his time of power, and whose country might afford a refuge in the event of adversity. It is certain that these were by no means the views of Richelieu; who desired that Gaston should marry Mademoiselle de Bourbon,* who would bring him an immense dowry, but who could not assist him in his ambitious projects. Still the cardinal urged upon the king the propriety, and in fact, necessity, of the alliance; which he based upon the continued, and now, as he expressed it, hopeless childlessness of Anne of Austria; an argument which renewed all the bitterness of Louis toward his queen. Nor was he slow in representing to the king the dangers which must ensue from providing for his brother, in another country, a haven whence he might defy his authority; and Louis XIII., although he had suffered all power to be wrested from him by one of his own subjects, was morbidly alive to the dread of appearing to have ceded his prerogative, and to the risk of being compelled to do so. The substance had escaped him, but he only grasped the more tenaciously at the shadow. The queen still clung to the interests of Spain, and this consciousness gave him continual uneasiness; a fact well known to the cardinal, and of which he dextrously availed himself to work upon the fears of Louis, while at the same time he widened the breach between the weak monarch and Anne of Austria.

On the other hand, Gaston, too unstable to resist the will of the minister, without support, summoned his friends about him, and created a party, which declared itself in favor of the foreign alliance, at whose head were Anne of Austria, the Grand Prior of France, and the Duke de Vendôme.

Richelieu soon acquainted Louis that these two princes

* Marie de Bourbon, daughter of Francis de Bourbon, Duke de Montpensier, &c., &c.

had resolved to prevent the alliance with Mademoiselle de Bourbon, and the king evinced great irritation at the intelligence, although, with the dissimulation which was natural to him, he did not permit it to appear in their presence. Before the cardinal, however, he affected no disguise, and the subtile minister understood, at once, that he had awakened a hatred of his brother in the heart of the king which would be unextinguishable. His greatest difficulty was, how to profit by this consciousness. The position of the Grand Prior was one of great influence and power—without calculating upon the traditional *prestige* which attached itself to him as the son of Henry IV.; while that of the Duke de Vendôme was still more formidable, inasmuch as he was not only the governor of Brittany, but might even pretend to the sovereignty of that province, in right of his wife, the heiress of the joint houses of Luxembourg and Penthièvre. It was rumored, moreover, that the prince was about to effect a marriage between his son and the eldest daughter of the Duke de Retz, who held two strong places in the province, and, consequently, Brittany, which it had been so difficult to attach to the crown, might again emancipate itself. The cardinal placed all these considerations under the eyes of the king. He showed him Spain entering France at the bidding of Anne of Austria, the German Empire marching upon the frontiers, on the invitation of the Duke d'Anjou, and Brittany in revolt at the first signal of the Duke de Vendôme.* And when Louis, alarmed by the possible perspective thus laid bare before him, eagerly inquired how such calamities were to be evaded, he was answered that the only remedy lay in the imprisonment of the two brothers.

There was, however, little hope of arresting both at the same time, and the minister well knew, that should he secure the person of one only, he must inevitably

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

create for himself an enemy whose power might ultimately overcome his own; but fortune was on the side of Richelieu. The princes, after the failure of the conspiracy of Fleury, had watched anxiously for some word or action which might betray a knowledge of their participation in the plot, on the part of those who were the most interested in its result, and finding that no allusion had been made to themselves calculated to excite suspicion, and that the power of Richelieu continued to increase, the Duke de Vendôme returned to his government, perfectly assured that the cardinal, although apprised of the danger to which he had been exposed, was ignorant of the identity of those who had participated in the plot; while the Grand Prior, strong in the same conviction, renewed his relations with the minister with greater apparent eagerness than he had ever before displayed. Richelieu met his advances in the same spirit; and so thoroughly was the prince duped by the seeming sincerity of the wily minister, that in a moment of overweening trust, he requested him to demand for him from the king the command of the naval forces.

The cardinal assured him, that should he not obtain it, the fact would arise from no opposition on his part; and after many cajoleries, all uttered with so perfect an appearance of sincerity and good faith, that the Grand Prior (aware, as he had every reason to be, of the hostility of the cardinal toward him and his) was unguarded enough to be deluded by the idea that the danger from which he had lately escaped, as if by the direct interposition of Providence, had shown Richelieu the necessity of securing the friendship and support of those whom he had hitherto defied. This mental sophistry consequently seated him on velvet with the minister, who had little difficulty in persuading him that the only obstacle likely to arise on the subject of his present request, would exist in the fact, that his brother had given great umbrage to

the king, by listening to the advice of persons inimical to his majesty, and that it was requisite he should first remove this impression, before he ventured to solicit any favor for himself.

Believing that if this were the sole impediment to his success, it was one which might be easily overcome, his immediate reply was an inquiry, if the cardinal would advise him to induce his brother to appear at court, in order to justify himself from these suspicions; to which Richelieu, seeing his earnest desire likely to be accomplished by this measure, answered in the affirmative, asserting that nothing could be more judicious than such a proceeding. Nevertheless, the Grand Prior, jealous lest the duke should incur any risk by leaving his government, and placing himself within the grasp of his enemies, upon his own account, desired to know if his brother would be guarantied from all danger, should he accede to his desire; to which inquiry the minister replied, once more, by remarking that every thing appeared propitious to his wishes; for that as the king was about to pass some time at Blois, in relaxation and amusement, he had only to start at once to Brittany, and explain the state of affairs to the duke, who, by meeting the court at that place, would be spared half the fatigue of the journey from his government, while, as regarded the required guaranty, it was for the king to offer it, who, most assuredly, would not refuse to do so.

It was then arranged that the Grand Prior should await, at his own hotel, the permission of an audience, after which he should forthwith start for Brittany. Nothing could be more amicable than the parting between Richelieu and his visitor, who left him, delighted with the change which had taken place in his feelings and manner, and in the belief that he should, ere long, become High Admiral of France.

Nor was he less gratified when he waited upon the

king, who received him with a gayety and familiarity which he did not commonly exhibit, talked to him of the pleasure which he anticipated at Blois, and invited himself and his brother to the hunts at Chambord.* The Grand Prior ventured to remind his majesty, that as the duke was aware that the royal anger had been excited against him, he would probably have some hesitation in leaving his government. The reply of Louis XIII. was worthy of his wily nature: "Let him come," he said, "let him come in all security; I give him my royal word that he shall not be worse used than yourself."

The Grand Prior asked no more, and, having taken a

* Chambord, a small town in the department of the Loir-et-Cher, is remarkable for a celebrated *chateau*, situated on the Cosson, at the distance of a league from the left bank of the Loire, and four leagues from the city of Blois. This *chateau* was built by the famous Primatice,* during the reign of Francis I., on the ruins of an ancient castle, which had belonged to the counts of Blois. Its architecture is in the style of the *renaissance;* the principal turret is of quadrangular form, and is flanked by four huge towers, and surrounded by a rectangular building, one of whose fronts is on a line with the turret, and of semi-gothic architecture. The *chateau* stands in the midst of a park of twelve thousand (French) acres, which is surrounded by a wall, and of great beauty. Francis I. made this his favorite residence. Louis XV. presented it to Marshal Saxe. Louis XVI. gave it, in 1777, to the Polignac family. In 1804, it was given as an endowment to the Legion of Honor; it was afterward constituted the principality of Wagram, in favor of Marshal Berthier, whose widow sold it, in 1820, in order that it might be offered to the Duke of Bourdeaux who is still its owner.

---

* Francis Primatice, a celebrated Italian painter, born at Bologna n 1490, of a noble family. He was the pupil of Innocenzia da Immola, and of either Bagna Cavallo or Ramenghi. The fine casts in stucco which he executed in the *chateau* of T at Mantua inspired a high idea of his genius. Francis I. invited him to France in 1540, gave him the abbey of Saint-Martin de Troyes, and intrusted him to complete, in Italy, one hundred and twenty-six busts or statues, and to have the molds of them made. These statues, cast in bronze, were placed at Fontainebleau, where the *chateau* was also enriched by his paintings. Appointed commissioner of the crown buildings by Henry II., and commissary-general of works throughout the kingdom by Francis II., he died, covered with honors, in 1570.

grateful leave of the monarch, he left Paris in all haste, to join his brother in Brittany.

So far the scheme of Richelieu had worked admirably; but he was by no means unconscious of the risk which he incurred by entering the lists against the three sons of Henry IV., and he therefore deemed it expedient, before he accompanied the king to Blois, to ascertain, without the possibility of error, the actual amount of power which he possessed over the mind of Louis. For this purpose he addressed a letter to the monarch, wherein he asserted, although in terms rather of condescension than of submission, that in serving his majesty he had never had any other aim than his royal glory, and the benefit of the state; that, nevertheless, he saw, with extreme grief, the court torn by faction, and France threatened with a civil war, upon his account; that he held his life as nothing, could its sacrifice serve his majesty; but that the continual danger in which he lived of being assassinated before the eyes of his sovereign, was a fate which a man of his character should more carefully avoid than any other; while so many strangers had access to his presence, that it was easy for his enemies to suborn some among them to destroy him. That should the king still, nevertheless, desire his services, he was ready to obey his will, as he had no other interests than those of the state; but that he merely begged him to consider one fact, which was, that his majesty would regret to see one of his faithful servants perish by such means, and with so little honor, while, at the same time, his own authority would appear to be treated with contempt. For this reason he very humbly requested the king to permit him to retire; by which concession, the disaffected, disconcerted in their views, would henceforward have no pretext of broil.

He also wrote in similar terms to the Queen-Mother, entreating her to solicit his retirement of the king;* but he

* Louis XIV et son Siècle.

well knew that his arguments were too specious to lead to such a result. With admirable diplomacy, he had started by threatening Louis with a civil war, the greatest and most deplorable evil which could happen either to himself or his kingdom; and he was only too well aware that he had so long accustomed the monarch to rely upon extraneous support, and had so unfitted him to act with energy and decision in such an emergency, that he had few misgivings of the result of his proceeding.

As he had anticipated, both Louis and Marie de Medicis were alarmed at his design; and the king so far permitted his apprehension to overcome his dignity, as to pay a visit to the crafty minister at his residence at Limours, for the purpose of entreating him not to abandon his post at the very moment when his services had become more than ever essential both to his sovereign and to the state. He promised him, moreover, if he would continue in office, the most stringent protection against, not merely his other enemies, but also against the Duke d'Anjou himself; promising to reveal to him, without any reserve, all complaints and accusations which might be made against him, without requiring any justification on his part; and offering him a guard of forty horsemen. The cardinal was now at the climax of his ambition. He saw the king, weak and powerless, in his hands—almost, indeed, at his feet; and had ascertained the means by which he could, in every contingency, secure the supremacy of his own power. Wherefore, after some coqueting, which added to the anxiety of Louis, and strengthened his own position, Richelieu suffered himself to be overcome by the entreaties of his sovereign; and declining with affected humility the armed guard which had been proffered to him, for reasons which require no explanation, he ultimately consented still to incur the peril of the assassin's steel, and the enmity of the Duke d'Anjou.

Delighted by his success, Louis did even more than he

had promised; for a few days afterward Gaston himself waited upon the cardinal; while even the Prince de Condé, whom he had on one occasion imprisoned in the Bastille, where he had remained for four years, sent to assure him of his entire devotion; and the minister received all these demonstrations with the calm civility of an individual who had ceased to interest himself in worldly greatness, and who was prepared to find that the sacrifice of his life must follow that of his liberty of action.

This comedy played out, the king started for Blois, having intrusted the government of Paris to the Count de Soissons.* At Amiens he was joined by the Queen-Mother and the Duke d'Anjou; while the cardinal had already preceded him, having, according to his usual practice, alledged his weak health as a reason for declining to remain at Blois with the court, and taking up his residence at Beauregard, a pretty villa within a league of the town. The next arrivals were those of the Duke de Vendôme and the Grand Prior, and nothing could be more encouraging or more urbane than their welcome by Louis, who proposed to them to accompany him on the morrow to a hunt. The brothers, however, excused themselves, alledging as an excuse the fatigue from which they suffered, having traveled post from Brittany. The reason was admitted; and the king, having embraced them both, took leave of them for the night. At four o'clock in the morning they were on their way to the castle of Amboise† as prisoners, having, an hour previously, been arrested in their beds; while the Duchess de Vendôme received at the same time an order to retire to her residence

* Louis de Bourbon, Count de Soissons, Grand Master of France, son of Charles, Count de Soissons, was born at Paris in 1604.

† This castle, which was very ancient, stands at the extremity of the town, and is built upon the summit of a rock. It is remarkable for two enormous towers, having each a spiral stair-case, so constructed in the interior, that a carriage can be driven to the top. It was built by Ingeldez, the first lord of Amboise, in 832, but was finally completed only toward 1450.

at Anet. The king had not broken his word: the two brothers shared the same fate.

The bad faith of the cardinal was made so evident by this double arrest, that Chalais, who had been, since the scene in the cabinet, in constant communication with the minister, and had informed him of all the movements of Gaston, immediately hastened to remind him of his promise; when the only satisfaction which he could obtain, was an assurance that the princes had not been imprisoned for their participation in the plot of Fleury, but for their opposition to the marriage of *Monsieur* with Mademoiselle de Bourbon. Chalais, who was aware that the Duke d'Anjou had no conspiracy in view save the very harmless one of securing a retreat from the hatred of the cardinal, who had not now to learn his repugnance to an alliance from which it did not require the dissuasions of the two princes to decide him, and whom Richelieu had affected, during their conferences, rather to pity than to blame, received this answer with a just appreciation of its truth; and, indignant at the dissimulation of which he had been made the dupe, and his associates the victims, he wrote to the cardinal after this interview, to inform him that he withdrew forever from his service; and as a proof of his sincerity he again attached himself to the party of Gaston, and renewed his intimacy with Madame de Chevreuse, who had returned to France. Nor was Gaston less indignant at the arrest of his two brothers; and, beginning to have apprehensions for his own safety, he forthwith commenced a serious search for some refuge, whence he might dictate his own conditions, as other princes had already done, who had been menaced with the power of the cardinal-duke. Anxious to compensate for the past, Chalais offered himself as a negotiator either between *Monsieur* and the malcontents among the nobility, or with any foreign princes likely to lend themselves to his views; and in furtherance of this project he accordingly wrote to the Marquis de la Valette who held Metz, to the

Count de Soissons who held Paris, and to the Marquis de Laisques, the favorite of the archduke, at Brussels.

La Valette refused, because Mademoiselle de Bourbon was his near relative; and that he had no inclination to prevent her marriage with a prince of the blood royal. The Count de Soissons sent a messenger to the Duke d'Anjou, to offer him five hundred thousand crowns, eight thousand infantry, and five hundred cavalry, if he would immediately join him in Paris.* The result of the appeal to Laisques will presently appear.

While this negotiation was pending, Louvigny, a cadet of the house of Grammont, requested Chalais to become his second in a duel with the Count de Candale,† with whom he had a quarrel on the subject of the Countess de Rohan to whom they both paid their court. He had, however, acquired a bad reputation from the fact that he had by unfair means killed his antagonist, Marshal Hocquincourt, in a former duel; and Chalais, who dreaded the repetition of such an adventure, refused in consequence; which so piqued Louvigny that he instantly hurried to the cardinal and told him, not only all he knew, but much that he did not know.‡ The extent of his actual information amounted to no more than that Chalais had written to the persons already named; and that which he asserted without authority was that Chalais had pledged himself to take the king's life, and that the Duke d'Anjou and his friends were to guard the door of the apartments during the perpetration of the crime, in order to assist him should he require their help. All these particulars the cardinal immediately committed to paper, and compelled Louvigny to sign.

Richelieu now had the game in his own hands. He cared not to implicate either the Count de Soissons or the Marquis de la Valette, because their disgrace could produce no latent advantage; but, with able management, much, he at

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

† Eldest son of the Duke d'Epernon. ‡ Bassompierre.

once felt, might be made of the accusation, against the Marquis de Laisques, in whose conspiration with the archduke the King of Spain might be involved; and the King of Spain, let it not be forgotten, was the brother of Anne of Austria. The plot was no longer against the cardinal only, it now included the king also; and the sword of Damocles hung above both their heads, poised by the same hair. Richelieu, in his secret soul, required no prompting fully to comprehend that the danger which now threatened Louis arose principally from the hatred that existed against himself; but it was not so much this consciousness which obliged him to exert his best energies to avert it, as the no less forcible conviction that the death of Louis XIII. would inevitably involve his own; and thus he lost no time in adopting measures to counteract this new conspiracy.

He at once dispatched Rochefort, his confidential agent, to Brussels, in the garb of a monk, giving him strict orders to watch every movement of the Marquis de Laisques; and his myrmidon had little difficulty in executing his commission; for, having affected a hatred of the cardinal in the presence of that nobleman, who resided in the monastery where he had taken up his temporary abode, every one about him was deceived; and the marquis among the rest, so thoroughly, that he requested him to return to France in charge of some letters which he was anxious to send by a safe hand, as they contained matters of importance. Rochefort affected great fear of the commission, which only rendered Laisques more urgent. Then he represented that he could not quit the convent without permission from the superior; but this objection was at once overruled by the marquis, who forthwith procured the indulgence for the supposed monk on the plea of his weak health, and he was authorized to proceed to Forges for the benefit of the waters. He then took possession of the letters; and had no sooner arrived at Artois than he wrote to the cardinal to inform him of the whole transaction.

Richelieu instantly dispatched a messenger, to whom Rochefort delivered the papers; and they were no sooner in the hands of the minister than he broke the seals, took copies of all their contents, and returned them to his agent, who immediately wrote from Forges to desire the person to whom they were addressed to come and receive them. This was an advocate named Pierre, who, on receipt of the summons, never doubting that he had fallen under the *surveillance* of the cardinal's police, started at once for Forges, and, without halting upon the road, arrived at his destination, received the packet from Rochefort, and returned with the same haste to Paris, where he alighted at the hôtel Chalais.

Upon these papers Richelieu founded his accusation; for, according to his showing, they contained the double project of the king's death, and the marriage of Anne of Austria with the Duke d'Anjou; a plot which fully explained the repugnance of the prince to an alliance with Mademoiselle de Bourbon.*

Chalais was accordingly accused of conniving with the wife and brother of the king to effect his assassination; and Louis, when the plot was imparted to him by the cardinal, wished instantly to arrest the prince, and to put the queen and the Duke d'Anjou upon their trial; but from this design he was dissuaded by his minister, who entreated him to suffer the conspiracy to ripen. Alarmed, nevertheless, lest Chalais should escape out of his hands, the king resolved upon a journey into Brittany, accompanied by the court; and the intended victim, without one suspicion of the fate that awaited him, followed with his fellow-courtiers.

Chalais had also written a letter to the King of Spain, in which he entreated him to conclude a treaty with the disaffected nobles of France; and the reply to this request followed him to Nantes, although it is probable that it had pre-

* Louis XIV et son Siècle.

viously passed through the hands of the minister. The day after its arrival he was arrested.

It is certain that the queen, as well as the Duke d'Anjou and Madame de Chevreuse, were aware of the nature of the letter received by Chalais; and although perfectly innocent of all designs against the life of the king—for they never dreamed that the accusation of the cardinal could extend so far—they were nevertheless conscious that they must be seriously compromised if the letter had been intercepted, as it was decidedly a conspiracy against the state when they invited the Spaniards to enter France.

The trial proceeded in vigorous silence; and the pleasures which the court had anticipated at Nantes gave place to gloom and apprehension. The queen supported her terror in silence, and made no effort to save herself from what she considered irremediable ruin; but Gaston was less self-possessed, and gave way to fits of passion and useless blasphemy; while Madame de Chevreuse, less timid than either, preserved both her activity and her courage, and endeavored on every side to create friends for the prisoner. No one, however, saw fit to incur the vengeance of Richelieu, by undertaking his cause; the arrest of the Vendôme princes had rendered them cautious.

Confronted with the fatal letters, Chalais at once admitted the validity of that of the Spanish king, but asserted that his own had been garbled. He declared that his dispatches to the Marquis de Laisques had made no allusion to the assassination of the king, nor to the marriage of his brother with Anne of Austria; and boldly added, that it was easy for a man, so clever as the cardinal, and so well supplied with secretaries, to render the most innocent writing a matter of life and death.

This fearless derogation embarrassed Richelieu; it was not enough for him to feel that the tribunal which he had himself formed would assuredly condemn Chalais. It was evident that the king's faith was shaken as to the extent of

his guilt; and if the cardinal did not succeed in proving the whole accusation against him, both the queen and the Duke d'Anjou must necessarily escape; and credulous as Louis continually proved himself, it was nevertheless essential to convince his judgment upon so important a question as this, which involved the safety of those nearest to his person. Moreover, three individuals still opposed the marriage between the Duke d'Anjou and Mademoiselle de Bourbon; and these were the Count de Barradas, who had succeeded Chalais himself in the favor of Louis; Tronson, his private secretary; and Sauveterre, his first valet-de-chambre; and these represented to his majesty the danger which existed in allying his brother with the Guises, who had long coveted the French throne; and suffering him, by the acquisition of such immense wealth, to rival himself in resources, when, in times of such discontent and ambition as the present, money made power.

Between the arguments of the cardinal, and those of his three favorites, Louis remained moody and irresolute, and Richelieu soon perceived that a great blow must be struck, or his vengeance would escape him. The same night he assumed the dress of a layman, and visited the dungeon of Chalais. He remained with the prisoner half-an-hour, at the expiration of which time he left the prison; and, late as it was, proceeded at once to the apartment of the king, whom he approached in silence, as he tendered to him a folded paper. This paper contained the confession of Chalais, and the accusation of the Duke d'Anjou and Anne of Austria of the crime laid to their charge. Louis was overpowered by its perusal, and besought his minister to pardon the doubts by which he had been beset; while the cardinal, satisfied with the success of his double denuncia tion, only replied by requesting his majesty's silence on the subject of the document which he had laid before him; and forthwith retired from the presence.

Gaston, more and more alarmed by the aspect of affairs,

again resolved to secure his safety by flight; but he knew not which way to turn. M. de la Valette had refused to receive him into Metz; he was suspicious of the Count de Soissons; and he had nothing left but La Rochelle. He accordingly attended the *lever* of the king, and requested permission to visit the sea-side. Louis replied, affectionately, that he had better apply to the cardinal upon the subject, but that, for his own part, he saw no objection to this little journey; and reassured very considerably by the manner of his brother, Gaston set out without delay to Beauregard, to secure the consent of the minister.

Richelieu received him with scrupulous respect; but, upon his stating the reason of his visit, he advised him to postpone his journey until after his marriage. Gaston pleaded the state of his health, and declared that sea air was essential to his recovery; upon which the cardinal, holding before his eyes the confession of Chalais, assured his royal nighness that he would there find a prescription more efficacious than any change of climate. The duke turned pale as he recognized the writing; and he had no sooner hastily perused the whole, than he declared himself ready to obey the will of the cardinal in all things. Upon finding that the united income of Mademoiselle de Bourbon and himself would amount to nearly 1,500,000 livres, he became more animated in the discussion, and finally stipulated that his consent should be consequent on the liberation of Chalais; but to this condition Richelieu would not consent, alledging that it was not his province, but that of the king, to pardon great criminals; and that there was no doubt his majesty would remit the execution of a gentleman for whom he had once felt so much affection.

Moreover, to the continued entreaties of the duke, he replied that he should himself regret the death of a person who had rendered him essential services; and that his royal highness might consequently rely upon his best energies in behalf of the prisoner, and dismiss all uneasiness on his account.

On the evening of the same day the duke was summoned to the presence of the king, where he found the Queen-Mother, the cardinal, and the keeper of the seals; and was apprehensive of arrest, but he was merely required to sign a paper. It was, however, of a very serious nature, for it set forth that he had received offers from the Count de Soissons; that the queen, his sister-in-law, had written him several letters to dissuade him from marrying Mademoiselle de Bourbon; and that the Abbé Scaglia, ambassador in Savoy, had also meddled in this intrigue. The name of Chalais was not mentioned. The timid prince obeyed, and renewed his promise to marry Mademoiselle de Bourbon, on condition that he should be allowed to go to Nantes. This was conceded; but a few days subsequently he was recalled in order that the marriage might be celebrated. Mademoiselle de Bourbon had already arrived, accompanied by her mother, the Duchess de Guise; who, although immensely rich, having been the heiress of the house of Joyeuse, gave her daughter only a single diamond as her dowry—but that diamond was valued at eighty thousand crowns!

The marriage was a melancholy one; and on the morrow, the prince departed for Chateaubriand, in order to escape from a town in which the trial of his confidant was about to be resumed. Meanwhile the mother of Chalais had arrived, and made several efforts to obtain an audience of the monarch, who resolutely refused to see her; and on the condemnation of her son—which shortly supervened, and by which he was condemned to lose his head, to be quartered, and his property confiscated to the king—she made a last effort, by writing to Louis one of the most affecting letters ever penned; but which produced for all result merely the commutation of that portion of the sentence that ordained the quartering of his body. In the depth of her despair she thought for a moment of throwing

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

herself upon the mercy of the cardinal; but she soon felt that in him there was no hope; and as a last resource she humbled herself to solicit the compassion of the executioners, of whom there were at that moment two in the city: the executioner of the king, and the functionary of Nantes. She sacrificed her gold and her jewels, as well as her pride, in this final effort of a mother's love; and the consequence of her success was fatal; for on the day of execution—after Chalais had recanted all the assertions which had been dictated by the cardinal himself, who had wrung them from him by a promise that his life should be spared; and had demanded to be confronted with Louvigny, who was his sole accuser, and whom he compelled to deny the truth of the accusations which he had advanced—his hour of suffering was delayed by the fact that both the executioners had disappeared. It was a short respite, however, for a rumor soon spread that a new headsman had been secured; and such was unhappily the case, for a soldier condemned to the gibbet had been prevailed upon, by the promise of free pardon, to do the work of death. Even to the last moment Madame de Chalais would not forsake her son, but walked with him to the very foot of the block: nor dare we further portray the tragedy of which she remained a spectator, than by stating that the unhappy wretch who had consented to pay such a price for the prolongation of his existence, overcome with horror at his unwonted task, only destroyed his victim at the twentieth stroke! When all was over, the supernatural strength of the bereaved mother still sufficiently supported her to enable her to exclaim as she rose from her knees:—"My God, I thank thee! I thought myself only the parent of a criminal, and I am the mother of a martyr!"

Individual history contains no bloodier page then that which records the execution of Chalais.

When the queen was summoned to the council to answer to the charges made against her, a simple stool only

was provided for her accommodation. Throughout the reading of the deposition of Louvigny, and the confession of Chalais, she preserved a resolute silence; but when she was reproached with having authorized the assassination of the king, in order that she might become the wife of the Duke d'Anjou, she raised her head, and answered with quiet scorn: "I should not have gained sufficient by the exchange." A reply which so wounded the spirit of the king, that to the latest hour of his existence he believed her guilty.

CHAPTER IV.

The Cardinal's Enemies—Projects of Buckingham—Death of the Duchess d'Orleans—The Count de Bouteville; his Duels—The Challenge—New Executions—The King before La Rochelle—Court Treachery—Arrest of Lord Montagu—Famine in La Rochelle—Tragical Death of Buckingham—Laporte in the Bastille—Renewed Banishment of Marie de Medicis—Self-Expatriation of the Duke d'Orleans—Destitution of the Duke d'Epernon and the Marquis de Vieuville—Execution of the Duke de Montmorency—Mazarin in France—The Siege of Landrecy—Birth of the Count de Guiche—The Duke de Grammont; his Father—The Triple Alliance—Private Marriage of Gaston d'Orleans with Marguerite of Lorraine—Estrangement of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria—Mademoiselle de la Fayette—Father Joseph—The 5th of December, 1637—Morality of Louis XIII.—Visit to the Louvre—Pregnancy of Anne of Austria—The Count de Chavigny—General Rejoicing—Indisposition of the Cardinal—The royal Hunts—Declining Health of Louis XIII.—The Cardinal and the Astrologer—Birth of Louis XIV.—The Swaddling-clothes—Poverty of Louis XIII.—Social Position of the Kingdom—Partial Reconciliation of the King and Queen—M. de Cinq-Mars—Birth of the Duke d'Anjou—Execution of Cinq-Mars and De Thou—Death of Marie de Medicis at Cologne—Fatal Indisposition of Richelieu; his Quarrel with Louis XIII.—The State Prisoners.

From this period Richelieu became the sovereign master of the kingdom. Little remained to embarrass his measures save the city of La Rochelle, which had been ceded to the Huguenots by Henry IV., at the time of the publication of the edict of Nantes. He was aware that it was there Gaston had latterly intended to take refuge; and he could not brook that any portion of the empire should be beyond the grasp of his authority. This city was, consequently, a perpetual subject of annoyance to the cardinal, who saw in it a hotbed of heresy, rebellion, and discord. The Duke de Soubise,* and his brother,† the Duke de

* Benjamin de Rohan, Seigneur de Soubise, was born about the year 1549. He first served in Holland, under Maurice de Nassau, and in 1621 he was appointed, by the Protestant Assembly held at La Rochelle, General-Commandant of the Provinces of Anjou, Brittany, and Poitou. Compelled to deliver up the town of Saint-John d'Angély, which he defended, he was soon set at liberty, and distinguished himself by many acts of bravery. He retired to England in 1629, where he died in 1641.

† Henry, Duke de Rohan, Prince de Léon, was the head of the Protestant party under Louis XIII., and was the eldest son of Réné, the second Vicomte de Rohan. Born at Blein, in Brittany, in 1579, he commenced his military career under Henry IV., who had adopted him, and would have been his successor on the throne of France, but for the birth of Louis XIII. Henry IV. created him a duke and peer in 1603, Colonel-General of the Swiss forces in 1605, and the same year married him to Marguerite de Bethune, the daughter of Sully. After the death of that monarch, he entered into a struggle with the court, and sustained three wars against Louis XIII. The first terminated in 1622, by a treaty of peace which confirmed the edict of Nantes, but which was soon violated. The second terminated in 1626, by a new peace. Hostilities then recommenced a third time; but Rohan compelled the court to sign (in 1629) the reëstablishment of the same edict. He then entered into negotiation with the Porte for the purchase of the island of Cyprus; became Generalissimo of the Venetians against the Imperialists; then General of the Grisons; and ultimately, dissatisfied with the French court, he attached himself to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, in whose service he was killed in 1638. He left only one daughter, Marguerite, who married Henry de Chabot, whose descendants took the name of Rohan-Chabot.

Rohan, were in London, and the minister had ascertained that the purpose of their voyage was to importune Charles I. to undertake the cause of the persecuted Protestants, in which appeal they were supported by all the zeal and importunity of Buckingham.

At home he had removed all immediate cause of uneasiness. Henry de Condé,* notwithstanding his royal blood, had passed three years in the Bastille,† and had never recovered the blow. The Grand Prior and the Duke de Vendôme were still prisoners; and for a time the cardinal had hesitated whether he should not put them upon their trial, and make them share the fate of Chalais; but one had pleaded his rights as a peer of France, and the other his knighthood of Malta, as exemptions, both of which were admitted, and the minister was compelled to satisfy himself with their transfer from the castle of Amboise to that of Vincennes. The Duke d'Anjou (who had, on his marriage, become Duke d'Orleans), immensely rich, and overwhelmed with minor titles, had, nevertheless, sunk into utter insignificance. Never before had he fallen so low. Detested by the king, despised by the nobility, and surrounded by spies, he scarcely deserved the name of an enemy. Not only his person, but even his conscience had been bought at a price; and the steps of his marriage-altar had been sprinkled with the blood of Chalais. The cardinal could, for once, afford to pity the work of his own hands. The Count de Soissons had preferred to owe his

* Henry II. de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, was born in 1588. He married, in 1609, Charlotte de Montmorency, to whom Henry IV. became tenderly attached. In consequence of this circumstance, he quarreled with the king, and left France, where he only returned after that monarch's death.

† It was during this period of imprisonment, which his wife, from whom he had been long estranged, insisted upon sharing with him, that she gave birth to Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, afterward Duchess de Longueville, and Louis II. de Condé, who became, subsequently, the Great Condé.

safety to his personal discretion; and, satisfied that he was compromised, by his proposals to Gaston, beyond all hope of pardon, he had quitted Paris on the pretext of indisposition, and had crossed the Alps to Turin; and thus La Rochelle alone remained, as we have before remarked, to thwart the power of Richelieu.

Meanwhile, the king, who had been jealous of Anne of Austria with his brother, became more cold to her after her adventure with Buckingham; and from the period of the trial of Chalais exhibited toward her not merely suspicion, but even hate. Her only consolation was in a correspondence which she continued to maintain with the English duke, sometimes through the medium of Laporte,* but more frequently through that of Madame de Chevreuse, whom Richelieu had exiled from the court, and who had retired to her husband's principality of Lorraine.

It was at this period that the queen received intelligence of the speedy reappearance of Buckingham in Paris, whither he declared himself to be on the point of returning on a new embassy; but this measure by no means entered into the views of the cardinal, who, on the first hint of such a project, sent a formal message from Louis to forbid the advent of the duke at the French court: which, says Ryder, so exasperated Buckingham, that "he swore he would see the queen in spite of the whole power of France;"† and forthwith he decided upon exciting a war between the two countries.

We do not purpose entering upon the details of the short struggle which ensued; suffice it that Buckingham, anxious to revenge himself upon both the king and the cardinal, commenced his operations by causing a misunderstanding

* After the affair of Amiens, Laporte had, as we have stated, fallen into disgrace with the monarch, and been dismissed from the service of the queen, who obtained for him an ensigncy in the gendarmes of her guard.

† Ryder's *England.*

between Charles I. and his queen, which terminated in the dismissal of all the French portion of her household. Much, however, as both Louis and his minister felt this evidently premeditated insult, Richelieu resolved that it should not involve him in a premature war. Disappointed in his first attempt, Buckingham next permitted, and even encouraged, the English ships-of-war and privateers to intercept vessels belonging to the French merchants, which he immediately condemned as lawful prizes.*

Serious as these aggressions certainly were, the cardinal was not yet satisfied; and he accordingly substituted remonstrances for reprisals, until a public declaration on the part of England in favor of the Huguenots, should afford him the means of becoming master of La Rochelle. The result of this diplomacy is matter of European history, and we therefore hasten to regain the current of our less general narrative.

The royal troops had scarcely marched upon La Rochelle, when the young and beautiful Duchess of Orleans gave birth to a daughter† at the price of her own existence; and thus the fairest, and apparently the firmest, hope of the French nation was suddenly blighted; and this misfortune was still new and unfamiliar to the public mind, when it was once more disturbed by the execution of the Count

* Ryder.

† Anne-Marie-Louise d'Orleans, known as MADEMOISELLE, and LA GRANDE MADEMOISELLE. Capricious, intriguing, and impetuous, but nevertheless full of a truly royal courage, she attached herself to the party of the princes during the wars of the Fronde, and took possession of the city of Orleans, in the year 1652, accompanied only by two of her ladies. On the 2d of July, when the Frondeurs were in possession of Paris, she turned the cannon of the Bastille against the troops of Louis XIV.; an act for which he never forgave her. Retired to her estate of Saint-Fargeau, she wrote the Memoirs of her life. She obtained, in 1669, the royal permission to marry the Count de Lauzun; but this was afterward withdrawn, and she consoled herself by a private marriage. She died in 1693.

de Bouteville.* This nobleman, who had taken refuge in the Low Countries, from the consequences of two-and-twenty duels in which he had been engaged, and was bold enough to return to Paris, and to challenge the Marquis de Beuvron in the middle of the Place Royale, notwithstanding the severe ordinances of the king against this vice, which he was anxious to suppress. There can be no doubt but De Bouteville believed that his birth would protect him against any extreme measure; he had, however, miscalculated the risk which he thus voluntarily incurred, for he was arrested at Vitry, and imprisoned in the Bastille, as well as his second, the Count des Chapelles, who had previously killed his adversary, the brave Bussy d'Amboise, in the same manner; and finally, both the criminals were executed at Grève, despite all the efforts made by the first and noblest houses in France to obtain a remission of their sentence; while it is one of the most extraordinary features of the rule of Richelieu, that all this proud and turbulent nobility, who drew their swords upon the slightest pretext, not only permitted the execution, but witnessed it without one effort to revenge their order. The panic was universal. Some solution of this mystery is, nevertheless, afforded by the fact, that at the particular moment of its occurrence Louis was rallying around him all the nobles of his kingdom, whom he had declared his intention of leading in person against La Rochelle.

We shall not, however, follow the king to the siege, but confine ourselves to circumstances more intimately connected with the court. Buckingham, who had sown dissension between two great nations, had done so only in furtherance of his romantic passion for Anne of Austria; but the effects of his rashness were nevertheless calculated

* Francis de Montmorency, Count de Bouteville, was governor of Senlis, and acquired great renown by his skill and intrepidity as a duelist. He was the son of Louis de Montmorency, and the father of the celebrated Marshal Luxembourg.

to be extensive and important. He had first sought to embroil France with England, which point he had already accomplished; while, by another ramification, he sought to produce an alliance between Charles I. and the Dukes of Lorraine, Savoy, and Bavaria, as well as the Archduchess who governed Flanders in the name of Spain; and this intrigue, which had been prepared by Madame de Chevreuse in her exile, Buckingham had intrusted to his most clever confidant and most trustworthy agent, the Lord Montagu.

The cardinal was not idle, however; and he possessed agents as sure, and confidants as secret, as those of his adversary; and thus Buckingham had no sooner completed his scheme than it was in the hands of Richelieu, who forthwith submitted it to the king; being at the same time careful to impress upon his mind, that all these present and pending troubles were alike attributable to the mutual passion of Anne of Austria and the English duke; an assurance which by no means rendered the announcement of this new difficulty more palatable to Louis, whose aversion to the queen grew daily more decided.

The consequences of the cardinal's ill offices were soon painfully apparent to the queen; for, on her hastening from Paris to Villeroi, in order to attend the sick-bed of the monarch, who had been arrested on his way to La Rochelle by severe indisposition, she was informed by M. d'Humières, his first groom of the chamber, that His Majesty had strictly forbidden all entrance to his apartment; but that, as it was impossible the king could have included Her Majesty in the prohibition, being even unaware of her arrival, he should venture to infringe upon his orders. He did so accordingly; and ten minutes afterward Anne of Austria left the sick-room drowned in tears, and M. d'Humières received an order immediately to leave the court.

The queen only returned to Paris to learn the arrest of

Lord Montagu, whom the agents of Richelieu had tracked from the frontier, and among whose effects they had discovered the secret dispatches of Buckingham; and her terror was extreme, lest he should moreover have been the bearer of a letter to herself, which had also passed into the possession of the cardinal. In this extremity she remembered Laporte, and succeeded, through his medium, in ascertaining that her name had not been mentioned in the dispatches, nor had any letter been forwarded to herself. From the fortress of Coiffy, where he had first been lodged, Lord Montagu was subsequently removed to the Bastille; but he made the journey well mounted, and with every appearance of liberty, save that he was well guarded, and deprived of both sword and spurs.

Meanwhile, the garrison of La Rochelle were reduced to a state of fearful famine, and the Duchess de Rohan and her daughter had set a noble example, by confining themselves to a portion of horse-flesh and five ounces of bread daily between both; but even this miserable diet, meager and repugnant as it was, could not be attained by the mass of wretched beings who had sought refuge in the city; and at length, between two and three hundred men, and as many women, unable longer to contend against their sufferings, and driven to desperation, resolved to venture forth, and to throw themselves upon the mercy of the king. They did not, however, understand the vindictive nature of Louis; who, exasperated by the refusal of the city to surrender, immediately issued an order that the men should be stripped naked, and the women denuded to their under garment, and afterward flogged back to the walls from whence they had just emerged; a command which was so effectually obeyed, that the unfortunates found themselves once more at the gate of the besieged city, sinking from famine, perishing with cold, and wounded and bleeding from the blows they had received, only to be refused readmission to the wretched haven they had abandoned. In this condition

they remained during three days and nights; but, eventually, the gate was flung open, and they were permitted again to share the misery of their fellow-sufferers.

After this occurrence, the besieged felt that there was no clemency to be anticipated from the king, and they continued to hold the city with all the tenacity of despair, still trusting to the arrival of the fleet announced to them from England, when the news of Buckingham's assassination crushed their last glimmer of hope; and, accordingly, the city capitulated on the 28th of October, 1628, after sustaining a siege of eleven months; during which time, the number of persons who had been shut up in the town had diminished, through famine and hardship, from fifteen thousand to four thousand.*

On his return to Paris, Louis hastened to the queen, and, unaware that the news had already reached her, proceeded to inform her of the death of Buckingham, which he did in terms of self-gratulation, well calculated to imbitter her feelings toward himself. She, therefore, outraged by this premeditated insult, disdained all dissimulation, and, shutting herself up with those of her immediate circle, made no effort to conceal her grief. A rupture between the royal pair was the inevitable consequence of this mutual spirit of defiance, which endured throughout the ten following years; envenomed, moreover, by the death of M. de Montmorency, the war with Spain, in 1635, and the secret intelligence between Anne of Austria and M. de Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador. The faithful Laporte was the victim of this intelligence, and was consigned to the Bastille for his participation in the correspondence.

About two years after the capture of La Rochelle, Marie de Medicis once more fell into disgrace, and was banished from France. This exile of the widow of Henry IV. caused great dissension at court, and at the head of the malcontents was the Duke of Orleans, who had violent words with the

* Ryder.

king upon the subject; and not being able to prevail against the influence of Richelieu, subsequently left the country, and joined the army in Flanders. Shortly afterward a Chapter of the Order was held at Fontainebleau, where the Duke d'Epernon and the Marquis de Vieuville were stripped of its insignia, and had their banners torn down and broken, in consequence of their having followed his fortunes. The Duke de Montmorency* fared still worse; for, after having assisted Gaston to raise Lower Languedoc, he was beaten at Castelnaudry by Schomberg, received two pistol-wounds, and was taken prisoner (1632), conveyed to Toulouse, where he was tried, and finally executed on the 30th of October. The reconciliation of the king with his brother was delayed by the ambition of the cardinal, who insisted that, as a condition of his pardon, he should be required to break off his projected marriage with Marguerite of Lorraine, and marry his niece (afterward Madame d'Aiguillon); but this concession was not made.†

* Henry, the second duke, born at Chantilly, in 1595. He had for his sponsor Henry IV.; was appointed admiral in 1612, and knight of the Holy Ghost in 1619. He succeeded his father in the government of Languedoc; and in 1629 in Piedmont, where, serving as a lieutenant-general, he gained the battle of Veillane, carried the siege of Casal, and received the *bâton* of a marshal. He was the last scion of the elder branch of the Montmorencys.

† Madame d'Aiguillon was the niece of the cardinal, and was suspected of also being his mistress. In 1620, she had married Anthony Dubourg de Combalet, toward whom her aversion was extreme; and when he was killed in the war against the Huguenots, she consequently made a vow never to take a second husband, and to wear thenceforward the habit of a Carmelite. Although she had barely attained her twenty-sixth year, she dressed like a woman of fifty, wore a robe of serge, and never raised her eyes. She was dresser to the Queen-Mother, about whose person she performed her duties in this extraordinary costume; but the cardinal her uncle becoming more and more powerful, she began to allow a few curls to be seen, wore ribbons on her dress, and finally substituted silk for serge. Richelieu having been appointed prime minister, many suitors offered themselves to the fair widow; but all were rejected, although their number comprised M. de

In 1631–2, the name of Mazarin first made itself conspicuous in France. At twenty years of age he had entered the service of the Cardinal Bentivoglio, who was so powerfully impressed by his extraordinary talents that he presented him to Cardinal Barberino; and the introduction is worthy of remark, from a coincidence which was probably not altogether accidental. "Monseigneur," said his patron, as he led forward the young Jesuit, "I am under heavy obligations to your illustrious family; but I consider that I cancel them all by giving you this young man." It was in similar words that Mazarin himself afterward presented his successor, Colbert, to Louis XIV.

From this period the young Italian rose rapidly. Supported by so powerful a recommendation, he was intrusted with several minor negotiations, which he conducted with so much talent as to insure him more important employment; and finally, when, in 1629, Louis XIII. compelled the separation of the Duke of Savoy from the Spaniards, by forcing the pass of Suza, Cardinal Sachette, who was the Pope's representative at Turin, returned to Rome, leaving Mazarin with the title of Internuncio, and full powers to conclude the peace.

His new duties compelled the young diplomatist to undertake several journeys, one of which founded his fortune. He went to Lyons in 1630, was presented to Louis XIII., who was then in that city, and subsequently had an interview of two hours with Richelieu; who was so delighted with a conversation in which the clever Italian had display-

Brézé, M. de Bethune, and the Count de Sault, afterward the Duke de Lesdiguières. It is, however, asserted, that the cardinal, through jealousy, prevented her second marriage. She was, nevertheless, near forming an alliance with the Count de Soissons; and the match failed only on account of the low rank of her first husband. Reports were prevalent that she had, notwithstanding, become the mother of four children, whose paternity was ascribed to Richelieu. In 1638, the cardinal purchased for her the Duchy of Aiguillon, of which she assumed the name.

ed all the resources of his mind, that he immediately resolved to attach him to his own interests; and the result of his determination restored Mazarin to Italy, entirely devoted to the French cause. In 1634 Richelieu caused him to be made vice-legate of Avignon. In 1639 he was sent to Savoy as ambassador-extraordinary; on the 16th of December, 1641, he was created a cardinal; and on the 25th of the following February he received the hat from Louis's own hands.*

In 1637, while the French forces under the command of the Cardinal de la Valette and the Duke de Veymar were about to besiege Landrecy, the Duke de Grammont,† who was serving as a lieutenant-general under those distinguished leaders, was, on one occasion, when leaving the council-tent, greeted with the intelligence that he was the father of a son, upon which he immediately obtained permission to absent himself for a few days from his post, in order to assist at the baptism of the Count de Guiche, his heir. The sponsors of the infant were the Cardinal de Richelieu and the Duchess d'Aiguillon; and the ceremony was no sooner terminated, than the duke at once returned to the camp.

Both gallantry and ambition would have urged De Grammont to a career of military glory, even had he not recognized any still stronger impetus; but such was far from being the case. Reared, as he had been, under the immediate eye of Louis XIII., and feeling toward him, as he did, almost the affection of a son, he never forgot that he was, in all probability, indebted to the monarch for his life, the king having withdrawn both himself and his brother, the

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

† Anthony, Duke de Grammont, was the descendant of an ancient family, and distinguished himself under both Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. The latter monarch appointed him Marshal of France. He died in 1678, at the age of seventy-four years. The Duke de Grammont was as witty as he was brave; and left behind him his personal memoirs, containing his negotiations in Spain and Germany.

Chevalier de Grammont,* from the authority and guardianship of their father (Anthony, the second of the name); who, having become satisfied of the infidelity of his wife (the daughter of the Duke de Roquelaure), exerted the right of High and Low Justice† attached to his principality of Bidache, and having tried and condemned her, at once struck off her head, before the messengers of the monarch had time to arrive and solicit her pardon.

This adventure, which threatened to introduce a renewal of the barbarous customs of the middle ages, caused Louis to apprehend that the ferocious husband might become one day an equally savage father, and revenge upon his children the crime for which he had murdered their mother; and therefore, acceding to the prayers of the Dukes of Roquelaure, he ordered the self-constituted widower to send his sons to court, in order that they might be brought up and educated under his special care.

The devoted attachment of De Grammont for the king was well known to Richelieu, who considered all individuals capable of such sentiments merely as noble dupes, who might be rendered extremely valuable to those possessed of their regard and confidence; and thus he did not fail to pay his court to Louis, by attaching himself to his

* Philibert, the Chevalier de Grammont, of whom Anthony Hamilton wrote the celebrated Memoirs. He also acquired considerable celebrity in arms; and was, between his frequent periods of exile from the court, very welcome to Louis XIV., from the attractions of his ready wit and fertile imagination. He died in 1707.

† There existed formerly in France, as a seigneurial privilege, the right of exercising what was called respectively the right of High, Central, and Low Justice. High Justice was the possession of power to condemn to death, save in cases where the criminal was of the blood royal, which at once removed him from such jurisdiction. Central Justice was that of deciding actions between guardian and ward, and awarding damages not exceeding sixty sous. Low Justice recognized the fines due to the noble for the trespasses of cattle, and injuries to property, for which the fine did not exceed seven sous six deniers. —*Saint-Laurent.*

protégé, on whom, after his eminent services at the siege of Mantua, he bestowed advanced rank, and the hand of one of his nieces, on the same day that he married two others to the Duke d'Epernon and the Duke de Puilaurens.

The ceremonials of this triple alliance were so magnificent, that they long afforded a subject of conversation to all the court; but they were fortunate only to the Duke de Grammont; for the Duke d'Epernon, whose haughty temperament irritated the cardinal, was shortly afterward compelled to exile himself from the capital; and the Duke de Puilaurens also died in prison.*

While his father was absent with the army, Armand de Guiche was reared under the eye of Richelieu, and became almost the foster-child of Anne of Austria; she had just given birth to Louis XIV., and she saw in the young Count de Guiche the same happy dispositions which she recognized in her own royal infant.

Meanwhile the marriage of the Duke d'Anjou with the Princess Marguerite of Lorraine had taken place. He had first seen her during his residence in that province, when she was only fourteen years of age, and became so much enamored of her person, that he resolved to ask her hand from M. de Vaudemont, her father, who immediately consented to the proposal, merely warning him to conceal his intention from the Duke of Lorraine, her brother, as he was aware that he would refuse his consent; and conse-

* "As soon as I learned the return of *Monsieur* to France," says MADEMOISELLE, "I went to Limours to meet him. I was only four or five years old when he left. Having discovered that, on account of my extreme youth, I had not been invited to a *ballet* given by the king and queen, and that I wished to dance in one, he assembled some of the young people of the court of both sexes, to form the figure, where I greatly amused myself. Nevertheless, I was grieved that they profited by this opportunity to arrest M. de Puilaurens, the favorite of *Monsieur;* whom the cardinal, in token of reconciliation, had married to his niece. He was arrested at the Louvre, and carried a prisoner to Vincennes, where he died suddenly, a death of which the cardinal was accused."—*Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier*

quently, in order to preserve the secret, with the consent of the Princess Marguerite, he married her privately in a Benedictine convent, at seven o'clock in the evening, in presence only of M. de Vaudemont, Madame de Remiremont his sister, M. Morel, the natural brother of His Royal Highness, Puilaurens, the governess of the Princess Marguerite, and the Benedictine father who united them.*

Return we, however, to the king and his royal consort. At the period of the birth of the Count de Guiche (1637), Louis XIII. was almost entirely estranged from the queen, whom he saw only at infrequent intervals, when he was compelled to this cold and reluctant companionship by the necessities of state ceremony; all confidence was at an end; and they lived on in a state of moral warfare, which encouraged the hopes of the cardinal, and appeared to realize the ambitious yearnings of the Duke of Orleans. The prayers (or *neuvaines*) offered up by the queen for the cessation of her childlessness had failed in their effect; and she had abandoned herself to the belief that she was destined to wear out her life in bitterness of spirit, and that isolation of heart which can only be appreciated by those who, like herself, are born with quick feelings and susceptible imaginations. The monarch had, however, relieved his mental *ennui* by attaching himself to Mademoiselle de la Fayette,† whose favor might have endured to an indefinite period, had she possessed sufficient good sense to abstain from all interference in state

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

† Louise Motier de la Fayette was descended from an ancient Auvergnat family. At the age of seventeen, she entered the household of Anne of Austria, as a maid of honor, where she soon attracted the attention of Louis XIII., who became attached to her. The virtue of Mademoiselle de la Fayette remained, however, unimpeached; and she exerted her whole influence over the mind of the king to effect a reconciliation between himself and her royal mistress. She died in the convent of Chaillot, of which she was the founder, in 1665.

affairs; but Father Joseph,* with whom she was connected through her mother, Marie Motier de Saint-Romain,† having induced her to enter into a cabal against the cardinal, whom that ambitious monk was anxious to supplant in the royal favor, all tranquillity and happiness were at an end both for her royal admirer and herself. Contrary to his usual custom, Richelieu made no overt attempt to separate Louis and his favorite; but, by bribing the confidential valet-de-chambre of the king, he succeeded in obtaining and falsifying their letters; until, on the eve of a rupture, an explanation took place between them, which revealed the enmity of the minister, and so terrified the fair maid of honor, that she hastened to take refuge in the convent of the Visitation; and, despite all the entreaties of the king, she refused to return to the world, which she finally renounced in the spring of 1637.

Although the affections of Louis were no longer in the sole keeping of his cloistered favorite, whom Mademoiselle d'Hautefort, another of the maids of honor to the queen, had superseded, he could not forego her occasional society, which had become necessary to him from habit; and it was one of his visits to this lady which changed the destinies of France. On the evening of the 5th of December in the year just named, the monarch left his retreat of

* A Capuchin monk, the confidant of Richelieu; commonly called His Gray Eminence, to distinguish him from the cardinal, who was known as His Red Eminence.

† Marie Motier de Saint-Romain was the daughter of M. de Saint-Romain, ambassador in Switzerland, upon the occasion of whose decease, in 1694, Madame de Sévigné exclaims, in a letter to Madame Guitaud:—"The death of M. de Saint-Romain frightens me; there does not appear to have been the interval of a moment between his harsh and irreligious life and his demise. What can be addressed to God in favor of such a philosopher? As for me, I can think of nothing but what St. Augustin once said of a monk who had abjured Christianity,—that he was not with us, for had he been with us, &c. You know the rest."

Grosbois,* where he was then residing, and drove to the convent, where Mademoiselle de la Fayette had taken the veil under the name of Sister Angelica.

One of the prerogatives of royalty in all Romanist countries is that of entering into the monastic houses of both sexes, and conversing freely with their cloistered tenants; and consequently no impediment was raised to the continued intercourse of the king with his old favorite. Moreover, the visits of Louis XIII. entailed no scandal upon either the novice or her community, as it was well known that the preference of that monarch never exceeded the bounds of principle and honor; and that the son of Henry IV. and the father of Louis XIV. could be accused neither of imitating the libertinism of the first, nor of prompting the licentiousness of the last. On this occasion Louis remained closeted with Sister Angelica for four hours; and, on leaving the convent, he availed himself of the pretext of a sudden storm which had gathered during his visit, to drive to the Louvre instead of returning to Grosbois. On his arrival at the palace he at once proceeded to the apartments of the queen, who received him with an astonishment which she did not endeavor to disguise, and whose guest he remained until the morrow, ere he returned to his retreat. Four months subsequently the pregnancy of Anne of Austria was publicly announced, and created universal surprise and gratulation.

Before the event became generally known, however, the queen summoned M. de Chavigny,† of whose attachment she was assured, and commissioned him to bear these

* Near Fontainebleau.

† Léon Boutheillier, Count de Chavigny, was the reputed son of Claude Boutheillier, Superintendent of Finance; but was commonly reported to be the natural child of the Cardinal Richelieu, who treated him with extraordinary favor, and zealously promoted his interests. He was, for a short period, secretary of state under Louis XIII., and subsequently minister of state, and a member of the council during the Regency.

unhoped-for tidings to the king; and to request him at the same time, on so happy an occasion, to grant her the liberation of Laporte.

The joy of Louis equaled his astonishment; and after having conceded the pardon of her faithful servant, he hastened to the apartments of Anne of Austria to offer his congratulations, and to receive her own. Richelieu was, perhaps, the only individual throughout France who did not participate in the general rejoicing. Much as he hated Gaston, he hated the queen still more; and after all the efforts that he had made to estrange her from the king;—efforts, moreover, which had been only too successful, for the minister was singularly able in overlaying with his own passions the heart of his royal but subjugated master; to which fact he owed much of his greatness, for the secret of his supremacy lay in that consummate, although questionable talent;—after all these efforts, he saw the whole superstructure which he had built upon that estrangement, suddenly crumble into dust before these unexpected tidings; and the chagrin which he felt, without being able to disclose it, so affected his health that he became ere long at intervals seriously indisposed.

That he did not, however, yield without an effort, either to his annoyance, or its results, may be gathered from the memoirs of La Grande Mademoiselle; who states that she was invited to St. Germain after the distrust of the cardinal had been overcome (he having shown himself unwilling that any one in the interests of the Duke d'Anjou should be about the queen), and then proceeds thus: "The court was very agreeable at that time, and the love of the king for Madame d'Hautefort, to whom he endeavored to make himself agreeable by the entertainments which he every day gave to her, contributed greatly to make it so. Hunting was one of the king's greatest pleasures; we often went with him . . . . We were all dressed in colors, mounted on handsome hackneys richly caparisoned: and

to protect us from the sun, wore hats covered with feathers The chase was always directed toward the neighborhood of some handsome houses, where we found good collations, and on our return the king seated himself in my coach between Madame d'Hautefort and me. When he was in a good-humor he talked to us very agreeably on every subject. He permitted us at that time to speak very freely of the Cardinal of Richelieu, and as a sign that it did not displease him, he spoke of him in the same way. As soon as we reached home we went to the queen's apartments . . . . The king was sometimes in so gallant a humor, that, at the collations which he gave us in the country, he would not sit down to table, but waited upon nearly all the party, although his attention was only intended for one person. He ate afterward; and did not affect to have more politeness for Madame d'Hautefort than for others, so fearful was he that his gallantry should be remarked. When they had any misunderstanding, the amusements were suspended; and if, during these intervals, he visited the queen, he did not speak to any one, and no one ventured to address him; he sat in a corner, where generally he yawned, and went to sleep. It was a melancholy which chilled every one; and while it lasted, he passed his time in writing down all that he had said to Madame d'Hautefort, and all that she had answered; a thing so true, that at his death there were found in his desk long accounts of all the quarrels that he had had with his mistresses; to whose praise, as well as his own, be it said, that he had never loved any who were not perfectly virtuous." *

But despite all these festive demonstrations, the queen was far from tranquil. The health of Louis was declining from day to day; the tomb appeared to be yawning for both him and his minister; and Anne of Austria watched in anxious terror the progress of this double decay. She

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

knew that should Richelieu survive his sovereign only six months, she would be lost if childless; and eager to satisfy herself, in advance, of the fate of the infant to which she was about to give life, she accordingly determined, with the superstition common to that age, to cause its horoscope to be drawn by an able astrologer at the moment of its birth. That she should bear a son she did not suffer herself to doubt; and having expressed her wishes to the king, he, in his turn, confided the care of discovering the required astrologer to the cardinal.

Richelieu, although his own experience might have taught him that human will has more power over human fate than the stars can ever claim, was no less credulous upon the subject of occult lore than others of that day; and having some previous knowledge of a certain seer, named Campanella, he immediately dispatched a messenger to command his presence. Campanella had, however, left France; but the minister succeeded in tracing him to the dungeons of Milan, where he was awaiting his trial as a sorcerer, having been seized by the Italian Inquisition, and whence he had little difficulty in obtaining his release.

Anne of Austria was sojourning at St. Germain-en-Laye when her hour of trial came; where she occupied the pavilion of Henry IV., of which the windows opened upon the river. The public excitement was so great that many persons who could not procure accommodation at St. Germain, or whose private affairs detained them in Paris, had, as the period of the queen's *accouchement* approached, stationed messengers upon the high-road to the capital, in order to have the earliest intelligence of the result; while every avenue to the palace was thronged with grave and anxious faces.

Early on the 5th of September, Louis XIII. was summoned to the chamber of the queen; when he immediately commanded the presence of the Duke of Orleans, the Princess de Condé, and the Countess de Soissons; but he

forbade ingress to the sick-chamber to every other person except Madame de Vendôme, to whom it was accorded as a personal favor, and the ladies who were in attendance upon the royal invalid. The three bishops of Lisieux, Meaux, and Beauvais, took their station in an adjoining room; and in the one opposite were assembled all the officers of state, and the ladies of rank who had the privilege of entrance.

At length the king was greeted with the welcome intelligence that he was the father of a Dauphin; and in the excess of his joy, he took the royal infant from the hands of the nurse, and approaching the window, exhibited him to the crowd, exclaiming as he did so, "A son! gentlemen, a son!"

The satisfaction of the spectators broke forth in a loud cry of triumphant delight; and the happy monarch forthwith carried the new-born prince into the apartment where the bishops were assembled round a temporary altar, putting up prayers for the happy issue of the queen's deliverance; when it was immediately baptized by the Bishop of Meaux, in presence of all the great dignitaries of the kingdom. A Te Deum was then chanted in the castle chapel; after which the king wrote an autograph letter to the corporation of Paris, which was dispatched on the instant.

The rejoicings which took place throughout the capital exceeded all that had ever before been witnessed; and amid these the Jesuits were conspicuous in their demonstration. The foreign ambassadors vied with each other alike in expense and invention, and the enthusiasm of the people was at its height.

The cardinal, who was in Picardy, wrote to congratulate the monarch, and to suggest that the Dauphin should be named Theodosius, or God-given, as an earnest of his future glory; he also dispatched a letter of felicitation to the queen, but it was cold and brief.

Meanwhile the astrologer Campanella had arrived in France, and was invited to proceed with his task without delay. At first he endeavored to excuse himself, aware of the danger to which such a responsibility must expose him; but as his excuses were not admitted, and he was commanded to speak the truth fearlessly, he ultimately, after the usual precautions, announced that his combinations had informed him that "the infant would be as luxurious as Henry IV., and of conspicuous haughtiness. That his reign would be long and laborious, although not without a certain happiness; but that his end would be miserable; and entail both religious and political confusion upon the kingdom." *

In the month of July following, Sforza, the vice-legate of Avignon, and extraordinary nuncio of the Pope, arrived at St. Germain, to present to the queen the swaddling-clothes blessed by His Holiness, which he habitually sent to the Dauphins of France, in recognition of those princes as the elder sons of the church; and to bless in his name both the august mother and her child. These garments, dazzling with gold and silver, were inclosed in a couple of chests of red velvet, which were opened in the presence of the king and queen.†

At the birth of Louis XIV., although the court vied with each other in lavish and idle expenditure, their monarch was in receipt only of an income of a hundred

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

† *Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.*—Frances Bertaut, Lady of Motteville, was the daughter of a gentleman of the king's chamber. Placed about the person of Anne of Austria, and dismissed by the Cardinal de Richelieu, she married, in 1639, Nicolas Langlois, Lord of Motteville, First President of the Chamber of Accounts at Rouen, who died two years afterward. Recalled to court in 1644, she never again quitted her royal mistress; and died in 1689. She left a work entitled "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Anne d'Autriche," in six vols., in 12mo. They are very curious, and full of authentic details of the court at that period.

millions of livres, according to the value of money in the present day; and France had not yet attained any prominent rank among the European nations. Internally she was rent by faction, and her external strength was almost negative. Even the capital, and the great highways through the country, were in a state of neglect difficult to comprehend, the first individuals in the state having so much interest in the improvement of both the one and the other. The roads were scarcely passable, under no government authority, and infested by robbers; while the streets, narrow, ill-paved, and choked with mud and refuse of the foulest description, were, immediately after nightfall, crowded with thieves, pickpockets, assassins, and all the filth of a great capital; whose depredations were carried on to an immense extent, and with an audacity which received little check from a police that did not amount to fifty men, although it was intrusted with the whole safety of the city.

Socially, the position of France was little better. The heads of the first nobles of the land had fallen, or been bowed by disgrace and imprisonment. Dueling had recommenced with a resolution which more than ever defied the power of the monarch; while the intellectual progress of the public tribunals is sufficiently marked by the fact, that Léonora Galigaï had been burned as a witch in 1617, and Urbain Grandier as a sorcerer in 1634.*

Literature and morals were alike at a deplorably low ebb. England, Italy, and Spain had each given birth to more than one gigantic talent, while France was as yet only

* Urbain Grandier was the curate and prebendary of Saint-Pierre of Loudun. Some Ursuline nuns of that place, who were considered to be *possessed*, accused him, their confessor, of magic; and the Councilor Laubardemont, and the twelve judges appointed to preside at his trial, condemned him upon their testimony. He was burned alive on the 18th of August, 1634. His condemnation was attributed to the hatred of Richelieu, against whom a libel had just appeared, entitled *The Shoemaker's Wife of Loudun*, which was attributed to Grandier.

the nursery of that genius, which was to form so bright a galaxy in the succeeding reign. The two celebrated female wits of the day were Mademoiselle de Scudéry,* and Ninon de l'Enclos; while Madame de Sévigné, who was to found an epistolary school destined to endure as long as the language in which she wrote, had just attained her twelfth year.

Meanwhile, although the queen still remained without political influence, she had acquired considerably more power over the affections of Louis. The birth of a Dauphin had been a source of gratification to the king, which was naturally calculated to increase his regard for the mother. He had, moreover, as we have already stated, attached himself, in his peculiar manner, to Mademoiselle d'Hautefort, one of the ladies of the queen's household, whose wit and beauty were eminently calculated to awaken his lethargic sensibilities; but his aversion to Richelieu, although it was craftily concealed, increased from day to day, and did not escape the observation of the minister; who was, however, indifferent to the fact, from his having surrounded his royal master with his own creatures, who did not fail to acquaint him with every incident which could be profitable to his interests. Throughout the whole of his household Louis possessed but three personal friends; and of the consolation which he found in the companionship of Mademoiselle d'Hautefort he was eventually deprived by the cardinal; who feared that her influence would be exerted in favor of the queen, like that of her predecessor, Louise de la Fayette, from the great affection which Anne of Austria had always displayed toward her.

The exiled favorite was, however, replaced by Richelieu in the person of M. de Cinq-Mars,† whom he introduced to

* Madelaine de Scudéry was born at Havre, in 1601.

† Henry Coiffier, says Ruzé d'Effiat, Marquis de Cinq-Mars, the second son of Antoine Coiffier, Marquis d'Effiat, and Marshal of France, owed his fortune to Cardinal Richelieu, who was the intimate friend

the notice and favor of the king, and who became, ere long, the object of his entire regard. It is not our purpose to follow up circumstantially the career of this unfortunate young nobleman, which was one of an interest too absorbing to remain in obscurity. Even in the sober pages of history, it assumes the semblance of romance; and the details which history did not condescend to supply have since been given to the world with an industry of research, and accuracy of narration beyond all praise, in the volumes of the Count Alfred de Vigny, which bear his name.

During the period of Cinq-Mars's first favor, the queen gave birth to a second son, who took the title of Duke d'Anjou; this prince saw the light on the 21st of September, 1640; and in 1642, Cinq-Mars and his friend De Thou* perished upon the scaffold.

In February, 1642, the king quitted Paris for Roussillon, leaving the queen and her two children at St. Germain-en-Laye; the princes being under the especial charge of Ma

of his father, and who placed him about Louis XIII., of whom he became the favorite, and who made him successively Captain of the Royal Guard, Grand Master of the King's Wardrobe (1637), and, two years afterward, Grand Equerry of France. Irritated by the bearing of Richelieu, Cinq-Mars excited Gaston, Duke d'Orleans, to revolt, and seduced the Duke de Bouillon to his interests. They dispatched an emissary to Spain, to conclude a treaty, which was to admit the Spanish forces into France; but the king, who went in person, in 1642, to conquer Roussillon, was accompanied by Cinq-Mars, while the cardinal remained sick at Tarascon; when the latter, having discovered the intrigue, immediately informed the king, who caused Cinq-Mars to be arrested at Narbonne. He lost his head at Lyons, in the same year; and was executed, in company with his friend and confidant, De Thou.

* Francis-Augustus de Thou was born in 1607. While still a youth, he was appointed Grand Master of the King's Library. He applied to be made military superintendent; and the refusal of the cardinal threw him into the ranks of the opposition. He then endeavored to further his fortune by political intrigues; adopted the profession of arms, and attached himself to the court, although he did not hold office; but was finally involved, by his affection for Cinq-Mars, in the conspiracy against Richelieu, for which they both suffered death.

dame de Lansac their governess; while for all protection they had only one company of the French guards, commanded by Captain Montigni. These two persons had each a separate order: that of Madame de Lansac was, that in case *Monsieur*, who lived in Paris, should visit the queen, she should desire the officers of the household to remain close to the Dauphin, and not to suffer *Monsieur* to enter, if he came attended by more than three persons. As to Montigni, the king gave him half of a gold coin, of which he retained the other moiety, with an express command that he should not abandon the persons of the princes; and, in the event of his receiving an order to remove them, or to transfer them to other hands, he was forbidden to obey, even should the command be in the handwriting of His Majesty, if he did not at the same time receive the other half of the broken coin.

The Prince de Condé commanded in Paris during the absence of the king; and during that period married his daughter, Mademoiselle de Bourbon, to the Duke de Longueville, an alliance which proved most melancholy for the lady; the duke being already in the decline of life, while his bride was young and exquisitely beautiful.*

Shortly afterward, the court went into mourning for Marie de Medicis, who had died at Cologne in the house of her painter, Rubens, attended by only one faithful waiting-woman, and depending almost for her nourishment on the generous compassion of the Elector. At Paris she appeared to have become utterly forgotten, save by a few of her most attached friends. The cardinal was not, however, destined long to enjoy the several triumphs which he had achieved. He returned in such impaired health from

* Henry, second Duke de Longueville, was plenipotentiary at the Congress of Munster, in 1643. He was the son of Henry, the first duke, who loved the beautiful Gabrielle d'Estrée, and resigned her to Henry IV. Gabrielle having injured him in the king's mind, he threw himself into the opposite party, and was killed at the siege of Dourlens, in 1595.

Roussillon,* that he was compelled to halt several days at Narbonne, and during his sojourn in that town was not expected to survive. Finally, however, he arrived in Paris in a litter borne by four-and-twenty men; but on experiencing some slight symptoms of amendment, he compelled Juif, his surgeon, to close the abscess under which he had been suffering, nor could the remonstrances of that skillful practitioner dissuade him from his purpose; and it is believed that a quarrel which took place a short time subsequently between the king and himself, on the subject of some courtiers whom he considered as his personal enemies, and whom Louis had refused to dismiss from his service, tended to hasten his death. Wearied by his expostulations, the monarch at length consented to remove three of the number, and to consign them to the Bastille, but refused to appoint their successors; and this resistance exasperated the cardinal, who saw that his decease was anticipated; and that, when it had taken place, his adversaries would at once be reinstated in their respective employ. He consequently extended his persecution to M. de Treville, their colleague, whom he had hitherto spared, and whom Louis dismissed in his turn; but with an assurance that he might still calculate upon his favor; and a recommendation that he should go and serve for the present in Italy, as he would not long be absent from France.

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

CHAPTER V.

Marriage of Mademoiselle de Brézé—Increased Illness of the Cardinal—Indifference of Louis XIII.—Death of the Cardinal—Ancient and Modern Biographers—Liberation of State Prisoners—Reconciliation of the King and the Duke d'Orleans—Arrival of the Remains of Marie de Medicis—Illness of Louis XIII.—Recognition of Madame—Christening of the Dauphin—Death of Louis XIII.—Anne of Austria Regent—The new Ministry—The Duke d'Orleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom—The Duke de Beaufort—The Three Days—"The Queen is so good"—Louis XIV. and the State Companies—Anne of Austria and Voiture—The Improvisation—The Count de Guiche and his Governess—Piety of Anne of Austria—Return of Madame de Chevreuse—Her Intrigues—Coldness of the Queen-Regent—Diplomacy of Mazarin—The Duke de Beaufort a bad Conspirator—Escape of Mazarin—Arrest of the Duke de Beaufort—Renewed Exile of Madame de Chevreuse—The Duke d'Enghien—The Challenge—Death of Coligny—Mourning Balls.

In the course of the winter of 1642, the cardinal had the gratification of marrying another of his nieces, Mademoiselle de Brézé, to the Duke d'Enghien, son of the Prince de Condé; and this alliance, which must greatly have sur-

passed the ambition of the cardinal, was formed at the solicitation of the prince himself, who exerted as much energy to secure it, as though he had been seeking to marry his son with a sovereign princess. Moreover, to prove how sincerely he desired to make one common interest with the minister, he entreated him at the same time to unite Mademoiselle de Bourbon to the Marquis de Brézé: Richelieu replied, however, that although he was willing to give young ladies to princes, he would not give princesses to men of inferior rank.*

On the 30th of November, 1643, the illness of the minister had so much increased that he was twice bled; and on the 1st of December, he began to spit blood, and to breathe with difficulty. He was again bled in the night, but experienced no relief; and his palace was filled with his near relatives and friends, anxiously awaiting the issue. On the following day the king visited the sick-chamber, and as he drew near the bed, Richelieu raised himself to a sitting posture; during the interview he expressed his satisfaction that he had honestly and ably done his duty to the state; entreated the king, in memory of his past services, to protect his family; and finally recommended, as his successors in the ministry, Des Noyers,† De Chavigny, and Mazarin. Louis readily replied that his recommendation should be sacred; and added some commonplace remark, intended to express that he trusted their services would not be soon required. Then, affecting to believe that a more lengthy conversation might prejudice the invalid, he left the room; but he was so utterly unimpressed by the scene from which he had just escaped, that as he traversed the gallery of the famous palace upon which Richelieu had lavished so many millions, and which he had, in his will, bequeathed to the dauphin, his eye glanced over the costly paintings by which it was decorated with evident delight; and before he had traversed its limits, he once or twice indulged in a fit of

* Mém. de Mdlle. de Montpensier. † Secretary of State.

laughter, notwithstanding the fact that he was attended by the two favorite friends of the cardinal, the Marshal de Brézé and the Count d'Harcourt,* who reconducted him to the Louvre.

The king had no sooner withdrawn than Richelieu summoned the Duchess d'Aiguillon to his side, and gave her some secret instructions, at whose conclusion she left the room in tears. He then insisted upon knowing from his physicians how long a time he was still likely to survive, but finding them unwilling to tell the truth, he sent for Chirac, who was the private physician of the king; and having expressed to him his wish that he would be perfectly frank, was informed that he could not, in all probability, exist more than four-and-twenty hours longer; when, having thanked his informant, he desired to be left alone, and the chamber was immediately cleared of all his attendants. In the evening his fever augmented, and he was again twice bled. At midnight he demanded the Holy Viaticum, which was brought to him by the curate of St. Eustache, who was placing it upon a table which had previously been prepared for that purpose, when the cardinal said, solemnly: "Here is my judge by whom I shall soon be judged; and I sincerely implore him to pronounce my condemnation, if I have ever had any other intention save the welfare of religion and of the state."†

* Henry de Lorraine, Count d'Harcourt, son of Charles de Lorraine, Duke d'Elbeuf, was born in 1600. He distinguished himself in 1620, at the siege of Prague, and afterward at those of Montauban, Saint-Jean d'Angély, and La Rochelle. Louis XIII. honored him, in 1633, with the collar of his order. He retook, in 1637, the islands of Lérins from the Spaniards, whom he beat at Guiers in 1639, at Casal and the siege of Turin in 1640, and at the taking of Coni in 1641. In 1642, he was appointed Governor of Guyénne; in 1643, Grand Equerry of France, and ambassador to England; and in 1645, Viceroy of Catalonia, where he beat the Spaniards on several occasions. Near the end of his life he was made Governor of Anjou, and died in 1666.

† History of France.

On the evening of the 3d December, the queen having sent to inquire after his health, he said to her messenger: "I am very ill; and tell her majesty that if, in the course of my life, she has considered that I have given her cause of complaint, I most humbly beg her to pardon me."

The royal messenger had scarcely left the room, when the cardinal was seized with a giddiness, his head fell back upon the pillow, and he expired.

Thus died, at the age of fifty-eight years, in the gorgeous palace which he had himself erected, Armand Jean-Duplessis, Cardinal de Richelieu; and it is curious to contrast, as a modern author has enabled us to do, the judgment passed upon him by his cotemporaries, and that which has been formed by posterity.

"The cardinal," says one of the former, "had in him much good and much evil. He had intellect, but it was of a common order; he was fond of beautiful objects, without understanding them; and never possessed any delicacy of discernment for the productions of mind. He was fearfully jealous of all who had acquired a reputation. Great men, whatever might be their profession, were his enemies; and all those who clashed with him have felt the weight of his vengeance. Every one whose life was beyond his reach has passed it in banishment. There have been several conspiracies formed during his administration to destroy him; his master himself has entered into some of them; and, nevertheless, by an excess of good fortune, he has triumphed over envy and his enemies, and has left the king himself on the eve of death. Finally, he has been seen on his bed of state, wept by few, despised by many, and gazed upon by the mob in such crowds, that it was difficult, during a whole day, to approach the cardinal-palace."*

Here, three centuries later, is the second *résumé* drawn of his career. "The Cardinal de Richelieu, placed at nearly equal distance between Louis XI., whose aim was to abol-

* Montrésor.

ish feudality, and the national convention, whose attempt was to crush aristocracy, appeared to have, like them, received a mission of blood from heaven. The high nobility, repulsed under Louis XIII. and Francis I., almost entirely succumbed under Richelieu; preparing, by its overthrow, the calm, unitarian, and despotic reign of Louis XIV., who looked around him in vain for a great noble, and found only courtiers. The eternal rebellion which, for nearly two centuries, agitated France, almost entirely disappeared under the ministry, we were about to say under the reign, of Richelieu. The Guises, who had touched with their hand the scepter of Henry III.; the Condés, who had placed their foot on the steps of the throne of Henry IV.; and Gaston, who had tried upon his brow the crown of Louis XIII.; all returned, at the voice of the minister, if not into nothingness, at least into impotency. All who struggled against the iron will inclosed in that feeble body, were broken like glass. One day Louis XIII., overcome by the prayers of his mother, promised to the jealous and vindictive Florentine the disgrace of the minister. A council was accordingly assembled, consisting of Marillac,* the Duke de Guise,† and the Marshal de Bassompierre. Marillac proposed to assassinate Richelieu; De Guise to exile him; and Bassompierre to make him a state prisoner; and each suffered the fate to which

* Louis de Marillac was gentleman-in-waiting to Henry IV., and was, in 1629, appointed Marshal of France. He owed his fortune to Richelieu, whom he hoped to overthrow; and it is said that he offered to take his life with his own hand. Richelieu, feigning to put faith in the reality of this conspiracy, which, however, was never proved, caused the marshal to be arrested in the midst of his troops in Italy, and put him upon his trial, which lasted for two years. Finally, Marillac lost his head in the *Place de Grève*, on the 10th of May, 1632.

† Henry, Duke de Guise, son of Charles de Guise, and grandson of the *Balafré*, endeavored to effect a revolution in his favor in Naples, and died in 1664, without posterity. He was the last of his race.

he condemned the cardinal. Bassompierre* was shut up in the Bastille; the Duke de Guise was driven from France; the head of Marillac fell on the scaffold; and Marie de Medicis, who had solicited his disgrace, disgraced in her turn, went to die at Cologne, a death at once lingering and miserable. And all this struggle which Richelieu sustained, be it well understood, he did not sustain for his own sake, but for that of France; all the enemies against whom he combated, were not his enemies only, but those of the kingdom. If he clung tenaciously to the side of a king whom he compelled to live a melancholy, unhappy, and isolated life, whom he deprived successively of his friends, of his mistresses, and of his family, as a tree is stripped of its leaves, of its branches, and of its bark, it was because friends, mistresses, and family exhausted the sap of the expiring royalty which had need of all its egotism to prevent it from perishing. For it was not only intestinal struggles, there was also a foreign war which had connected itself fatally with them. All those great nobles whom he decimated, all those princes of the blood whom he exiled, all those royal bastards whom he imprisoned, were inviting foreigners into France; and these foreigners answering eagerly to the summons, were entering the country on three different sides; the English by Guienne, the Spanish by Roussillon, and the Imperialists by Artois. He repulsed the English by driving them from the island of Ré, and besieging La Rochelle; the Imperialists by detaching Bavaria from its

* Marshal Francis de Bassompierre was born in 1579, and died in 1646. He was the friend and one of the favorites of Henry IV., who appointed him Captain-General of the Swiss and Grisons. Made Marshal of France in 1605, he exercised great power over Marie de Medicis and Louis XIII. Richelieu, to whom he was obnoxious, caused him to be imprisoned in the Bastille, in 1631; and he remained there twelve years. A clever diplomatist, a brave and judicious general, and a gallant courtier, he distinguished himself in several sieges, and left behind him the Memoirs of his Life.

alliance, by suspending their treaty with Denmark, and by sowing dissension in the Catholic league of Germany; and the Spanish by creating beside them the new kingdom of Portugal, of which Philip II. had made a province, and of which the Duke of Braganza remade a state. His measures were crafty or cruel, undoubtedly, but the result was great. Chalais fell, but Chalais had conspired with Lorraine and Spain;—Montmorency fell, but Montmorency had entered France with arms in his hand;—Cinq-Mars fell, but Cinq-Mars had invited foreigners into the kingdom. Perhaps, without all these struggles, the vast plan, since resumed by Louis XIV. and by Napoleon, might have succeeded. He coveted the Low Countries as far as Antwerp and Malines; he dreamed of a method of wrenching Franche-Comté from Spain; he reunited Roussillon to France. Born to be a simple priest, he became, by the sole power of his genius, not only a great politician, but also a great general; and when La Rochelle fell before the measures to which Schomberg, Marshal Bassompierre, and the Duke d'Angoulême were compelled to bow, he said to the king:—"Sire, I am no prophet, but I assure your majesty that, if you will now condescend to act as I advise, you will pacificate Italy in the month of May, subjugate the Huguenots of Languedoc in the month of July, and be on your return in the month of August." And each of these prophecies was accomplished in its time and place, in such wise that, from that moment, Louis XIII. vowed to follow forever thenceforward the counsels of Richelieu, by which he had so well profited in the past. Finally he died, as Montesquieu asserts, after having made his monarch enact the second character in the monarchy, but the first in Europe; after having abased the king, but after having made the reign illustrious; after having, finally, mowed down rebellion so close to the soil, that the descendants of those who had composed the league, could only form the

Fronde; as after the reign of Napoleon, the successors of the Vendée of '93, could only execute the Vendée of 1832.*

Such are the extreme and conflicting judgments which have been passed upon Richelieu. The truth, in all probability, lies between them.

The death of the cardinal opened the gates of the Bastille to many noble names. The king, who exhibited the greatest indifference at the death of his minister, at once restored to their commissions Tréville, Des Essarts, La Salle, and Tilladet;† called Mazarin to the council; and placed such unlimited confidence in M. des Noyers, that he would not suffer any public business to be transacted in his absence.

The latter did not, however, long retain his office; for his coadjutors, having always been jealous of his favor with the cardinal, at once conspired to effect his ruin; while Des Noyers on his side, taking umbrage at some annoyance to which they had gratuitously subjected him, demanded his dismissal of the king, by whom it was at once accorded. Cardinal Mazarin replaced him by M. le Tellier, superintendent of the army of Piedmont, whence he was summoned express to be appointed Secretary of State.‡

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

† They were captains in the guard of Musketeers. The latter force originated in 1600, when Henry IV. organized, as his personal guard, a company of young men of birth, who were called *the king's carbines* because they were armed with that weapon. In 1622, Louis exchanged it for the musket, whence the company changed their title to that of Musketeers. They were disbanded in 1646, and reëstablished in 1657 A second company was raised in 1661. The first bore the name of Gray Musketeers, from the color of their horses, which were all dappled gray; and the second that of Black Musketeers, from a similar cause. During peace, the Musketeers attended the king in his hunts; during war, they fought both mounted and dismounted. Reorganized in 1775, reëstablished in 1789, suppressed in 1791, they were again formed in 1814, and definitively disbanded in 1815.

‡ Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

Shortly afterward the Marshal de Vitry, the Count de Cramail, and the Marshal de Bassompierre, were also liberated; and the latter, who had been "embastillised," for twelve years, was bewildered by the revolutions which had taken place in that fashion of which he was once the leader, and that Paris to whom his name had formerly been as a "household word." The great number of equipages contained in the capital especially astonished him; while as to the men and horses, he declared that he could scarcely recognize either, the men having no beard, and the horses no manes and tails.

Next succeeded the reconciliation of the king and *Monsieur*, which had awaited the death of Richelieu for its completion; and the egotistical and unstable prince soon forgot, in his own renewed security, the fate of the gallant Cinq-Mars and De Thou, who had lost their heads in his service. It may be hoped, however, that it was partly owing to his influence, that the king at last remembered, at the eleventh hour, that his mother had died in neglect and penury in a foreign land; for about this time he decided upon fulfilling her dying desire to be interred at St. Denis, a privilege which the hatred of Richelieu had refused to concede to her, and, accordingly, he sent to reclaim her body, which still remained in the chamber where she expired. One of the noblemen of the royal household was dispatched upon this lugubrious errand, and a religious service was performed at Cologne, on the removal of the corpse, at which four thousand of the poorer inhabitants were present. The black velvet coach which contained the remains of the once imperious Marie de Medicis then proceeded on its way to France, stopping at every town to receive the prayers of the clergy, but without permitting the body to be carried into a church, as the ceremony required that it should proceed direct from the death-room to the royal vault, and finally the coffin rested at St. Denis.*

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

Great preparations were at this period in progress for a new campaign; but the health of the king, which was rapidly failing, did not permit a hope that it could be undertaken; and during this illness, of which Louis XIII. ultimately died, *Monsieur* received permission to return to court, was reconciled with the king, and obtained the royal recognition of his marriage, which had hitherto been withheld, as well as permission for *Madame* to rejoin him, on condition that, on her arrival at Paris, they should both make their declaration to the archbishop, in order to secure the validity of the alliance; a concession which the monarch exacted rather for his own satisfaction, and as a proof of respect and obedience due to himself from the Duke d'Orleans, than for any assumed irregularity in the original ceremony. *Madame* was at Cambray when this proposition was submitted to her, and she had no sooner received it than she removed to a greater distance from the capital, declaring that where her honor was concerned she could make no concessions to any one; and many messengers were dispatched to her before she would assent, which she did at last with unconcealed repugnance. She, however, returned to France before the death of the king. The duke met her at Meudon, where the archbishop, in full costume, awaited her to receive the mutual declaration of the wedded pair, which was not tendered upon her part without expostulation, as she declared that nothing could be more unnecessary.* In the latter part of February, Louis XIII. had become seriously ill; and although he appeared to revive for a time, at the commencement of April all his unfavorable symptoms returned upon him, and he began forthwith to devote himself to his religious duties. On the 20th of that month, in the presence of the Duke d'Orleans, the Prince de Condé, and all the leading nobility of the court, he declared the regency of the queen, who throughout the whole of the time stood weeping at the foot of his bed; and

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

on the 21st, the christening of the Dauphin took place with great state. The king had desired that he should be named Louis, and had chosen as his sponsors the Cardinal de Mazarin and the Princess Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, mother of the great Condé. The ceremony was performed in the chapel of the old palace of St. Germain, in presence of the queen; and the prince was attired in the magnificent robes sent to him by the Pope. He had then reached the age of four years and a half. When, after the celebration of the rite, he was carried to the king, Louis, feeble as he was, caused him to be seated upon the bed, and then, in order to satisfy himself that his wishes had been fulfilled, demanded, "What is your name, my child?" "Louis XIV.," answered the Dauphin. "Not yet, my son, not yet," said the dying monarch; "but pray to God that it may soon be so."* He, however, rallied once more; and it was not until the 10th of May that Dubois, one of the valets-de-chambre, on perceiving the Dauphin enter the room, and drawing back the curtains of the death-couch, in order that he might be enabled to see his father, discovered the extraordinary change that had taken place in the royal countenance, by which he was so much struck that he approached the prince, and whispered, "MONSEIGNEUR, look at the king asleep, in order that you may remember him when you are older."

On the 13th of the same month, Louis desired his physicians to tell him if he should live till the morrow; when, after having consulted together, they answered that they did not think it possible. "God be praised!" was his reply; "I believe that it is now time to take leave of all I love." He then embraced the queen tenderly, and spoke to her for some time in a low voice; he next pressed his lips to the cheeks and brow of the Dauphin, and his brother, the Duke d'Orleans, repeating his caresses several times; then he embraced the bishops of Meaux and Lisieux, and

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

the other ecclesiastics who had assisted in preparing him to die; and finally he summoned his physician, and asked him if all would soon be over. The reply was affirmative; upon which the king requested the Bishop of Meaux to read the service for the dying; and from that moment he never spoke again. In the afternoon of the 14th of May, 1643, he expired, after a reign of thirty-three years.*

Faithful to the instructions which he had received from Richelieu in the guise of a request, the dying king had named to the Queen-Regent a council headed by the Prince de Condé, and composed of the Cardinal Mazarin, the chancellor Seguier,† the superintendent Boutillier, and his son, Chavigny, the secretary of state. It would appear, however, that she had received other secret instructions, from a passage in the Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, which runs thus: "M. de Beaufort,‡ who had always been of the queen's party, and who even played the gallant toward her, had got it into his head to govern, for which he was less fitted than his valet-de-chambre. The Bishop of Beauvais, the greatest idiot in the world, assumed the semblance of prime minister; and the first thing which he did

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

† Peter Seguier, Peer of France, was born at Paris in 1588, and was successively Counselor of Parliament, *Maîtres des Requêtes*, and *Président à Mortier*, both dignities peculiar to France, and not susceptible of an intelligible translation; the former signifying a magistrate who presented the petitions of individuals to the council of the king, which was presided at by their chancellor; and the latter, a president of the ancient parliaments, who was entitled to wear a peculiar cap, known as a *mortier*. Whence their title. In 1633, he was made Keeper of the Privy Seals, and two years subsequently Chancellor of France. He had the title of Duke de Villemot, Count de Gien, and Protector of the French Academy.

‡ Francis de Vendôme, Duke de Beaufort, was the son of Cæsar de Vendôme. "As this duke never expressed himself save in low and vulgar terms, and generally misplaced even those, and that he eventually made himself master of Paris, he was always called the 'King of the Markets.'"—*Des Maizeaux.*

was to demand of the Dutch that they should embrace Romanism, if they wished to remain the allies of France. The queen was disgusted with this ministerial mummery, and ordered me to go and offer the post to my father.* When, seeing that he obstinately refused to leave his cell at the Oratory,† she placed herself in the hands of Cardinal Mazarin. . . . . Madame de Maignelais and M. de Lisieux asked the coadjutorship for me, and the queen refused it, saying that she would only grant it to my father, who would not make his appearance at the Louvre. He went but once, when the queen told him publicly that she had received an order from the late king, the night before his death, to bestow it upon me."

The Duke d'Orleans, whose disaffection Louis XIII. had forgiven, but by no means forgotten, was named lieutenant-general of the young king during his minority, under the authority of the regent and her council; and thus Anne of Austria at length found herself beyond the malice of those who would fain have so poisoned the mind of her royal husband against her, as to have induced him to exclude her from the regency; but that his suspicion still weighed heavily upon her, was sufficiently manifested in the reply which he made upon his death-bed to M. de Chavigny, who was endeavoring to convince him of her entire innocence. "In my present state," said the expiring monarch, "I ought to forgive her, but I ought not to place faith in her."

M. de Beaufort, indignant that the queen should have elected Mazarin to her confidence in his despite, conducted himself in the most imprudent manner. He rufused the abundant favors which she pressed upon him; and behaved

* Emmanuel de Gondi, General of the Galleys, who had resigned his rank in order to retire to the convent of the Oratory.

† The Congregation of the Oratory was a religious community, established in Rome in 1540, and was introduced into France in 1611, by the Cardinal Peter de Bérulle.

most disrespectfully to *Monsieur*. He defied the authority of the Prince de Condé, and formed a party to oppose the measures of the council.* It will be remembered that the Duke de Vendôme had been imprisoned by Richelieu, who on that occasion took possession of his government of Brittany, which, at his death, he bequeathed to the Marshal de la Meilleraye; a transfer which the Vendôme family refused to recognize; and the Duke of Beaufort, young, popular, and relying upon the support of the queen, had declared that at the death of Louis XIII. he would recover, either by fair means, or by force, the government which had been wrenched from his father. Thus, as soon as the king was believed to be dead, although such was not yet the case, the opposite factions at once declared themselves. The Marshal de la Meilleraye summoned his friends about him; M. de Beaufort followed his example; and *Monsieur* acted in the same manner. In this emergency, the queen summoned the Duke of Beaufort to her presence; and, bestowing upon him the appellation of "the most honest man in the kingdom," intrusted to him the command of the Chateau-Neuf, in which the royal children were residing; a favor which gave great umbrage to the Duke d'Orleans, and the Prince de Condé.

On the day of the king's death, Anne of Austria had a private interview with *Monsieur*, in which every arrangement was mutually agreed; and, three days afterward, she had so perfectly succeeded in effecting her purpose, that all the precautions taken by Louis XIII. to secure the fulfillment of his last wishes were rendered abortive. The Parliament had declared the queen regent of the kingdom, "to hold the guardianship and education of the person of his Majesty, and the whole administration of affairs, while the Duke d'Orleans, his uncle, was to be lieutenant-general of all the provinces of the kingdom, under the authority

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.—"It was called the party of the '*Importants*.'"—*Mademoiselle de Montpensier.*

of the queen; and first councilor, also under her authority.

"In his absence, this presidency was transferred to the Prince de Condé, but always under the authority of the queen.

"Moreover, it remained in the power of the queen to select such persons as she should see fit, to deliberate at the said councils on such matters as should be deferred to them, without being compelled to accede to the plurality of voices."

Thus, it will at once be seen that Anne of Austria had wholly emancipated herself from the authority of the council, which remained entirely at her discretion; and that she was in fact, as well as name, the Regent of France, which had already more than once been subjected to the same questionable rule. Even so early as 1160, Alix de Champagne, daughter of Thibaut, fourth Count de Champagne, and widow of Louis VII., not only held the regency during the minority of her son, but subsequently during his prowess in the Holy Land.

Mazarin and Chavigny were alike absent when this declaration was made; and it was believed that they were both in disgrace; but it was not so; for, as we have already seen, after the decided refusal of M. de Gondi to accept office, the queen appointed the cardinal her prime minister: and this was no sooner known than a host of old suspicions, which had been forgotten amid the rapid march of events, were again revived. It was asserted, that ever since 1635 the cardinal had been the lover of the queen; and it was by this circumstance that her enemies, unfortunately favored by her ulterior conduct, affected to account for the birth of Louis XIV., after so long and childless a period of marriage.

All these great and important changes were effected in three days; and on the fourth news arrived of the victory of Rocroy, by the army under the Duke d'Enghien. The

event appeared prophetic to the Parisians, who were loud in their rejoicings, and the queen was hailed with acclamations wherever she appeared. The whole nation participated in the general joy; and the only cloud upon the horizon hovered above the head of Mazarin, whose sudden accession to power was repugnant to the princes of the blood.

Anne of Austria, although she succeeded naturally to her high position, was, nevertheless, ill at ease. She had been unaccustomed to rule; and although her natural instinct led her to desire it, she found less susceptibility of self-indulgence in her authority than she had anticipated. She had undergone much suffering; and this fact, in a person of her rank, is esteemed a virtue. Her very sorrows had made her a strong party in the nation; and now that she had attained to almost unlimited power, a great deal was expected from her. M. de Bautru* was wont to say, that she had accomplished two miracles, because the bigots themselves had forgotten even her coquetry.† Those who had suffered like herself, and for her interests, were insatiable; and there can be no doubt that, could she have satisfied all their demands, she would have done so freely; in fact, even trammeled as she was, her gratitude was so visible, that she had difficulty in refusing any thing: and one of the courtiers declared that the French language was reduced to five words—"The queen is so good!" All the exiled were recalled, all the prisoners were set at liberty. all the criminals were acquitted, and all those who had been dismissed from office were restored.‡ Madame d'Hautefort, exiled by the cardinal, was replaced in her rank of lady in waiting on the queen. The Marchioness

* William Bautru, Count de Céran, was born at Antwerp in 1588, and died in 1665. He was one of the wits of the sixteenth century, and a member of the French Academy. He was the partisan of both Richelieu and Mazarin.

† Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz. ‡ Ibid.

de Senecey,* who had also been banished, was reinstated in her office of lady of honor. Laporte, who since the recovery of his liberty, before the birth of Louis XIV., had remained exiled at Saumur, was called to court, and appointed first valet-de-chambre to the king; and finally, Madame de Chevreuse, to whom Louis XIII. had interdicted all entrance into France during the war, was informed that she might return.†

Louis XIV. was four years and a half old when he was muffled in a large mantle, and compelled to receive the salutations of the State Companies, as King of France. The Count de Guiche, who, as we have already mentioned, was a year his senior, stood upon one of the steps of the throne, where the queen had caused him to be placed as a pattern to her son, to induce him to remain quiet while the presentations were taking place. Both the children continued serious and silent: the composure of Louis arose from pride, and that of his playfellow from ennui. It was a scene almost prophetic of their future characters, for it exhibited in each the vice which was to cause his greatest errors.

This ceremony over, the queen retired with her sons to Ruel; and on one occasion, when she was driving in the park, accompanied by her children, the Princess de Condé, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, and the little Count de Guiche, she saw the poet Voiture‡ in a deep revery, sauntering

* Mary Catherine, Duchess de Randan, lady of honor to Anne of Austria, and governess of Louis XIV., married the Marquis de Senecey, and died in 1677, at the age of ninety years. She was the daughter of John Louis, Duke de la Rochefoucauld and Count of Randan, who was killed at Issoire, in 1590. Her daughter married the Count de Fleix.

† Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

‡ Vincent Voiture, a celebrated writer of the seventeenth century, was born at Amiens, in 1598, and proceeded to Paris, where his talents gained him admission to the Hôtel de Rambouillet, of which he became one of the celebrities. Gaston d'Orleans made him his Master of the

under the shade of the trees; upon which she ordered her coachman to stop the carriage, that she might ask her favorite bard the subject of his thoughts. Voiture, who, whatever might be the actual merit of his productions, possessed, in common with almost every other poet of that period, the faculty of improvisation, at once replied:—

"I thought of you, and almost said,
That after all the ills you'd known
And Fate, upon your noble head,
Had justly placed a royal crown;
It might be—so my fancy rove—
That you your former lot preferred,
When you were—I'd not say in love,
But that the rhyme requires the word.

I thought of Cupid, luckless boy,
Who freely lent you all his arms,
Flung from you like a worthless toy,
Without his quiver and his charms;
And marveled what it might avail
To me, who such devotion feel,
If thus your gratitude can fail
Toward those who served your cause with zeal.

I thought—we poets have the power
To dream strange dreams—of what would come,
If, in this very spot and hour,
You met the Duke of Buckingham;

Ceremonies and Introducer of Ambassadors. He was intrusted with a negotiation in Spain, of which he acquitted himself successfully Elected a member of the French Academy, in 1634, he was appointed *Maître d'Hôtel* to the king, and Introducer of Ambassadors to the Regent. He died in 1648. His poems and letters are witty, but full of affectation; and are no longer read. He was the oracle of the *précieuses*, the courtiers, and even the Academy, whose members went into mourning at his death. Madame de Sévigné, whose fame has outlived his own, bowed beneath the yoke of his reputation, as well as her cousin Bussy, and many other writers. He revived at court the taste for ballads, roundelays, and triplets.

And which would fall into disgrace,
If such a thing could really be,
And lose within your heart his place,
Father Vincent* or he?"

These verses, presuming and familiar as they were in more than one point of view, would probably have been treated as an impertinence by the regent, had not the name of Buckingham still possessed sufficient power to affect her feelings; while the patronage bestowed by the Princess de Condé upon the poet, induced her to appear unconscious of their real meaning. She therefore desired him to repeat the lines, and then bade him transcribe them for her, but on no account to give a copy to any one. Voiture obeyed; and no surprise and annoyance could be greater than that of Anne of Austria, when she found that they had traveled not only to the Louvre, but all over Paris. The queen reproached the poet angrily with his perfidy, nor could he succeed in convincing her of the fidelity with which he had observed her commands; and the courtiers, meanwhile,

* Saint Vincent de Paule, the queen's confessor. After terminating his studies with distinction, he entered holy orders in 1600. Having gone to Marseilles to take possession of a bequest, he was made prisoner by some pirates, and carried off to Tunis, where he became a slave. He succeeded in effecting his escape, and returned to France in 1607. In 1610, he was appointed almoner to Marguerite de Valois, and became tutor to the sons of the Count de Gondi; "but the holy confessor of Anne of Austria," says M. Audibert, in his *French Plutarch*, "could not form after his own model the unevangelic character of his pupil, the Cardinal de Retz, and made a saint of him in much the same way as the Jesuits made a devotee of Voltaire." Vincent de Paule originated the idea of foreign missions, and carried it out with such *éclat*, that Louis XIII. made him Almoner-General of the Galleys. He frequently visited the galley-slaves, consoling them with religious help; and it is even said that, upon one occasion, he took the place of a galleyan, by whose despair he was deeply affected. France is indebted to his pious zeal for the hospitals of the Bicêtre, the Salpêtriere the Hospital of Pity, that of Marseilles for galley-slaves, and the Foundling at Paris. He also instituted, in 1625, the Missionary Congregation Called to the Ecclesiastical Council, he died in 1660.

did ample justice to the bitterness of the epigram, of which the regent was so well aware that she was still brooding over the insult, when she chanced one day to hear the little De Guiche repeating the verses, verbatim, for the amusement of the boy-king, and boasting that he had learned them from hearing Voiture twice repeat them to Her Majesty. All was, of course, explained; and the count severely lectured for having dared to mention any thing which had occurred in the presence of the queen. He had, however, as he confessed, made a similar display of memory to his governess, who, having satisfied herself that the child's version was a faithful one, took a copy forthwith, and forwarded it to a friend at the palace, whence, as a matter of course, it soon traveled to every quarter of the capital.

During the first year of her widowhood, Anne of Austria constantly frequented the churches; and as some saintly festival is celebrated in one or other of them every day, she made a point of attending each at that particular moment. In the midst of this devout pilgrimage the appearance of Madame de Chevreuse was hourly expected. For twenty years she had been the personal friend of the queen; and for ten years she had suffered persecution on that account. She had been exiled, proscribed, and menaced with imprisonment; and she had made her escape in male attire to Rome, whence she had traveled over Europe, never for one moment ceasing to exert all the influence of her beauty and her wit in creating new enemies for Richelieu. Not content with returning to Paris quietly, she presumed upon these circumstances, and left Brussels with a suite of twenty carriages; but when within three days journey of the capital, she encountered the Prince de Marsillac, who had started from Paris to meet her, and to explain how much circumstances had changed during her absence. He informed her that the queen had become devout, and greatly altered in every respect since they parted; and

besought her to regulate her conduct upon this fact, of which he had traveled post to apprise her.

Madame de Chevreuse was not, however, to be easily turned from her purpose; and, having thanked him for the attention he had manifested, she continued her journey, only stopping at Senlis to be joined by her husband, and thence proceeding to the Louvre. The queen received her graciously, and appeared much pleased to see her once more; but still the reception was not what she had anticipated —there was a shade of ceremony mingled with it, which disconcerted the duchess; the truth being that the queen had not only become devout, as the Prince de Marsillac had stated, but also that she had about her person the once beautiful Charlotte de Montmorency,* the old rival of Madame de Chevreuse, who had now passed her fiftieth year, and was less than ever disposed to tolerate the extravagances of the intriguing duchess, against whom she had already warned her royal mistress, who still retained the same ideas of gallantry and vanity, which are such bad accompaniments to the age of forty-five.†

Madame de Chevreuse was unaware of this circumstance, and was consequently highly displeased at the manner of her reception; forgetting that she had been wandering over the world, and intriguing alike in Flanders, Spain, and Lorraine, and everywhere making herself inimical to the interests of her own country. She had, moreover, forgotten to bear in mind the changes which time must naturally effect, and expected to find every thing in France as she had left it; whereas, not only the private feelings of the queen had undergone a revolution, but even her political sentiments. Madame de Chevreuse was aware of the affection, perhaps not altogether disinterested, of Anne of

* "Under heaven there was at that time nothing so beautiful as Mademoiselle de Montmorency, nor more graceful, nor more perfect." [She was the mother of the Great Condé.]—*Bassompierre.*

† Madame de Motteville.

Austria for her brother, and her extreme attachment to her native country, to which she had more than once endeavored to sacrifice the interests of France; but she had yet to comprehend how entirely the position of the queen was altered, and until this fact was forced upon her she was utterly unable to appreciate her own. The regent-mother of Louis XIV. was no longer a helpless, childless, and persecuted woman, involved in the wild and ill-sustained plots of the Duke d'Orleans. She had become a powerful sovereign, upon whom depended, in an eminent degree, the welfare of a great nation.

The politics of Madame de Chevreuse betrayed her sex. Her diplomacy was loud-voiced and transparent; and she had now to contend with a man who struck, while she only threatened; and who, as was once said of a Hungarian king, if he had an iron hand, understood the secret of gloving it in velvet. She had not retired more than two hours from the apartments of the queen, when she was informed that Cardinal Mazarin requested the honor of an interview, and all her old and daring spirit, which had been damped by the reception of Anne of Austria, rose at the intelligence, while nothing could exceed the haughtiness with which she received him.

The cardinal advanced toward her, with a smile upon his lips, and welcomed her in accents of the most perfect suavity. He stated that, having been informed of her arrival he had hastened to present his compliments; and, aware that the assignations of the privy purse* were somewhat tardy, and that after so long and expensive a journey she might probably be in want of money, he had ventured to bring her fifty thousand gold crowns, which he begged her to accept as a loan.† More and more self-deluded by the obsequious bearing of the minister, the duchess became convinced that she still retained all her former influence; and desiring one of her ladies who was in the apartment

* *Epargnes.* † Louis XIV. et son Siècle

to withdraw, she resolved to ascertain the extent of her power, than which nothing could have accorded better with the designs of Mazarin, who was resolved to probe to the very depth her ambitious and daring spirit, which he was aware that he could subdue at any moment when he might conceive it to be expedient. They were no sooner alone than Madame de Chevreuse requested the restoration of M. de Vendôme to his government. This was courteously refused, on the ground that it had been transferred to Monsieur de Meilleraye; but the minister temporized by offering to give him the Admiralty, held by M. de Brézé, who would be a less dangerous enemy than the present Governor of Brittany; and, although only half satisfied, Madame de Chevreuse was compelled to abandon the point. Nevertheless she made sundry other demands upon the generosity of Mazarin, some of which were conceded; and for some time she placed firm faith in his good-will; but, misled by her long absence from court, and her consequent ignorance of the exact state of things, she was imprudent enough, whenever she was in conversation with the queen, to speak slightingly and depreciatingly of the cardinal; a want of caution which undermined the affection of Anne of Austria from day to day.

Madame d'Hautefort, by a similar line of conduct, subjected herself to the same fate.*

De Chavigny and his father, M. de Boutheillier, also fell into disgrace. They considered themselves ill treated by Mazarin, and resigned office, attaching themselves to M. de Beaufort, whose star had again failed, under the influence of that of the Prince de Condé, but whose faction strengthened by degrees until it became formidable; and a quarrel

* From the period when the king, Louis XIII., during his passion for this lady, caused her to be appointed tiring-woman to the queen, and to be called Madame, all the ladies who succeeded to the same office availed themselves of the privilege, and thenceforward it was regarded as a right.

between two ladies of the court, the one, the daughter of the Princess de Condé,* the other, the mistress of the Duke de Beaufort,† which terminated in the banishment of the latter to one of her estates, caused it more prominently to declare itself. The Duke de Beaufort, who was seriously annoyed by the exile of Madame de Montbazon from court, and who was aware that it had originated rather with Mazarin than with the Condés, resolved to revenge it upon the minister, and it was decided that he and his friends should assassinate him. Bold as he was, however, the duke made a bad conspirator; he was imprudent enough to exhibit ill-humor toward the queen, which occasionally degenerated from discourtesy into actual rudeness; and, like the Duchess de Chevreuse and Madame d'Hautefort, he ere long entirely alienated her regard. The conspiracy, nevertheless, proceeded, and the day of its execution was arranged, when the cardinal was saved by the simple circumstance of meeting the Duke d'Orleans, who took a seat in his carriage, and by his presence thwarted the whole scheme. Another attempt was made; but the minister, forewarned in time, absented himself from the place where the conspirators awaited him.

On the morrow, the Louvre was rife with reports on the subject of the baffled plot, and the queen expressed her indignation in unmeasured terms, declaring that before forty-eight hours should have elapsed, she would avenge herself upon its authors.‡ In the evening, the Duke de Beaufort, who had been hunting, arrived at the Louvre, and on the stairs he encountered the Duchess de Guise, and his mother, Madame de Vendôme, who had passed the day with the queen; and, aware of her resolution to visit with condign punishment the crime conceived against the cardinal, entreated him to retire, having heard him publicly

* Madame de Longueville.

† Madame de Montbazon, step-daughter of Madame de Chevreuse

‡ Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

accused as the instigator of the plot; beseeching him at the same time to listen to the advice of his friends, and to depart for a time to Anet. He, however, refused to listen to their suggestions, and when they assured him that his life would perhaps be sacrificed by his appearance at that moment, he merely replied, "They dare not!" and passed on. "Alas! my dear son," said his weeping mother, "the Duke de Guise uttered the same words on the very day of his assassination." M. de Beaufort answered by a laugh of doubt and defiance. He had seen the queen only on the previous evening, when he observed no change in her manner; and confiding in this circumstance, he entered the royal apartments without one misgiving. Anne of Austria received him with a gracious smile, made several inquiries relative to the sport of the day, and was still calmly conversing with him, when Mazarin entered in his turn, whom she desired to attend her to her chamber; upon which the duke, seeing his audience at an end, was also about to retire by another door, when he was arrested at the threshold by the captain of the queen's guards.

He was conducted to the town of Vincennes, where he requested that servants of his own might be allowed to replace those who were assigned to him, but his application was refused; and at the same time all his relatives were ordered to leave the capital.

The arrest of the Duke de Beaufort, who had supposed himself, from the concession of the queen, already cited, to have been selected as the governor of the young king, created universal astonishment. People began to feel almost grateful to Mazarin when a few weeks elapsed without a new arrest; and he obtained credit for forbearance on many occasions where his neutrality arose only from want of power. He caused it to be understood that he had been compelled to this extreme measure; and that the advice of *Monsieur* and the Prince de Condé had prevailed with the queen over his own. His courtesy

increased; he became more affable, more accessible, more amiable than ever; and while the courtiers still esteemed themselves his equals, he, by this skillful conduct, was enabled to ascend to the very pinnacle of that eminence which was the object and aim of his ambition. The Parliament, delivered from the dictation of Richelieu, who had crippled their privileges, believed that the age of the new minister, by whom they were constantly assured that the queen would act only by their advice, was destined to renew the age of gold. The clergy preached nothing but obedience; and all the world suddenly found themselves Mazarinites.*

Madame de Chevreuse, indignant at the exile of so many of her personal friends, ventured to remonstrate with the queen, and to remind her of the gratitude which she owed to the very individuals whom she had since visited with her displeasure; but Anne of Austria replied, in the cold and contemptuous tone which she so well knew how to assume, that she would beg the duchess to allow her to govern the state, and to settle the affairs of France according to her own judgment; while she would also advise her as a friend to live peaceably in Paris, without meddling in any intrigue; and so enjoy, under the regency, the tranquillity which she had never found during the reign of the late king. Unawed by this warning, Madame de Chevreuse still continued to remonstrate; and even uttered sundry reproaches, which Anne of Austria resented by desiring her to return to Tours, where she had already been exiled under Louis XIII. The duchess obeyed; but a short time afterward she left Tours in disguise, and embarked with her daughter for England.

Of all the queen's former friends, none were now left at court save Madame de Senecey and Madame d'Hautefort, while their tenure of favor had already become more than doubtful; nor was it long ere the latter was in her

* Cardinal de Retz.

turn exiled, for offering unpalatable advice to her royal mistress; to which she had been induced, not only by her own anxiety for the queen's reputation, but also by that of several other individuals about the court, who saw with regret that the evil reports which were gaining ground of her undue attachment to the Italian minister, were undermining the respect and affection of the people. As to Madame de Senecey, although she found herself gradually overlooked, and finally deprived of all influence, excluded from the confidence of the queen, and refused every favor which she ventured to solicit—she tacitly accepted the ungracious position assigned to her, and clinging to the court rather from habit than from inclination, subsided into utter insignificance.

The famous faction of the *Importants* was extinguished forever; and Mazarin ruled France in the names of the king, the queen, and the council.*

At this period the Duke d'Enghien arrived in the capital with all his laurels gathered at Rocroy fresh upon him; and his reception was enthusiastic. His own satisfaction was, however, decreased by the termination of the misunderstanding between his sister and Madame de Montbazon, who had not been compelled, as he considered, to make atonement equal to her offense; and his first design on reaching Paris was to challenge the Duke de Beaufort, who had taken so prominent and hostile a part in the quarrel. Unfortunately for his project, he at once learned the arrest of the duke; and finding himself without any adversary in the affair, of sufficient rank to justify a prince of the blood in drawing his sword against him, it was ultimately resolved that the issue of the disagreement should be confided to the friends of both parties. The Count de Coligny† no sooner ascertained this fact, than

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

† Grandson of the famous Admiral de Coligny, who was one of the victims of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

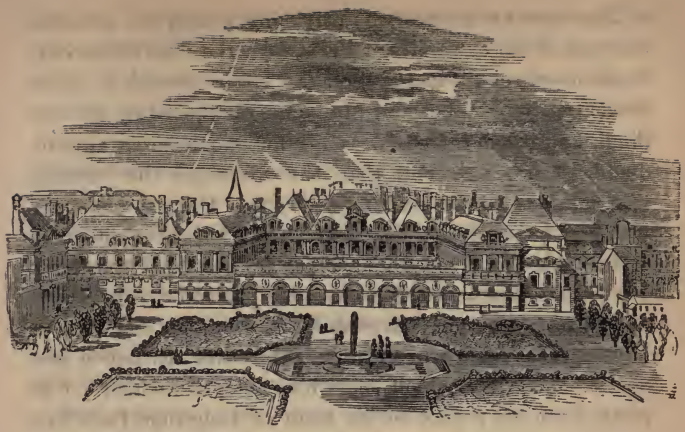
he requested permission of M. d'Enghien to call out the Duke de Guise, who had been one of the champions of Madame de Montbazon, and who was reported to have succeeded the Duke de Beaufort in her good graces. De Guise had at this period attained his twenty-ninth year; and had just been recalled to France by the queen. The Duke d'Enghien acceded to the request of Coligny, who selected as his second the Count d'Estrade;* and his challenge was at once accepted. Coligny, grievously wounded, and previously enfeebled by severe illness, was compelled to surrender, and after lingering for a few months, ultimately died; while the Duke de Guise experienced no diminution of his favor at court, but was suffered to enjoy his triumph with utter impunity; a fact which at once overthrew all the efforts that had been made by Richelieu to suppress dueling, and restored alike its practice and its fashion.†

"This duel," says MADEMOISELLE, "in some degree renewed the divisions at court; but not sufficiently to interfere with its pleasures; there was dancing everywhere, and especially in my apartments, although it was not consistent to hear the sound of violins in a room hung with black."‡

* Godfrey, Count d'Estrade, was born at Agen, in 1607, and became Marshal of France and Viceroy of America. He served a long time in Holland, under Prince Maurice, as the agent of France; and was appointed ambassador-extraordinary in England, in 1661. Having negotiated, in 1662, the purchase of Dunkirk, he was authorized to receive the city from the English. In 1666 he was again sent to London in the same capacity, and sustained, with great firmness, the prerogatives of the French crown. In 1667 he concluded, in Holland, the treaty of Breda. He died in 1686.

† "Richelieu had based his extreme severity on this point upon a calculation made by M. de Lominie, in March 1607, who proved that since the accession of Henry IV., in 1589, to that period, four thousand noblemen had been killed in duels; making an average of two hundred and twenty yearly."—*Louis XIV. et son Siècle.*

‡ Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.



CHAPTER VI.

The Palais-Cardinal—"What's in a Name?"—Establishment of Louis XIV.—Amusements of the royal Children—The Children of Honor—Education of the young King—Historical Readings by Laporte—Aversion of the King to Mazarin—M. de Mancini and the Bougeoir—The Grand Turk—The Wardrobe of Louis XIV.—A royal Fast—Campaign of Flanders—The Rodogune of Corneille—Arrival of Queen Henrietta in France—Avarice of Mazarin—Battle of Nordlingen—Selfishness of Mazarin—Contract of Marie de Gonzague and the King of Naples—The Cardinal de Retz—Madame de Sévigné—The Polish Nobles—A Contrast.

Near the close of the year 1643, the queen left the Louvre, and with the infant princes took up her abode in the Cardinal-Palace, which, it may be remembered, had been bequeathed by Richelieu to the young king; but as it was suggested by the Marquis de Prouville, the controller of the king's household, that it was not expedient for His Majesty to inhabit the residence of a subject, under any circumstances whatever, the inscription above the doorway was effaced, and that of Palais-Royal was substituted in its stead.

The Cardinal-Palace was originally a simple residence, situated at the extremity of Paris, near the wall of the city. It had been rebuilt in 1629, on the space occupied by the hôtels of Rambouillet and Mercœur, purchased by the cardinal, and it had increased as his fortune became aggrandized. More powerful than the sovereign the cardinal was anxious to be also magnificent. Consequently the wall had been thrown down, the moat had been filled in and the garden, freed from all that had impeded the regularity of its dimensions, had extended itself to the meadows upon which the rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, and the rue Vivienne have since been built. Moreover, Richelieu had opened the street which bears his name, and which led directly from his palace to his farm of Lagrange-Batelière, situated at the foot of Montmatre. All these acquisitions, including the price of the Hôtel de Sillery, which he had purchased for the sole purpose of pulling it down, in order to have an open square in front of the new edifice, had cost the cardinal 816,618 livres; an enormous sum at that time since it corresponded to nearly 4,000,000 of the money of the present day.*

It was, therefore, by no means extraordinary that when Madame d'Aiguillon, the niece of Richelieu, was informed of the removal of the inscription from the façade of this celebrated palace, she should expostulate firmly, but respectfully, with the queen upon the ungracious and ungraceful disregard to the memory of the cardinal, which was manifested by the change; nor, that Anne of Austria, aware that but for the magnificent liberality of the minister to his young monarch, it could never have been effected, should instantly cause its restoration. Popular taste had, however, decided against any further alteration, and although on stone it again became the Cardinal-Palace, on the lips of the Parisians it was still known only as the Palais-Royal.

Louis XIV., then five years old, was installed in the apart-

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

ments of Richelieu; his accommodations were confined, but conveniently situated between the gallery of Illustrious Personages, which occupied the left wing of the second court, and that which ran along the wing of the front court, and in which Philip de Champagne,* the favorite painter of His Eminence, had portrayed the leading events of his life. The apartments of the Queen-Regent were much more spacious and elegant; but still, not satisfied with what Richelieu had done, she added to the luxury of the ornaments of which he had already been so prodigal; and confided the task of these interior embellishments to La Mercier, her architect, and to Vouet, who proclaimed himself the first painter in Europe.†

Her cabinet, which was considered as the marvel and the miracle of Paris, contained a work by Leonardo da Vinci; the *Kindred of the Virgin*, by Andrea del Sarto; an *Æneas saving Anchises*, by Annibal Carraccio; a *Flight into Egypt*, by Guido; a *St. John mounted on an Eagle*, by Raphael; two pictures by Poussin; and the *Pilgrims of Emmaüs*, by Paul Veronese. This cabinet was the work of the cardinal; but the queen added to it a bath-room, an oratory, and a gallery. All which the taste of the time could combine of flowers, ciphers, and allegories, was scattered over a golden ground in the bath-room. The oratory was hung with paintings by Champagne, Vouet, and Bour-

* Philip Van-Champagne, born at Brussels in 1602, went to Paris in 1621, where he became the pupil of Poussin. He obtained the appointment of painter to the king, with a pension of one thousand two hundred livres. On the formation of the Academy of Painting, in 1648, he was one of the first members received, and was named rector. He died in 1674. His finest works were, *The Vow of Louis XIII.*; the *Apparition of Saint Gervais and Saint Protais to Saint Ambrose*, and the *Translation of their Bodies*; a *Cena*, &c.

† Simon Vouet, a celebrated painter of the French school, was born in Paris, in 1582. He received a pension from Louis XIII. His school produced Lebrun, Lesueur, and Mignard. He died first painter and drawing-master to the king, in 1641. His works contain nothing remarkable, and appear unworthy of the vogue which they obtained

don Stella,* representing the principal events in the life of the Virgin. A solitary window, of which the frame was silver, served to light it.

As regarded the gallery, which was placed in the most retired situation, whose ceiling was painted by Vouet, and whose floor was wrought by Maré, the regent appropriated it as a council-chamber.†

Mazarin had also his apartments in the palace, looking upon the *rue des Bons Enfans;* and he had an armed guard at their entrance, similar to those of its royal tenants.

At this time Louis was still under the care of Madame de Senecey and his female attendants, who were to continue their charge until he should reach his seventh year. The cardinal had the superintendence of his education; while M. de Villeroi was appointed his governor; M. Dumont, his sub-governor; M. de Péréfixe,‡ his preceptor; and

* We can find but one painter of the name who flourished at that period—James Stella, born at Lyons, in 1596, of a family of artists, originally from Flanders. In 1616 he made a journey to Italy, and visited Rome and Florence. When he returned to France, he was appointed first painter to the king, and Knight of the Order of St. Michael. He died in 1657. His works are much esteemed. Two of them, *Jesus appearing to Mary Magdalene*, and *Minerva surrounded by the Muses*, are in the gallery of the Louvre. This is, in all probability, the artist to whom allusion is made in the text, and who has been confused with Sebastian Bourdon, born in Montpellier, so late as 1616, and who was the Director of the Academy of Painting, and made himself celebrated at the age of twenty-seven by his *Martyrdom of St. Peter*, which was his best work. He died in 1671. One of the principal paintings in St. Peter's at Rome is the production of his pencil.

† Louis XIV. et son Siècle. Extracted from the work of M. Vatout on the Royal Residences.

‡ Hardouin de Beaumont de Péréfixe, born in 1605, was appointed preceptor to Louis XIV. in 1644, Bishop of Rodez in 1648, and soon afterward confessor to the king; member of the French Academy in 1654, and Archbishop of Paris in 1662. He died in 1670, universally regretted both for his wisdom and for his high morality. He wrote, for the use of his royal pupil, a book, entitled *Institutio Principis;* but his principal work was a *Life of Henry IV.*, which has been translated into almost every European language.

Laporte, his first valet-de-chambre. All the amusements of the infant king were of a military tendency. He delighted in handling arms, and drumming upon the windows and tables; while the Duke d'Anjou, on the contrary, was gentle and quiet in his sports. MADEMOISELLE mentions in her Memoirs that she was in the habit of going generally twice a-day to play with the little princes; and that the Duke d'Anjou was the prettiest child in the world; while the more martial tastes of the king do not appear to have made an equal impression upon her. Louis had his baby-court, of which the leader was the Count de Guiche. In 1636, Louis Henry de Loménie,* then seven years of age, was added to their number; and it is to him that those who are interested in the childhood of the young sovereign are indebted for the earliest anecdotes which have been recorded. De Loménie was already installed as one of the "children of honor," for thus were the associates of Louis officially called, when a reinforcement of the little court took place; and his account of this ceremonial is too characteristic to be omitted. The new courtiers were the Marquis de la Châtre, the Messieurs de Coislin, the nephew of the Chancellor Seguin, M. de Vivonne,† the Count de Plessis Praslin, and the Chevalier, his brother.

The queen-regent had placed about the person of the king, Madame de la Salle, one of her femmes-de-chambre; and it was she who received the noble recruits, drums beating, at the head of the troop of "children of honor" already on the establishment, in the gallery of the Louvre which contained the portraits of the kings of France. "She carried a pike in her hand, a gorget rested upon her tight-fitting and stiffly-starched neckerchief, and she had a man's hat upon her head, covered with a profusion of black feathers, and a sword by her side. She presented a musket to

* Son of the Count de Brienne, who succeeded Chavigny as Secretary of State.

† Afterward Marshal of France

each of the new comers, by whom it was received with a military salute, the order forbidding them to take off their hats. She then kissed them in succession upon the forehead, gave them her blessing as cavalierly as the abbé de Gondi* himself could have done; and this accomplished, ordered the drill which was performed daily."†

The king and the children of honor were in the habit of exchanging trifling presents, and De Loménie having, on one occasion, delighted his royal playfellow by some gift, and being desirous to amuse himself with a crossbow which was just then in favor with Louis, the latter consented in return to lend him the coveted plaything; but anxious to repossess it, eventually held out his hand to take it back, when Madame de Senecey observed: "Sire, kings give what they lend." Upon which Louis, desiring his young companion to approach, said, calmly: "Keep the crossbow, M. de Loménie: I wish that it were something of more importance, but such as it is, I give it you with all my heart." It is not possible to suppose, even if this were a spontaneous movement, that it was equally an improvised address; but it is evident that if Madame de Senecey were an able prompter, she had at once an apt and a docile pupil.

At seven years of age, Louis suddenly found every thing changed about him. MM. de Villeroi and Péréfixe, Laporte, and the other valets came into office, and all his female attendants were withdrawn; but not even his little court could compensate to the royal child for the bereavement, when he found himself all at once surrounded by male attendants, and missed many of the most cherished indulgences of his infancy.

Laporte relates that the young king was greatly chagrined on discovering the inability of those about him to relate the fairy tales with which he had hitherto been lulled to sleep; upon which he ventured to suggest to the queen,

* Afterward Cardinal de Retz. † Louis XIV. et son Siècle

that should Her Majesty consider it expedient, he would substitute for these fables some work of more utility, that in the event of the king's continuing wakeful, he might at least retain impressions worthy to remain upon his memory. He then obtained from M. de Péréfixe, Mézerai's History of France, from which he each night read a chapter aloud; and ere long, Louis, contrary to his expectation, became greatly interested in this new study, protesting that he would, when he grew up, emulate Charlemagne, Saint Louis, and Francis I.; and exhibiting great displeasure when he was told that he would be a second Louis the Slothful.

As these historical readings proceeded, the pleasure which the little king evinced in their progress increased more and more; but Laporte was not long ere he discovered that they by no means afforded equal satisfaction to the cardinal; who, on one occasion, when Louis was in bed, listening to the Life of Hugues Capet, entered the chamber on his way to the *Conciergerie* where he resided; and inquiring the name of the book from which he was reading, and being told that it was the History of France, shrugged his shoulders, and left the room abruptly, without making any remark. Louis, as soon as he was aware of the presence of Mazarin, had shut his eyes, and affected to be asleep; but on the morrow the cardinal observed publicly that he presumed the governor of the king put on his stockings, as he found that his valet-de-chambre was teaching him history. The policy of the wily cardinal had begun even thus early to prompt his antipathy to the mental progression of the young sovereign. In all that related to his physical development he was zealous; nor was he less willing to encourage the incipient vanity which betrayed itself in the bearing and actions of Louis; his haughtiness and his egotism met with no rebuke; it was the intellect, not the passions, or the bodily strength of the prince, which he desired to cripple; he was willing that he should mount

the triumphal car, provided the reins remained in his own hands; and to insure this, it was necessary that he should be rendered incapable of grasping them.

The aversion of Louis, child as he was, for the cardinal, was at once strong and tenacious; and this aversion, far from being confined to the person of the minister, was extended to all his family, whom he had sent for from Italy, and who were sufficiently numerous to give full scope to the hatred of the young king. One of the nephews of the Mazarin had been admitted into the ranks of the children of honor; and amiable and high-spirited as he was, Louis still included him in his distaste, of which he gave a proof every night, when, as he was about to retire, the first valet de-chambre presented, by his order, a candlestick containing two wax-lights to whichever member of his little court he desired to retain as his companion while preparing to go to rest; by desiring that the bougie should not be given to M. de Mancini.

On one occasion, at Compiègne,* as the cardinal was passing with a numerous suite along the terrace, the king turned away, saying, without any attempt to lower his voice: "There is the Grand Turk going by." Deplessis, a gentleman of the sleeve,† who overheard the remark, immediately reported it to the regent, who sent for her son, expressed great displeasure, and insisted upon his declaring

* This Chateau-Royal is one of the most remarkable in France, alike by its extent and by its style. It was rebuilt by Louis XV., completed under Louis XVI., and completely restored by Napoleon. Near Compiègne is a vast forest. In the fifteenth century, the English took possession of it; but Charles VII. drove them out; and Joan of Arc fell into their power during the siege.

† The Gentlemen of the Sleeve were a corps of nobles attached to the personal service of the French princes from the period when they passed from the care of their female to that of their male attendants, until their majority. They accompanied them everywhere; and as etiquet did not permit them to hold the royal hand, they merely touched the sleeve of their royal charge.

to her the name of the person who had bestowed this appellation upon the minister; her threats, were, however, useless, for Louis persisted in asserting that no one had prompted him to bestow it, but that it had suggested itself to his own mind. He also made a remark of similar tendency some time subsequently at St. Germain, when, as the swords and spurs of the gentlemen in attendance upon Mazarin struck against the marble stairs when they retired, he said, dryly: "His Eminence the cardinal makes a great noise wherever he passes; he must have about five hundred persons in his suite." And again, a few days afterward, as he was traversing a passage in which he observed one of the household of the minister, named Bois-Fermé, evidently in attendance, he turned to M. de Nyert and Laporte, who were following him, and observed: "So the cardinal is with mamma again, for I see Bois-Fermé in the passage. Does he always wait there?"

"Yes, Sire," answered Nyert; "but in addition to Bois-Fermé, there is another gentleman upon the stairs, and two in the corridor."

"There is one at every stride, then," said the young king.

The state affected by the cardinal already jarred upon the natural haughtiness of the young monarch; and boy as he was, it was impossible that he could contrast the exaggerated magnificence of his mother's minister with his own neglected and almost destitute condition, without feeling how insultingly Mazarin had profited by his weakness and want of power. That those by whom Louis was surrounded were equally inimical to the cardinal there can be no doubt; and thus the aversion of the young king was permitted to grow on unchecked by expostulation of any kind, save in the occasional conferences with the regent, during which he stood and listened with a swelling heart and a proud eye, and from which he retired only strengthened in his distaste. Nothing more, however, was requisite than

that he should look around him, and remembering who he was, throw back the coverings of his bed, and reveal the sheets, worn and ragged, through which Laporte relates that his legs occasionally passed, and rested on the bare matress; or take from the hands of an attendant the dressing-gown of green velvet, lined with squirrel-fur, which, made on the dimensions necessary for a previous year, finished by reaching only half-way down his legs. Nor were his equipages more magnificent than his wardrobe; for wishing one day to proceed to Conflans to take a bath, Laporte gave the necessary orders, and a carriage drove up to convey His Majesty; but as Laporte was about to enter it, in order to prepare the interior for the reception of his master, he perceived that the leather fittings of the doors had been removed, and that it was altogether in so dilapidated a condition that even the short journey which had been contemplated could not be undertaken without great risk of accident. Laporte was accordingly compelled to announce to the king that he must forego his project, as it would not only be attended with danger, but that, moreover, he would excite the mockery of the people by appearing in such an equipage. Louis, believing that there must be exaggeration in the report, insisted upon seeing the carriage himself; when he no sooner discovered the wretched state of the vehicle, and the want of respect with which he was treated in being exposed to travel in such a style, than he became red with anger, turned away in disgust, and the same evening complained bitterly to the regent, to the cardinal, and to M. de Maison, who was at that period the superintendent of finance. Thanks to this expostulation, the king had five new carriages.*

Nor did the avarice of Mazarin display itself only toward the young monarch; for the court of Anne of Austria herself, to whom he owed alike his elevation and his power—whose very reputation had been sacrificed to the furtherance

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

of his ambition—was in so deplorable a state of penury and discomfort, that Madame de Motteville distinctly declares in her Memoirs, that the ladies attached to the person of the queen-regent had no table provided for them in the palace, and very frequently were without food of any kind until after her supper, when they devoured the fragments of the repast, eating even the remains of her bread, and making use of her finger-napkin. A cotemporaneous writer states, that 'the cardinal declared he desired nothing for himself; and that, all his family being in Italy, he would adopt as his relations the servants of the queen, and seek alike his greatness and his security in overwhelming them with benefits!"* The sequel proved the sincerity with which he had put forth the assertion.

The year 1644 was much less fertile in events. *Monsieur* had taken Gravelines, and won the battle of Fribourg; and although, as a counterbalance to this success, the battle of Lerida and the siege of Tarragona had both terminated unfortunately in Spain, the court eagerly seized so legitimate a subject of rejoicing as the victory of the Duke d'Orleans at Gravelines, to compensate itself for a revolt which had lately taken place in Paris, on the occasion of certain house taxes which the government had endeavored to impose, and which had no result beyond providing the parliament with new subjects of complaint against the minister. MADEMOISELLE expatiates with great complacency upon these demonstrations, of which, as the daughter of the victor, she was necessarily the heroine. "The day that the *Te Deum* was chanted at Nôtre-Dame in gratitude for this victory," she says, "there were public rejoicings. The chancellor gave, the same evening, some very pretty fireworks in front of his hotel, to which I was invited by Madame de Sully. *Madame* had a great bonfire on the morrow in the court of the Orleans Palace, while at all the windows there were paper lanterns, with the arms of their Royal

* La Rochefoucauld.

Highnesses painted upon them; and to render the ceremony complete, there was also a ball and a collation. Two days afterward, I did the same; and then I took the violins to the queen, who was pleased to make us dance a tolerably long time on the terrace of the Palais-Royal."*

In this year sprung to life the famous sect of the Jansenists, to which, however, we shall do no more than allude, as religious controversies are irrelevant to our purpose.

At this period, too, Corneille completed his Rodogune—one of his master-pieces—of which he was himself so enamored that, in the Introduction, he exclaims: "It unites beauty of subject, novelty of fiction, poetical strength, facility of expression, solid reasoning, ardent passion, and the tenderness of love; and this happy assemblage is so mingled, that it increases from act to act: the second surpasses the first; the third is superior to the second; and the last exceeds all the others. The action is single, great, and complete; its duration does not go beyond, or scarcely beyond, the representation. The subject is one of the most illustrious that can be imagined; and the unity of place is to be met with as I indicate it in the third of my discourses, and with the indulgence which I have requested for the theater."†

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

† Pierre Corneille, the celebrated tragic poet, surnamed the *Father of French Tragedy*, was born at Rouen, in 1606. Educated by the Jesuits, he appeared at the bar, where he was unsuccessful; upon which he resolved to devote himself to poetry. He wrote the comedy of *Mélita* in 1620; *The Widow*, *The Palace Gallery*, *The Lady's Maid*, *The Place-Royale*, *Clitandra*, &c. He took a higher flight in his *Medea*, and laid the foundation of his fame by *The Cid*, which was performed in 1636. The tragedies of *The Horaces* and *Cinna*, represented in 1639, revealed all the resources of his genius, as well as *Polyeucte*, *Pompey*, and *Rodogune*. The tragedies of *Heraclius*, *Sertorius*, and *Nicodemus* commenced the era of decline, consequent upon the old age of the Great Corneille. *Theodosius*, *Perthurita*, *Attila*, *Agésilas*, *Pulcheria*, *Otho*, &c., were those by which this father of tragedy terminated his dramatic career. He also translated the *Imitation of Jesus Christ* into French verse. He died in 1684, Dean of the French Academy.

What Dryden did in England for his patrons, Corneille did in his own country for himself.

A short time subsequently, the troubles in England, which had commenced during the ministry of Richelieu, had so grievously increased, that the queen was compelled to quit the country, and to take refuge in France. She disembarked at Brest; but her health was so shaken by anxiety and suffering, that she found herself unable to proceed directly to Paris, and consequently complied with the advice of her medical attendants, who had counseled her to try the waters of Bourbon. At the close of the season, when she announced her intention of joining the court, MADEMOISELLE was sent by their majesties as far as Bourg-la-Reine, to meet and welcome her; and, in her turn, was met by *Monsieur*, who had already rejoined his royal and unhappy sister. As they were about to enter Paris on their return, they encountered the king and the queen-regent a little beyond the faubourg; and, after a mutual salutation, Henrietta of England took her seat in the same carriage with their majesties, and so proceeded to the Louvre. Although she had made every exertion both to recover her health and to preserve her appearance, the overtaxed strength of the English queen had failed under her trials, and her faint and faded countenance excited general sympathy; but, nevertheless, a smile returned to her pale lips as she received, on the morrow, all the honors due to a princess of the blood-royal of France; and saw herself once more beneath the roof of her father, Henry IV.

For a time she maintained the state of a sovereign: her court was composed of numerous ladies of quality, maids of honor, guards, and footmen; but this household gradually diminished, and, in a short time, nothing could form a greater contrast to her actual rank than her suite and her table.* She had fallen under the withering grasp of the cardinal-minister. MADEMOISELLE proceeds to say, with

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

the calm self-appreciation peculiar to her: "I assiduously visited the Queen of England, who, miserable as she was, never wearied of the pleasure she took in exaggerating all her past prosperity, the happiness of the life which she had led in England, the beauty and goodness of that country, the amusements in which she had shared, and, above all, the good qualities of the Prince of Wales, her son. She wished that I should see him, from which I guessed her intentions; and the sequel will prove that I was not deceived in my judgment."*

The year 1645 opened with the arrest of Barillon,† and the battle of Nordlingen, gained by the Duke d'Enghien and Marshal Turenne,‡ a victory which not only secured the inter-

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

† The President Barillon, sent a prisoner to Amboise for the remonstrances which he addressed to the Parliament.

‡ Henry de la Tour-d'Auvergne, Viscount de Turenne, second son of Henry de la Tour-d'Auvergne, Duke de Bouillon, was born at Sedan, in 1611, and devoted himself to a military career. He first served under the orders of Prince Maurice of Orange, and was made a captain in 1626. In 1634 he passed into the French service, and obtained the rank of lieutenant-general. In Italy, in 1639, he raised the siege of Casal, and was wounded at that of Turin, in 1640. In 1643 he besieged and took Trino, for which exploit he received a marshal's bâton. Appointed commander of the army of Germany in 1644, he reëstablished the Elector of Trèves in his possessions; and drove the Elector of Bavaria entirely from his states in 1648. The civil war having broken out at that period, the Duke de Bouillon induced Turenne to join the Parliamentary party; but, tired of fighting against his king, he became, in 1651, a general of the royal army, and overcame the forces of the rebel princes commanded by Condé, whom he forced to repass the Seine, and to retreat. He pursued the Spaniards through Flanders, took from them several fortresses, and made himself master of all the country between the Lys and Escaut. The peace of the Pyrennees terminated the war for a time; but it recommenced in 1667, and was concluded by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Louis XIV. having declared war against Holland in 1672, confided to Turenne the command of his army. In 1674, he commanded the forces in Germany, and was intrusted to defend the Rhine, and to cover Alsatia. He beat the Imperialists at Entzheim at Mulhausen, and at Turkheim, and com-

ests of France in Germany, but obtained for the duke the reputation never afterward forfeited, of being the first captain of the age. The news of this success had no sooner reached him, than the cardinal hastened to report it to the queen-regent, who rose to meet him with the liveliest expressions of delight; but Mazarin, far from responding to her self-gratulatory demonstrations, retained his gravity of countenance as he replied: "Madam, so many individuals have fallen, that Your Majesty must not rejoice at this victory."* The cardinal had, indeed, not only a long list of the slain to transmit to Anne of Austria, but also intelligence of the captivity of the Marshal de Grammont, who, after having made head against a body of the enemy's forces, and seen General Mercy, by whom it was commanded, fall beneath his attack, at the head of only two regiments, had ultimately been made a prisoner after receiving a severe and dangerous wound. His exchange was soon demanded, however, by the Duke d'Enghien, who, on his recovery, was anxious to reclaim him; and who threatened, should he be detained, to send the Count de Gleen, whom he had offered as his ransom, to France; but the Elector conceded the point at once, and the illustrious captive was liberated, after having received every mark of consideration from his gallant enemies. Immediately after the battle the Duke d'Enghien became so seriously indisposed, that a courier at length arrived in the capital with the intelligence that his physicians considered his illness mortal; but notwithstanding this fact, as a pyrotechnic display had been prepared in honor of the victory, Cardinal Mazarin determined not to deprive the court of their promised amuse-

pelled them to repass the Rhine in 1675. His enemies opposed to him a rival worthy of his valor, in the person of Montecuculli; and the two generals were about to come into collision, near the village of Sulzbach, when Turenne, while engaged in reconnoitering the position of the battery, was killed by a cannon-ball, on the 27th of July, 1675.

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

ment; and, without reflecting upon the probable consequences of so glaring a demonstration of indifference to the loss of a prince who had invariably sacrificed himself to the interests of the state, and who had, moreover, covered the French arms with glory, he resolved not to defer the rejoicings; while so heedless did he show himself even of the common rules of courtesy and feeling, that the fireworks were actually let off opposite the hôtel d'Enghien, in which the duchess was then residing, whose grief must necessarily have been increased tenfold by a want of consideration insulting to herself, and the sounds of a festivity, built up, to all appearance, upon the ruins of her own happiness. Her sufferings were, however, fortunately of short duration, for news soon afterward arrived of the convalescence of the conqueror.*

To this victory succeeded the marriage of the Princess Marie de Gonzague† with the King of Poland; and once more Paris was in commotion.

Perhaps we shall find no opportunity more appropriate than that which is presented by this occurrence, to give a brief sketch of an individual who played a prominent part on the occasion, and whose name is intimately linked with the period of the Fronde.

John Francis Paul de Gondi, afterward Cardinal de Retz, was born in 1614, at Montmirail. The nobility of his family was recent, but it occupied a high rank in the state. His father (as already stated in a note) had been general of the galleys, and afterward retired to the abbey of the Oratory; but the first of his ancestors who acquired celebrity, was Albert, created Marshal of France under Catherine

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

† Louise-Marie de Gonzague, daughter of Charles, Duke of Nevers and Mantua. She was brought up under the care of Madame de Longueville. *Monsieur* had sought to marry her, but the alliance was strenuously opposed by the Queen-Mother. She was afterward beloved by the unfortunate Cinq-Mars.

de Medicis, who was the son of a Florentine banker established at Lyons. This Florentine blood made itself apparent in Paul de Gondi, and doubtlessly endowed him with the spirit of intrigue which he displayed during the Fronde. His education was confided to Vincent de Paule; but the holy confessor of Anne of Austria had little cause to congratulate himself upon the evangelical progress of his pupil, whose repugnance for the ecclesiastical profession led him to commit acts of the most reckless folly, and the most immoral nature, in the vain hope of emancipating himself from the trammels of a calling for which he was conscious that his tastes, his habits, and his principles had utterly unfitted him. The interest of his family existing principally in the Church, however, coupled with the fact that he was a younger son, caused him to despair of freedom save through his own means; and in order to obtain it, he reluctantly cast off every scruple, and became a duelist, a *roué*, and a conspirator; in which characters he sent two challenges, endeavored to run away with his own cousin, and conspired against Richelieu. Finding, nevertheless, that even enormities like these still left his gown upon his shoulders, and that he was condemned to live and die a churchman, he had too much energy of character to sink into insignificance, and he consequently resolved to distinguish himself in the career which had been marked out for him. He forthwith studied diligently and successfully, distinguished himself by his erudition, and after some public conferences with a Protestant controversialist, converted his opponent to the faith of Rome. This conversion acquired for him considerable celebrity; and as we have already seen, Louis XIII., on his death-bed, appointed him Coadjutor of Paris. He became a fashionable preacher; but his eloquence must have been more admirable than the subject-matter of his sermons, those which remain in the MS. in the royal library being of very questionable merit. Like many other influential persons of the time, he displayed

little moral worth, changing his party in accordance with his personal interest. His great object was a rivalry with Mazarin, and in order to effect this he did not confine himself to a mere endeavor to obtain the popular suffrages, but even had the boldness to attempt to supersede the cardinal in the affections of the queen-regent. His double failure is matter of history. The Cardinal de Retz, despite his temporary importance in both parties, found his influence at an end on the reconciliation of the two factions; and as he had lost ground despite his intrigues, although he had at one time held the destinies of the monarchy in his hands, he was suddenly consigned to the Bastille, and thence transferred to Nantes, whence he escaped, with every prospect of once more swaying the public mind; but being a bad horseman he fell during his flight, dislocated his shoulder, and was compelled to abandon the theater of his glory. He passed the remainder of his active life in wandering over Europe; endeavoring in Spain, Italy, and Holland, to create new intrigues; and, if report may be believed, soiling his holy office, and the Romish purple, which he had acquired "almost by surprise," by vulgar debauch. Nevertheless, he rendered a great and solid service to his country, by energetically sustaining its interests in the conclave during his exile, and securing the election of Alexander VII.; an act of loyalty which once more opened to him the gates of France. Banishment had not, however, changed his character; and he refused not only to the all-powerful minister, but also to the solicitation of the king, to retire from his episcopal seat; but after the death of Mazarin he consented to exchange the archbishopric of Paris for the abbey of St. Denis. Thenceforward he abandoned politics, and professed no interest in matters unconnected with religion. His last act of subtilty was an offer which he made to resign the cardinal's hat bestowed upon him during the Fronde, and to retire into a Carthusian monastery; but the project was negatived by the Pope,

and there exists strong reason for suspicion that this apparent self-abnegation was a mere pretext for ascertaining the feeling of Louis XIV. toward him; and that while the self-sacrificing recluse was laying his renunciation at the feet of the king, who received it very willingly, he had forewarned the court of Rome not to take him at his word. From that period he devoted himself entirely to his religious duties, and to the liquidation of the debts which he had contracted during the Fronde. His principal work was the memoirs of his life, from which we have already quoted a few passages; and the history of this production is sufficiently singular to merit mention. He confided the MS. on his death-bed to an Abbé, who was his friend, requesting him to strike out whatever might tend to injure his reputation; and this person erased a considerable number of passages, all relating to affairs of gallantry, in which the cardinal had been engaged in early life. A second MS. had been, it is said, placed in the hands of some nuns, and it is probable that they were at least equally severe. A third MS., more complete than either of the preceding, was preserved in the archives of Epinal, whence it was withdrawn by order of the Directory, and confided to the citizen (afterward Count) de Real for publication. M. Real, however, never published it; he preserved the MS., and even took it with him into exile; but it was only after his death that it was deposited in the royal library.*

During his latter years, whenever his personal interests, or the affairs of the church, drew him to Paris, he passed all his leisure hours in the society of Madame de Sévigné, whose affection for him was so great that she never could be induced to admit his faults; and the last days of his existence were embellished by a friendship which she has immortalized in her imperishable letters.

Return we now to the royal marriage, from which we have so long digressed. The Palatine of Posnania and the

* Géruzez, *Notice sur le Cardinal de Retz.*

Bishop of Warmia had been chosen by the King Wladislas VII as his proxies to espouse the Princess Marie; and the Duke d'Elbœuf was dispatched by the queen-regent, with a dozen persons of rank, and the carriages of the king, the Duke d'Orleans, and the cardinal, to receive them at the Porte St. Antoine.

The *cortège* of the ambassadors was composed, first of a company of foot-guards, dressed in the oriental style, and commanded by officers splendidly attired and mounted, whose vests and mantles were enriched with rubies, diamonds, and pearls; these were followed by two troops of horse, in the same uniforms as the preceding, but formed of richer stuffs, and having the caparisons of their chargers covered with precious stones; and in the rear of these glittering cavaliers rode the French Academistes,* "who," says Madame de Motteville, "to do honor to the ambassador and dishonor to France, had gone out to meet them;" and whose horses, covered with ribbons and feathers, looked poor and paltry beside the Polish chargers, covered with embroidered housings, and surcharged with jewels. Nor did the carriages of the king fare better than his escort, when brought into contact with those of the ambassadors, of which portions were formed of massive silver, where those of France were only made of iron. Next in order came the Polish nobles, clad in gold and silver brocade, each with his train and livery; the rich stuffs in which they were habited, the resplendent colors of which they were composed, and the stream of diamonds which covered their whole costume, were so dazzling, that the ladies of the court were lost in astonishment and admiration; and compelled to admit, that, save at the entry of Buckingham into the capital, twenty years previously, nothing so magnificent had ever been seen in the French metropolis. Each of these Polish

* A name given, at that period, to those who organized and controlled the royal stud.

nobles had at his side a nobleman of the court, who accompanied him as a mark of honor. But all this pageant, brilliant as it was, was eclipsed by the appearance of the envoys themselves, who followed close after the Sieur de Belize, the master of the ceremonies. The Bishop of Warmia, draped in rich watered silk of a violet color, with a hat whence depended a cord of gold enriched with diamonds, was on his right; and on his left the Palatine of Posnania, dressed in gold brocade, covered with precious stones; having his cimiter, his poniard, and his spurs incrusted with turquoises, rubies, and diamonds, and his horse's saddle and housings of cloth of gold; while the animal was also shod with gold so insecurely, that long ere he reached the palace its shoes had become detached.*

The contrast of the comparative squalor of their reception must have produced a disagreeable effect upon the minds of these magnificent representatives of majesty; for although by the time they had traversed the streets of Paris and reached the palace the night had fallen, and that at this period the streets of the capital were, as we have stated elsewhere, totally unlighted, there were neither torches nor flambeaux to illuminate their march; and although the king and the queen-regent, the princes, the princesses, and the ladies and nobles of the court, were assembled on the balconies to witness their entrance, it was merely a matter of ceremony, as they were unable to distinguish any thing; while the Poles, on their side, complained of the omission; and when M. de Liancourt, the first gentleman of the chamber, appeared to welcome them, they caused a request to be tendered to the regent, that on the occasion of their first audience they might be received in the same order as they had entered the city; and this favor was, of course, at once conceded. The Hôtel Vendôme, vacant by the exile of its masters, was appropriated as their residence.

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

CHAPTER VII.

Fontainebleau—The Polish Envoys—The Forest—Darkness in a Palace—Anger of the Regent—A Quarrel on Etiquet—The Coadjutor of Paris—A mistaken Word—Reconciliation between the Cardinal and the Coadjutor—Threat to the Queen of Poland—The Marriage—Munificence of Anne of Austria—The King and his Brother—Precocity of Louis XIV.—Effeminacy of Philip d'Anjou—A Court-Ball—The first Campaign of Louis XIV.—Mademoiselle and the Emperor of Germany—Death of the Marshal de Bassompierre—Feud between the Regent and the Parliament—Revolt of the United Provinces—The Duke de Guise at Naples; his Capture at Capua—Mademoiselle and the Prince of Wales—Illness of the King—The Family of Mazarin—Revolt of the Parisians—Richelieu versus Mazarin—M. d'Emery—Paris under Arms—Arrogance of the Queen-Regent—The King at Nôtre Dame—Dissensions in the Parliament—The new Edicts—Declaration of the Regent—Opposition of the Corporate Bodies—A new Leader.

The palace of Fontainebleau, in which the queen-regent decided upon receiving the Polish Envoys, on the day fixed for the signature of the marriage-contract, was at that period in all the pride of its regality. The vast and majestic pile, seated in a forest extending over a surface of 25,975 *arpens*, and in itself a model of architectural beauty, was well calculated to produce a fitting impression upon the minds of these magnificent strangers; and Anne of Austria, resolved to follow up the external advantage thus gained, gave orders that a grand supper should be prepared; but when the hour for the repast arrived, states Madame de Motteville, the queen was told that there had been a disagreement among the officers of the kitchen, and that the first course had failed. More-

over, so little order had been observed, and so little preparation made, that when the sumptuous foreigners, who had been the gaze of all ranks in Paris, as specimens of oriental luxury, had taken leave, and were about to depart, it was discovered that the apartments through which they must pass before they could reach the great stair-case, were in utter darkness; and they were compelled to grope their way as best they might.

The anger of the regent was extreme, but the evil was beyond remedy; and the court of France, which already loved to consider itself as the most polished and correct in Europe, was ruined forever in the estimation of a comparatively barbarous state. Anne of Austria felt this humiliating fact the more deeply, that she had been reared amid the punctilious etiquet of Spanish ceremony; and in a court irrigated by streams of gold and jewels, the produce of both the Indies. But once more the avarice of Mazarin had triumphed over his sense of what he owed to the country which he governed, and the young king whom he dishonored. When signing the marriage-contract, the Bishop of Warmia had expressed a wish to perform the ceremony in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, and, accordingly, Saintot, deputy-master of the ceremonies, was sent thither with a letter containing an order to the coadjutor (the Abbé de Retz), to have the cathedral prepared for the bishop, "in the same terms," says De Retz himself, "in which they would have ordered a municipal magistrate to prepare the town-hall for a ballet." It so chanced that the archbishop had left the capital for Anjou, only the previous day; and the coadjutor, aware that the archbishops and bishops of Paris had never ceded their right to perform ceremonies of this description in their own churches, save to cardinals of the royal house, and that his uncle had been severely blamed by all the clergy, for having permitted the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault to marry the Queen of England in his cathedral, at once

communicated the contents of the letter to the dean and canons who were with him, telling them at the same time, that he had no doubt of its being the blunder of some clerk in the office of the secretary of state; and that he would start in the morning for Fontainebleau, where the court were then residing, and have the mistake cleared up. Declining their pressing request to accompany him upon this errand, he next waited upon the cardinal, and offered an expostulation, alledging his reasons, and requesting that he would make them acceptable to the regent; but although evidently impressed by the arguments of the coadjutor, Mazarin nevertheless maintained his point; and on being reminded by De Retz that he was uttering the sentiments of the archbishop and all the clergy of Paris, as well as his own, the cardinal lost his temper, and terminated the interview abruptly and uncivilly, by referring his visitor to the queen. With her the coadjutor fared no better than with her minister; she listened dryly and angrily, and only replied that she would give audience to the chapter, without which he assured her that he neither could nor ought to come to any decision.

The chapter was instantly summoned, and the dean arrived on the following day, with sixteen deputies. They were presented by the coadjutor, and they argued the disputed point calmly and forcibly. The queen desired them to see the cardinal, "who, to tell the truth," says De Retz, "uttered nothing to us but absurdities;" and, as he was still a very imperfect French scholar, and by no means aware of the exact force of the words which he employed, he terminated his answer by telling the coadjutor that he had, on the previous evening, talked to him very *insolently*. De Retz replied only by a quiet smile; and then, turning to the deputies, said, calmly, "Gentlemen, the word is amusing." Offended by the smile, the cardinal demanded, in a high key, "Who do you suppose you are talking with? I will teach you how to con-

duct yourself." The temper of De Retz gave way before this intemperance, and he replied that he was individually quite aware it was the coadjutor of Paris who was talking to the Cardinal Mazarin; but that it would appear as though His Eminence believed himself to be the Cardinal of Lorraine, speaking of the suffragan of Metz. After this explosion of anger on either side they parted; and the deputation had commenced preparation for their return to Paris, when the Marshal d'Estrées was announced, whose errand was to entreat of the coadjutor not to take serious umbrage at what had passed, as every thing might be arranged; and at length, finding that his advice was disregarded, he was compelled to admit that his visit had been suggested by the queen, from whom he brought an order that the coadjutor should wait upon her.

The Abbé de Retz did not hesitate, but at once obeyed the royal summons, taking the deputation along with him; and they found Anne of Austria considerably more amenable and condescending than on the occasion of their first interview. She informed the coadjutor that she had desired to see him, less on the subject of the marriage ceremony, than to reprimand him for the manner in which he had spoken to the poor cardinal, who was as gentle as a lamb, and who loved him as though he were his own son. She then added several flattering remarks; and ultimately desired the dean and deputies to attend the Abbé de Retz to the minister, in order that they might mutually decide on the steps necessary to be taken. The coadjutor made some opposition to this suggestion; and when he ultimately yielded, did so, as he declared, entirely to oblige her majesty. Mazarin received the deputation with even more courtesy than his royal mistress, and made a thousand excuses for his use of the word *insolently*, when, as he declared, he had simply purposed to say *insolito*. The difficulty was not, however, yet over; though, on his return to Paris,

the Abbé de Retz received a letter from his uncle, the archbishop, desiring him to offer no opposition to the wishes of the Polish prelate, but to allow him to perform the marriage ceremony; for the coadjutor, convinced that he was indebted for the somewhat tardy courtesy with which he had ultimately been treated at Fontainebleau, merely to a desire on the part of the court to gain time to communicate with M. de Paris himself, once more convened the chapter; and their definitive resolution was, that the archbishop was at liberty to dispose as he saw fit of the nave of the cathedral, but that the *chœur* appertained to the chapter, who would never cede it, save to M. de Paris, or to his coadjutor.

The cardinal at once understood the true meaning of this empty distinction, and decided that the marriage should take place in the chapel of the Palais Royal, of which he asserted the grand almoner was the curate; but here again the pertinacious coadjutor interfered and wrote to expostulate. The minister, however, merely laughed at the letter; and the Abbé de Retz, without further hesitation, represented to the future Queen of Poland, that if she consented to be married in so irregular a manner, he should feel compelled to declare her marriage invalid, unless the ceremony was performed in the Palais Royal itself, and that the Bishop of Warmia should previously wait upon him to receive his permission in writing. The poor princess, terrified by this threat, and aware that there was not sufficient time to send for a new license from Antwerp, induced the court to comply; the proposition of the coadjutor was accepted, and the marriage took place.*

We have recorded this circumstance because it appears to us to throw considerable light upon the customs, feelings, and prejudices of the time. Its result was null, save as regarded the coadjutor himself, who fell into disfavor with the court for the hyper-tenacity with which he had de-

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

fended his privileges; while he acquired, at the same time, an extended influence over the clergy of the diocese. The royal marriage was solemnized on the 6th of November, 1645; the Bishop of Warmia celebrating the mass, and the Count Palatine Opalinski acting as sponsor for his sovereign.

Anne of Austria behaved most regally on the occasion, treating the Princess Marie like a daughter, and bestowing upon her a dowry of 700,000 crowns; and, what produced still more effect upon the court, giving her precedence over herself throughout the evening of her marriage. The two following days were devoted to festivity, and then the newly made bride left the capital to join her royal husband, attended by Madame de Guébriant, who was indebted for this honor to the fact that the marshal, her husband, had been killed two years previously at Rottveil.

Meanwhile, Louis XIV. had completed his seventh year, and Philip, Duke d'Anjou, his sixth; and Mazarin, with the sanction of the queen-regent, had so directed their tastes, as to render the first manly, and the second effeminate. The young king was tall, flexible, and muscular, and made rapid progress in all physical exercises; but his mind remained, thanks to the caution of the cardinal, almost a blank. Already serious and self-confident, he inspired respect at an age when children usually can do no more than please; while Philip attracted in an equal degree by the amability of his disposition. While Louis was engaged in manly pursuits, the Duke d'Anjou was, on the contrary, encouraged by the queen to dress himself in a female costume, and even to show himself in that state in public, surrounded by a bevy of young courtiers, in the same unseemly masquerade. The tastes of Philip were thus rendered vain, frivolous, and ignoble, at the same time that his elder brother was encouraged to "*play the king*" betimes; but, nevertheless, lest he should "*escape from his leading-strings*," the cardinal was still careful to surround

aim with amusements calculated to convey a feeling of dependence.*

That both the princes were, however, equally accomplished even at this early age, in the courtly grace required by their exalted rank, is manifest in the account given by a writer of the period, of their bearing at the marriage festivities of the Princess Marie. "The king," says the chronicler in question, "with the gracefulness which shines in all his actions, took the hand of the Queen of Poland, and conducted her to the platform where his majesty opened the *branle*,† and was followed by nearly all the princes, princesses, great nobles, and ladies of the court. At its termination, the king, with the same grace and majestic deportment, conducted the young queen to her place; and seated himself beside the Duke d'Anjou, to see the *courantes*‡ executed. These were led by the Duke d'Enghien, as gentle in the dance as he was rough in battle; and composed of the remaining nobles and ladies. The king then danced a second time; and led out the Duke d'Anjou with such skill, that every one was charmed with the polite bearing of these two young princes."

The beginning of the year 1646 was rendered memorable by what was called the first campaign of the king. The design of this campaign was to revenge on Flanders certain reverses experienced in Italy. A council was held at Liancourt, where the Duke d'Orleans, Cardinal Mazarin, and Marshal Gassion,§ determined the plan of the cam-

* Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon.

† A dance, very popular in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was performed in two different ways; the one, which was an importation from Poitou, was very rapid, a species of jig, and was danced in a circle; the other, which was considerably more stately, was an adoption from Brittany.

‡ A dance formerly popular at the French court, but which has entirely fallen into disuse.

§ John de Gassion, Marshal of France, was born at Pau, in 1609, and died at Arras, in consequence of a wound received at the siege of Sens,

paign;* after which the Duke d'Enghien proceeded to Compiègne to take leave of their majesties, before he joined the army in Champagne; and a few days subsequently *Monsieur* also arrived at court, where he did not long remain, but continued his route to Amiens, at the desire of the king and the queen-regent; who were anxious that he should precede Louis XIV. to that city, where he was about to take up his residence during the operations. The court was, however, brilliant during his temporary sojourn, as he was accompanied by all the young men of quality who were to share in the campaign, and who were already equipped for service.†

Louis XIV. had not yet attained his eighth year, and as the queen had determined not to allow him to leave her side, it had consequently been considered expedient that he should not proceed farther than Amiens. Preparations were accordingly made in that city for the reception of the court; and on the day succeeding its arrival there, the queen-regent received intelligence of the death of her sister, the Empress of Germany; upon which the Abbé de la Rivière‡ lost no time in representing to MADEMOISELLE that it would be advisable for her to marry the emperor; but afterward recalling his words, he remarked that too much time must elapse before that alliance could take place; and that as the Archduke Leopold was about to proceed to Flanders, it would be better to make him a sovereign prince, and to bestow her hand upon him. To this suggestion MADEMOISELLE, however, at once declared that she should prefer

in 1647. He first served under Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and contributed to the victory of Leipzig. After the death of that monarch, in 1632, he returned to France, and distinguished himself at the battle of Rocroy. Wounded at the taking of Thionville, he received, in compensation, the *bâton* of a marshal in 1643, and continued to give proofs of his valor at Gravelines, Mardick, Linck, Bourbourg, Berg, Saint-Venant, &c.

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle

† Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

‡ The confidant and favorite of the Duke d'Orleans.

the emperor; but she was not fated to become the wife of either.*

When the army left Amiens to besiege Courtray, the campaign of Louis was over; and he returned to Paris to await the surrender of the city, which was delayed for a considerable time, although the Duke d'Orleans was at the head of a large force, the Duke d'Enghien having joined him with the troops under his command. The Spaniards were also strong in numbers during the campaign, and were commanded by the Marquis of Caracane, who had the Duke of Lorraine as his ally; and consequently the French soldiery were, in some degree, themselves in a state of siege when they sat down before Courtray; a circumstance which was entirely attributable to the negligence of Mazarin, who was improvident enough to leave the troops unprovided alike with ammunition and provisions, to such an extreme, that, when the city surrendered, the besiegers had exhausted all their powder and ball. From that time both *Monsieur* and the Duke d'Enghien lost all confidence in the minister; nor did they subsequently see cause to alter their opinion.†

At the close of this year died the Marshal de Bassompierre; and he was shortly followed to the grave by the Prince de Condé, the father of the Duke d'Enghien, who thenceforth assumed the title of the Prince de Condé, or simply of The Prince.

Time progressed, and the war continued; while the hatred which had grown up between the queen-regent and the Parliament, which had made many abortive attempts to limit the absolute power that she arrogated to herself, became daily more virulent. The United Provinces had thrown off their allegiance to France, at the instigation of Spain; the Prince de Condé had succeeded the Count d'Harcourt in the command of the army in that country, and had been repulsed before Lerida; Marshal Gassion

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier. † Idem.

had been wounded at Sens, and had died of his wounds; and finally Naples had revolted at the signal of Massaniello; and all the petty princes of Italy were anxious to obtain the crown which had slipped from the brow of the fisherman, which was also coveted by the Duke de Guise, who chanced to be at Rome when the news of Massaniello's death arrived; and who, remembering that Yolande d'Anjou, the daughter of the King Réné of Naples, had married one of his ancestors, immediately wrote to the rebel chiefs, to inform them that he who had Neapolitan blood in his veins, and was then at Rome, offered himself as their sovereign. At the same time he dispatched a courier to the court of France with letters to the king, the regent, and the cardinal, in which he announced to them that the vice-royalty of Naples having become vacant, he was about to take possession of it; and should thus be enabled to act against Spain, and to further the interests of the war.

This project was, however, received with indifference, and declared to be a mere harebrained extravagance; and it is certain that all the resources of the duke at that moment consisted of four thousand gold crowns, and his army of six gentlemen attached to his household. Nevertheless, he wore the sword of his ancestor Francis, and in his breast the heart of his grandfather, Henry IV. On the 11th of November he left Rome in a fishing-boat, and eight days afterward he wrote to Cardinal Mazarin:

"I have succeeded, Monseigneur; I am Sovereign-duke of the republic of Naples; but I have found every thing here in such disorder, and in such confusion, that without powerful assistance it will be difficult for me to maintain my position."

The appeal was, however, disregarded; and Mazarin abandoned M. de Guise, who two months subsequently was taken prisoner by the Spaniards at Capua.* Meanwhile, the disaffection having increased in England, the king sent

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

his son, the Prince of Wales, to France, in order to secure his safety. The court was at Fontainebleau on his arrival; and his reception was most gratifying. Their majesties went as far as the forest to meet him, and the Queen of England presented him in succession to the king, the queen-regent, the Princess de Condé, and MADEMOISELLE. "He was," says the latter, "only sixteen or seventeen years of age; rather tall, with a fine head, black hair, a dark complexion, and a tolerably agreeable countenance; but he neither spoke nor understood French, which was very inconvenient. Nevertheless every thing was done to amuse him; and during the three days that he remained at Fontainebleau there were hunts, and every other sport which could be commanded in that season. He paid his respects to all the princesses; and I discovered immediately that the Queen of England wished to persuade me that he had fallen in love with me; she told me that he talked of me incessantly; that, were she not to prevent it, he would be in my apartments at all hours; that he found me quite to his taste; and that he was in despair of the death of the empress, because he dreaded that they would seek to marry me to the emperor. I listened to all she said, as became me, but I did not place all the confidence in it which she would probably have wished."*

While the Prince of Wales, either from inclination, or at the instigation of his mother, continued to pay an assiduous court to MADEMOISELLE, seating himself, as she tells us, constantly beside her, during the dramatic representations at the Louvre; always attending her to her carriage when she visited the Queen of England, and remaining bareheaded until she had driven off; holding the flambeau while his royal parent dressed her with her own hands for a ball given in her honor by Madame de Choisy, the wife of her father's chancellor; wearing her colors, while she herself was adorned with all the crown jewels of England;

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

and following her step by step;* the amusements of the court were suddenly interrupted by the illness of the king, who was attacked by the small-pox during the performance of a comedy at the Palais-Royal; from which, however, he soon recovered.

Meanwhile, the cardinal, seeing himself firmly seated upon the eminence to which he had now attained, summoned his relatives from Italy, in order that they might share in his prosperity, and profit by his elevation to secure their own. They consisted of his two sisters, Mesdames Martinozzi† and Mancini;‡ his seven nieces, Laura, and Anna-Maria Martinozzi, and Laura-Victoria, Olympia, Mary, Hortensia, and Mary-Anne Mancini; and his two nephews, the young Mancini, whom, as we have already stated, Louis XIV. had included in the dislike which he felt toward his uncle; and Philip-Julian Mancini, who subsequently inherited a portion of the immense wealth as well as the name of the minister.

The Signora Anna-Maria Martinozzi figures but little in the boyhood of the young king, for she was on her arrival in France already of a marriageable age, and solely anxious to secure an eligible establishment. Her position, as the niece of the all-powerful cardinal, rendered this easy; and accordingly she became ere long the wife of the Prince de Conti, brother of the great Condé (Duke d'Enghien), and a model to her sex, alike as a wife, a mother, and a Christian.

The Signore Mancini, or as the minister, on naturalizing his family in France, caused them to be called, Mesdemoiselles de Mancini,§ were still children, the elder not having attained her twelfth year; and they succeeded each other so regularly that the cardinal had every reason to

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

† Marguerita Mazarini, married to the Count Jerôme Martinozzi.

‡ Hiéronyma Mazarini, the wife of Michael Laurent Mancini, a Roman Baron.

§ Gazette de France, 1657.

hope he should succeed in providing for them in rotation, without being subjected to the annoyance of any domestic rivalry.

The first who arrived in obedience to his summons were Victoria, Olympia, and Mary, with their elder brother; and these reached Paris on the 11th of September, 1647, under the protection of Madame de Nogent, who, at the request of the cardinal, had gone to Fontainebleau to receive them. On the same evening the queen desired that they might wait upon her at the Palais-Royal, and they were accordingly conducted to her presence; when Mazarin, with an affectation of indifference of which subsequent events revealed the fallacy, retired for the night by one door, as they entered by another. Nevertheless, as the courtiers were quite aware that he had not removed his nieces from their home with any other design than that of marrying them in his adopted country, and that they could not better pay their court to the minister than by exhibiting an interest in his little relatives, they were soon surrounded by so dense a crowd, and overwhelmed with such a deluge of compliments, that the Duke d'Orleans remarked bitterly: "There is such a throng about those little girls that I doubt whether their lives are safe, and if they will not be suffocated;" while the Marshal Villeroi, who had approached and overheard the words of the prince, observed in his turn: "Yonder are some young ladies who are not wealthy at present, but who will soon possess fine chateaux, good incomes, handsome jewels, costly services of plate, and probably high rank. As to the boy, as he must have time to grow, he will perhaps only see fortune in perspective."*

The prophecy was fulfilled to the letter; for the gallant youth was killed at the Porte St. Antoine during the Fronde.

On leaving the queen, the children proceeded to the apartments of their uncle, who still maintained his appear-

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

ance of coldness; and it is certain that any demonstration of affection would merely have tended to increase the discrepancy which existed between his assertion and his acts for only six months previously, while exhibiting to a party of his friends some statues which had just reached him from Rome, he had observed: "Here are the sole relatives whom I shall ever permit to enter France." But, nevertheless, his nieces had not been ten days in Paris, when he pointed them out to the Princess Anna Colonna, saying: "You see those little girls; the eldest is not twelve years old, and the others are barely eight and nine, and already the first men in the kingdom have asked me for them in marriage."

They were subsequently joined by their mother, their sister Hortensia, their brother Julian, and their cousin Anna Martinozzi; while Mary-Anne was born after the arrival of Madame de Mancini in France. Laura Martinozzi alone remained in Italy, where she married the Duke of Modena, and by her virtues and amability secured the esteem of the princely family of which she had become a member.

The infant court of the monarch was now complete; and the cardinal was careful that he should appreciate the added charm which had thus been bestowed upon it. Every facility was given to his constant association with the young Italians; and while Louis betrayed, without one endeavor to disguise it, his dislike of the brother, the courteous gallantry for which he was distinguished throughout life led him to receive the sisters with condescension and kindness.

Such was the state of affairs when, in January 1648, the populace of Paris rose against the edict of the tariff, and a deputation of seven or eight hundred tradesmen waited upon the Duke d'Orleans at the Luxembourg, and demanded justice; declaring that, strong in the support of the parliament, they would not suffer themselves to be ruined by the imposition of old taxes which were continually in-

creasing, and new ones which were as constantly invented The Duke d'Orleans, however, although taken by surprise, with his usual indecision, would give no pledge; but dismissed them with the simple promise that their representation should be considered.

Richelieu had dealt with the French nation like an empiric, and applied violent remedies which appeared to give it strength; but this strength was merely that of excitement, by which it was exhausted individually and collectively; while Mazarin, like an inexperienced physician, did not comprehend its depression. He continued to enfeeble it by exactions, without affording the same support which had been contributed by the skill of his predecessor; and thus it fell into lethargy, while he was blind enough to consider this artificial rest as a proof of health. The provinces, abandoned to the rapine of their superintendents, remained bent beneath the pressure of their evils; the parliaments were employed in remembering their past affronts, rather than in attending to present measures; the nobles, who had nearly all been banished from the country, were too busy in congratulating themselves on their return, to disturb their soothing reveries by an examination of its actual condition; and thus the evil grew. But human passions began to awaken; Paris felt the shock of the coming storm, and ascertained its moral strength; it uttered its complaints which remained unheeded; and then roused itself with a bound from that torpidity which had been the supposed security of the minister.*

The disaffection of the populace, far from diminishing, increased from hour to hour; and the Masters of Requests, whose privileges had been invaded by the minister, deeming the moment favorable, demanded an audience of Mazarin, at which one of them addressed him in the name of the whole body, with so much boldness, that His Eminence could not dissemble his astonishment. A council was held

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

the same day in the queen's apartments, at which Emery,* the superintendent of finance, who was peculiarly obnoxious to the people, was ordered to attend. The first president and the gentlemen of the king's household were also summoned. The council occupied a considerable time and was very tumultuous; but came to no decision.

It may not be irrelevant, after the fulmination of M. de Retz, to give a brief outline of the history of M. d'Emery. He was the son of a banker of Lyons, named Particelli, who became a bankrupt to an immense extent; a circumstance which determined his son to abandon the paternal name, and to adopt that of Emery. It would appear that Richelieu appreciated in the young man the very qualities which the coadjutor decried; for he personally presented him to Louis XIII. under his adopted name, as a candidate for the superintendence of finance. The king looked at him for an instant, and repeating once or twice, "d'Emery, d'Emery, I never heard the name before;" desired that the appointment might be immediately made out, as he had been informed that the rascally Particelli intended to apply for it. The cardinal assured his majesty that such a fear was groundless, as the Particelli of whom he spoke had been hanged.

"All the better!" said the king; "and since you answer for M. d'Emery, let him have the place."

He was immediately obeyed.

We return from our digression to the current of the narrative.

* "Emery, in my opinion the most corrupt man of his century, sought only for names in order to find edicts. I can not better explain to you the spirit of this personage, who said in full council (I heard him), that good faith was only suited to traders; and that the Masters of Requests who alledged it as a reason in matters relating to the king's service, deserved punishment. This man, who had been condemned, in his youth, at Lyons, to be hanged, governed Mazarin imperiously in all that related to the interior economy of the kingdom."—*Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz*

In the course of the night several shots were fired in different parts of Paris. The civil-lieutenant* was sent to ascertain the meaning of these shots, and he was informed in reply that the citizens were testing their arms, in order to see if they could depend upon them, as, in the event of the minister still persisting in his oppression, they were determined to follow the example of the Neapolitans.

On the following day the queen, when on her way to hear mass at Nôtre-Dame, was followed to the very doors of the cathedral by a crowd of women, amounting to about two hundred, crying for justice, and endeavoring to kneel before her; but they were repulsed by the guards, and the regent passed on calmly and haughtily, vouchsafing no reply to their petition.

Another council was assembled at mid-day, which decided that no concession should be made; and the guards were, moreover, put under arms, and sentinels placed in every quarter of the city. Marshal Schomberg, who had recently married Mademoiselle d'Hautefort (the queen's old favorite, abandoned since the regency), was ordered to post the Swiss troops, and ere night Paris was changed into one vast camp; while the firing of the previous evening not only continued, but became so much increased, and so widely dispersed, that an immediate attack upon the military was constantly anticipated. Nor did the evil diminish upon the morrow. The presence of the soldiers in their streets exasperated the people; and the tumult deepened so rapidly, that the Prévôt of the merchants presented himself at the Palais-Royal, and apprised

* The civil-lieutenant was the second magistrate of the ancient jurisdiction of the *châtelet* of Paris. He presided at the audience of the *civil park;* collected the opinions of the councilors; judged with closed doors the disputes relatively to the affixing and removing of seals and inventories; drew up in his own hôtel the reports, interdictions, demands in separation, and opening of wills after the decease of the testators, &c. The revenues of the office amounted to 500,000 livres.

the regent and her minister that the whole of Paris was about to take up arms. He was answered that all the military parade of which he complained had been drawn out for the purpose of escorting the king to Nôtre Dame, where he was about to return thanks to God for his happy convalescence; and in accordance with this declaration the troops were withdrawn after his return.

On the morrow, the king attended parliament, where the chancellor uttered a long harangue on the necessities of the state; the obligation which existed that the people should assist in supporting the expense of the war, by which means alone a satisfactory peace could be obtained; talked loudly of the royal power; and endeavored to establish as a fundamental law the unquestioning obedience of subjects to their sovereign.

The Advocate-General Talon replied by a speech full of vigor and energy; he besought the queen to remember, when she was kneeling in her oratory to supplicate God for mercy, that her people had knelt before her in like manner, and in a similar spirit. He reminded her that she governed free men, and not slaves; and that these men, constantly harassed, drained, and ruined by new edicts, had no longer any thing which they could call their own, save their souls; while they had arrived at the conviction that they still possessed these, merely because they could not be sold by auction, as their property had already been, by the government officials. He added, moreover, that the victories and the laurels about which so much exultation had been exhibited, were assuredly glorious trophies for the kingdom; but nevertheless they would not give to the people either of the things they most needed—food and clothing.

The result of the meeting was, that the king carried five or six new edicts, more oppressive than any by which they had been preceded; and on the same day the chambers assembled to discuss them. The queen, in her turn,

then summoned them to her presence by deputations; and expressed her astonishment and displeasure at their presuming to question any measure which had been consecrated by the presence of the king. The first president insisted upon their right to act as they had done; and asserted that the parliament had been instituted for the purpose of serving as a shield to protect the people from the exaggerated exactions of the courts; upon which the queen lost her temper, and insisted that all the edicts should be put into force without modification of any description.

On the following day the Duke d'Orleans went to the Court of Accounts,* and delivered up all such records of expenditure as regarded himself personally; while M. de Conti, in the absence of the Prince de Condé, who had left Paris to join the army, had already carried those which concerned the Assistant Court to that body.†

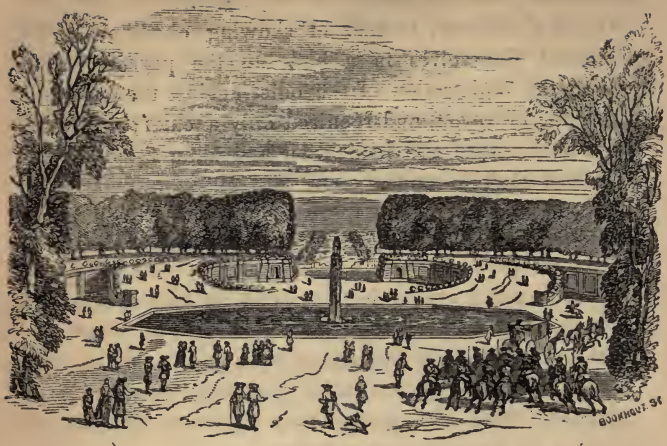
The queen next summoned the Masters of Requests, with whom she was even less forbearing than with the parliament, telling them that they were extraordinary personages, to make such an attempt as that of limiting the king's authority; and adding, that she would show them she could create or annul whatever offices she pleased; in proof of which she dismissed the whole of them from office. This measure, which was intended to intimidate the body, produced, however, a very opposite effect: some smiled as they listened; others whispered among themselves; and others again shook their heads with an expression of disdainful defiance; after which they withdrew with a profound bow, more expressive of hostility than of reverence. "They felt," says Madame

* A tribunal by which the accounts of all public moneys disbursed were verified.

† The Assistant Court was instituted under the old kings of France, to render justice, and to give the closing voice in all matters relating to taxes.

de Motteville, "that there were vapors in the air, and that the weather was unfavorable for the court."

On the morrow, instead of showing obedience, they presented themselves in a body to the parliament, to oppose the registration of the edict against them. Paris was ripe for revolt, and required only a chief; while the one whom nature and inclination had alike fitted for the post was soon to appear; and that too in a manner of which the romance added to the charm in such a moment of excitement.



CHAPTER VIII.

The Duke de Beaufort at Vincennes—The Prediction—La Ramée—Preparations for Flight—The Pasty—The Prince and the Valet—The Evasion—Discontent of Mademoiselle—The Archduke Leopold—Arrest of Saujon—The Retort courteous—Increase of Popular Disaffection—Popularity of the Coadjutor—Victory of Sens—Triumph of the Court—The Te Deum—Arrest of Broussel and Blancmesnil—Consternation of the Capital—The impromptu Council—Advice of the Coadjutor—The revolted Citizens—The Coadjutor and the Mob—The Coadjutor and the Faction—The Fronde—The Liberation of Broussel—Terror of Mazarin—Sudden Calm.

We left the Duke de Beaufort a prisoner at Vincennes, where he had been detained for the last five years, under the guard of De Chavigny, his personal enemy, when a rumor became current in the capital that an astrologer had predicted his escape from the fortress on the ensuing Whit-Sunday. This report reached the ears of the cardinal: and as it occasioned him some uneasiness, he summoned the exempt who was the responsible guard of the

duke (M. de Ramée), to inquire of him if he considered the flight from his prison to be practicable. The functionary explained that M. de Beaufort was constantly watched, save when in his bed, by an officer and seven or eight soldiers, who followed him wherever he went; that he was waited upon by the king's officers, having no attendants of his own; and that, as the best earnest of his security, the Count de Chavigny was his jailer. Mazarin was at once tranquilized by this explanation, which La Ramée terminated by declaring that the duke could never escape from the tower save in the shape of a small bird; his room was so high up, and his bars were so narrow; and such being the report of an official whose head was periled by the evasion of his prisoner, the cardinal, after having desired him rather to increase than to relax in vigilance, bade him immediately return to his post, and thought no more of the prophecy.

For once, however, the jealous minister was in error. The duke, like every other captive, thought of little else than effecting his escape. Bold as he was, he at once recognized the difficulties which he should have to encounter, and for a time was compelled to consider them as almost insurmountable: but, especially to such an organization as his, nothing could compensate for liberty; and although, save in the watchfulness of his guardians, his prison was by no means rigorous, still the very fact that it compelled him to an existence of inaction, rendered it terrible. He saw, moreover, no probability of its cessation before the death or the disgrace of the cardinal, who was still in the prime of life; and whose hold upon the queen-regent was not merely that of a useful minister upon his sovereign, but also that of a lover upon his mistress; and as these contingencies could not rationally afford matter of speculation, he felt that he must depend almost solely upon his own ingenuity and resources to effect his object. He commenced operations

by tampering with three or four of his guards, but their terror of Mazarin was more powerful than even their cupidity, and his failure was signal. Then for a time he controlled himself, and remained passive; but to continue thus supine was an effort beyond his strength, and he next resolved on endeavoring to gain the valet of La Ramée, a man named Vaudrimont, whom he found more accessible to his golden arguments; and who, being permitted to leave the fortress on various errands for his master, carried a letter to the duke's steward, by which he was informed of the attempt about to be made, and authorized to deliver to its bearer the sum agreed upon as the price of his coöperation. The pastry-cook of Vincennes was next brought over to the cause; and he promised to conceal, in the next pasty which should be prepared for the prisoner's table, a rope ladder, and a couple of poniards; but when Vaudrimont had accomplished thus much, he became terrified at his own success; and compelled the duke to swear, not only that he should be made the companion of his flight, but also that in every difficulty he should be allowed to pass first; a point which the prisoner at once conceded, the cowardice of egotism forming no feature of his rash and uncalculating character.

On Whitsun-eve the expected pie appeared at table; when M. de Beaufort declined to sup, but desired that, as it was possible his appetite might return during the night, this savory pasty might be left in the apartment; an arrangement the more readily permitted, as the attendants, who were accustomed to profit by the good cheer of the captive, saw themselves free to carry off the remainder of the repast. In a couple of hours, the duke was visited by the governor, with whom he exchanged his nightly salutation, which, cold and brief as it was, was rigidly observed; fresh sentinels were posted, and he was at length alone Nevertheless he suffered another hour to

elapse ere he rose cautiously from his bed, lifted the cover of the pasty, and drew out, not the ladder of rope which he had expected, but a ball of silk, two poniards, and a gag. The next morning M. de Beaufort feigned indisposition, in order to remain in bed, and gave his purse to the guards that they might go and drink to his better health. Perfectly willing to obey the suggestion, they nevertheless asked permission of La Ramée to avail themselves of the prisoner's liberality, who told them that, under existing circumstances, he saw no objection to their profiting by the indulgence, when they joyfully withdrew.

The duke no sooner found himself alone with La Ramée, than he expressed a wish to rise, commenced dressing himself, and requested that the exempt would be kind enough to assist him in putting on his clothes; and he had just completed his toilet when Vaudrimont appeared at the door of the apartment, and made the signal which informed him that the moment for the attempt had at last arrived. M. de Beaufort instantly drew a poniard from beneath his bolster, sprang upon the exempt, and holding the weapon to his throat, swore that he would murder him if he uttered a sound; while, at the same moment, his accomplice thrust the gag into his mouth. They then proceeded to tie his hands and feet with the duke's scarf of gold and silver tissue; after which they laid him on the floor, and escaped from the room, locking the door behind them. This done, they reached a gallery which overlooked the park on the St. Mark side, and whose windows opened upon the moat; fastened their cord to the window-sill, and were preparing to descend, when Vaudrimont reminded the duke of the conditions he had made; upon which the gallant prisoner stepped back, and the valet preceded him. Unluckily, however, for the accomplice, he was a man of stout build, and tolerably corpulent, while the cord had been prepared only for the slight weight of M. de Beaufort; and in consequence of this fact,

the poor fellow was yet at a height of fifteen or twenty feet from the ground, when the rope broke, and he fell heavily to the bottom of the moat. The duke, by whom he was followed, when he arrived at the extremity of the cord, let himself slip gently down the slope, and so arrived safe and sound at the bottom of the ditch, where he found Vaudrimont sorely bruised; and immediately five or six of his people appeared on the other side of the moat, and threw a rope to the fugitives, when once more the valet insisted upon his right to be the first rescued. M. de Beaufort accordingly assisted him to make the rope fast under his arms, but being from his hurts unable to second the endeavors of his friends, he was nearly dead before they succeeded in drawing him out. The duke followed, and having arrived on the summit of the slope in good case, Vaudrimont was instantly flung over one horse, De Beaufort mounted upon another, and the party galloped off to the Porte de Nogent, through which they compelled a passage. On the other side of the barrier, the duke found a troop of fifty horsemen, who immediately surrounded him with great demonstrations of joy; and the whole cortége disappeared like the wind.

Meanwhile, the whole evasion had been witnessed by a poor woman and her child, who were gathering vegetables in a garden near the moat; but M. de Beaufort's followers having threatened them with death if they did not remain quiet, they gave no alarm until the party were out of sight, when the woman ran and informed her husband of the circumstance; while he, having apprised the garrison, who, unsuspicious of such an attempt, were spending the money of the fugitive, and drinking to his health, found considerable difficulty in obtaining credence. He, however, persisted so tenaciously in his story, and his wife, by whom he was accompanied, gave them so many, and such circumstantial details, that they at length proceeded to the duke's chamber, where they found the exempt lying bound

upon the floor, with the gag in his mouth, a naked poniard at his side, his sword tied to the scabbard by a ribbon, and his wand broken at his feet.* They hastened, in the first place, to relieve him of the gag, when he gave them an account of the whole occurrence; but, as it was believed that he had assisted in the duke's escape, and that the jeopardy in which he was discovered had simply been arranged to divert suspicion, he was committed to a dungeon. His innocence was, however, subsequently proved; but he was, nevertheless, compelled to sell his place at a considerable loss, which M. de Beaufort no sooner ascertained, than he caused the money to be immediately remitted to him.

The news of this escape soon reached the court; but it was difficult to judge of the effect which it produced. The queen affected to deem it of little importance, and the cardinal merely laughed when it was reported to him, observing that he should have made the same attempt under similar circumstances, and that his only cause of surprise was, that M. de Beaufort should have waited so long before he endeavored to obtain his liberty. In fact, the duke was considered to be innoxious from the fact that he was short of money, and held no fortresses which could enable him to offer defiance to the government; while the offensive attitude assumed by the parliament, and the spirit of revolt exhibited by the populace of Paris, gave tangible cause of alarm and preoccupation.†

About this time, when MADEMOISELLE began to perceive that the cardinal, who had more than once encouraged her in her hope of becoming an empress of Germany, was merely deluding her with a chimera to which it was by no means his intention ever to give consistency, it suddenly occurred to her mind that it would

* The Exempts carried a small wand of ebony, mounted in ivory, as a symbol of their command.

† Louis XIV. et son Siècle

accord with the interests of her father, who, being far from wealthy, had the guardianship of her enormous fortune, to prevent her marriage altogether, for the benefit of his second family; and she became highly incensed at the double-dealing of those about her; her great ambition having always been the accomplishment of that marriage. Old and ill-favored as he was, she consulted her vanity rather than her passions, and could not forgive the mystification of which she had been made the victim, when the news reached her that the emperor was about to form an alliance with a Tyrolese arch-duchess.

"Cardinal Mazarin," she says, "frequently spoke to me of my marriage with the emperor; and, although he took no steps to effect it, he assured me positively that he was doing so; the Abbé de la Rivière also profited by the same circumstance to pay his court to me, and gave me an assurance that he did not neglect to urge the point both upon *Monsieur* and the cardinal. But what has since tended to convince me that I was duped, is, that *Monsieur* one day said: 'I have been told that the proposal of marrying the emperor is agreeable to you; and, if it be so, I will assist it as far as I am able, but I am convinced that you will not be happy in that country: they live in the Spanish style, and the emperor is older than me. For this reason, I think that it is not advantageous for you, and that you would only be happy in England; or, should things mend, in Savoy.' I told him that I wished to marry the emperor, and that the selection was my own affair: that I entreated them to agree to what I had decided; that what I said was from propriety; that he was not a young and gallant man, and that they might consequently see what was the truth, that I thought more of the establishment than of the individual. My wish produced, nevertheless, no effect upon those who were authorized to make the business succeed, and the only result which I experienced was that of

having the annoyance to hear the matter talked of still onger."

MADEMOISELLE had about her person a M. Saujon, who was the intimate friend of Captain Villarmont, of the guards, who was taken prisoner in Flanders, by Piccolomini, and after a few months of captivity was permitted to return to France on his parole. Before he left the enemy's head-quarters, the general had given him a dinner; and while talking to him of his nation, had digressed to the French court; and, in speaking of MADEMOISELLE, had said that they knew her well by reputation, and should be delighted to possess in their country a princess of her merit. Such a remark from the lips of a man in the confidence of the archduke, Leopold William, was more than an overture, and, accordingly, the words struck Villarmont forcibly; and, on his arrival in Paris, he hastened to repeat them to Saujon; who, in his turn, after considerable reflection, determined to confide them to MADEMOISELLE. At first they produced but little impression upon her mind; but, when she ultimately combined them with the image of the Archduchess of Tyrol, and the conviction to which she had brought herself of the disinclination of *Monsieur*, to see her form any alliance, however advantageous to her own interests, she felt piqued, and began to vouchsafe them more consideration.

How far, however, the intrigue really progressed, can never now be known, for MADEMOISELLE, who alone could be aware of the exact extent to which it attained, resolutely denied its existence. Saujon was, nevertheless, arrested one morning; and, in the evening, it was whispered that MADEMOISELLE was to have been carried off by the archduke; though no one was sufficiently well-informed to be able to assert whether it were or not by her own connivance. What appeared, however, to decide the point, was the fact that she was confined to her apartments, and on the following day commanded to appear

before the queen, the Duke of Orleans, and the cardinal; when she replied to the reproaches which were addressed to her in as high a key as they were uttered; and when the regent, in allusion to Saujon, reminded her that she was incurring the risk of causing him to lose his head in her service, retorted by remarking that, at least, he would be the first who had done so for her. The epigram was stinging, both to Anne of Austria and the Duke of Anjou; and the family council soon after terminated, without having produced the slightest concession or acknowledgment on the part of the alledged culprit.*

The sensation created by such an event as this, in a court where the queen set an example of the most rigid devotion may be imagined; and it so completely absorbed the minds of all the nobility, that they for a time lost sight of the more important progress of public events; and while the delinquency of MADEMOISELLE was on the *tapis*, the coadjutor twice waited upon the regent and the cardinal, to apprise them of the increase of popular disaffection, without their conceding the slightest notice to his warning. This was, however, partially attributable, in all probability, to the fact that neither the queen nor her minister were able to comprehend the amount of influence possessed by M. de Retz. They had either never known, or had forgotten the fact, that soon after he succeeded to the coadjutorship, he had, in less than four months, disbursed six thousand crowns in donations and alms-giving, and had thus established a character for liberality, which was all-powerful with the people. In his person, he was singularly unimpressive, for he was short and ill-made, of dark complexion, extremely awkward and ungraceful; wrote illegibly, could not trace a straight line, and was painfully near-sighted. Physically, therefore, he was ill-calculated to become a popular favorite; but he had blinded the eyes of the crowd by the shower of

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

gold-dust which he had flung among them; and was, in consequence, at once in the position to prove a valuable friend or a formidable enemy.

The parliament continued its deliberations; and those who the most firmly advocated its rights against the court, were the Counselor of the Great Chamber, M. Pierre Broussel, and M. Blancmesnil, the President of Requests; in consequence of which they became obnoxious to the royal party; and, as a natural result, rose in the estimation and confidence of the people. Nevertheless, there existed, for the moment, a species of truce between the opposing factions; for all eyes were turned in suspense toward the frontier. The prince (Duke d'Enghien) was with the army; and it was evident, from the dispositions made by the two conflicting generals, that a decisive engagement was at hand, and could not fail to take place.

The position of the French government at this period did not enable it to anticipate with tranquillity the issue of the impending combat; nor were the people less interested in the result than their superiors; for should the prince be beaten, the court, that would require both men and funds to pursue the war, must find itself compelled to have recourse to the aid of the parliament, which would thus gain the ascendant; while, should the contrary event take place, they had the game in their own hands, and would be free to pursue the advantages which they had already gained. The first intelligence which reached the capital gave earnest of success; for, on the 23d of August, a man, who arrived from Arras, announced that the report of artillery had been heard in that city, and that no stragglers had crossed the frontier; which combined circumstances tended to prove the commencement of hostilities, and to afford the inference that so far, at least, the troops under the Prince de Condé had been fortunate. Vague as this information was, it sufficed to cause great satisfaction at court, for success

was so necessary that they accepted probability almost as eagerly as facts. At midnight all suspense was over, the Count de Chatillon arrived as an extraordinary courier from the prince, by whom he had been dispatched from the field, to announce the complete defeat of the enemy, who had left nine thousand dead upon the place, and had retreated in utter disorder, abandoning all their baggage and a portion of their artillery. The French army had, in short, gained the battle of Sens.

Mademoiselle, in her own egotistical style, pays a high compliment to the conqueror, where she says:—"News arrived of the battle of Sens, gained by the prince; but as my aversion for him was well known, not one ventured to mention it to me. They placed upon my table the account which had come from Paris (she was at her country-house of Bois-le-Vicomte); and on leaving my bed, I saw this paper, and read it with great surprise and sorrow. As I ought not to have mixed up my hatred with so considerable a state benefit, I did not know how to separate them; and on this occasion I found myself less a good Frenchwoman than an enemy; but I excused my tears by the grief which I declared to be occasioned by the death of some officers of my acquaintance who had been killed in the action; and as good feeling is always praiseworthy, particularly in the great, who are accused of being devoid of it, I attracted praise instead of the reproach which I deserved. I do not know how I could be so much affected by the victories of the prince, for he so often gained battles that I ought to have accustomed myself to it." *

Meanwhile the popular faction were all earnestly anxious to ascertain the effect which this great event would produce upon the court, and particularly upon the coadjutor, who, only two or three days previously, had waited upon the queen, and expatiated to her, according to his constant habit, on the popular disaffection which was hourly increas-

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

ing, when he was interrupted by the cardinal, with an apologue so individually insulting, that before its termination M. de Retz interrupted the minister in his turn, by making a profound bow and leaving the room. Although he was thus in bad odor with the court, he was anxious, from personal considerations, to ascertain the impression produced by the important intelligence of the Count de Chatillon; and therefore, notwithstanding the affront which he had so recently received, he determined to present himself at the palace, and to judge from his own observation of the feelings of the adverse party.

He found the queen wild with joy; but the more self-controlled cardinal was as calm as usual; and as he approached the coadjutor with more urbanity than he had latterly displayed, he remarked that he was doubly happy at the fortunate event which had just occurred: first, for the public benefit of France, and secondly, in order to prove to the parliament now his royal mistress and himself would use the victory they had gained.

The coadjutor, imbued as he was with the spirit of intrigue, was for once duped by the words and manner of the minister, and retired perfectly satisfied that, by some extraordinary chance, Mazarin actually felt as he had spoken.

The Cardinal de Retz also lays aside his cynicism for an instant to do justice to the conqueror: "The news of the prince's victory at Sens," he says, "arrived at court on the 24th of August; Chatillon brought it; and he told me, a quarter of an hour after he left the Palais-Royal, that the cardinal had exhibited a great deal less joy at the victory than annoyance at the circumstance of a portion of the Spanish cavalry having run away. Remark, if you please, that he was speaking to a man who was devoted to the prince, and that he was speaking of one of the noblest actions that was ever fought. I can not resist telling you that the battle being nearly lost, the prince recovered

and gained it by a single glance of that eagle eye which embraces every object on the field, and is never dazzled."*

A *Te Deum* was appointed for the 26th of August; and, according to custom, a double line was formed by the guards from the Palais-Royal to the cathedral of Nôtre Dame; and, as soon as the king had entered the church, the troops were formed into three battalions, who took up their stations in the square of the Dauphiness, and in that of the Palais-Royal; while the populace, surprised and displeased to see the soldiery remain under arms, became at once convinced that hostile intentions were harbored either against them or their leaders.

Their impression was a correct one, for orders had been given to Comminges, one of the four captains of the guards, to arrest the presidents Blancmesnil and Charton, and the councilor Broussel. Comminges, however, remained quietly posted at the door of the cathedral until the close of the service, awaiting his final instructions, when as the regent appeared, she motioned him to her side, and said, in a low voice, "Go, and may God assist you." Comminges bowed, and was about to obey, when, as a further encouragement, Le Tellier, the Secretary of State, approached him, saying: "Courage! all is ready, and they are in their own houses."

Instead, therefore, of following the king with his troops, he remained motionless before the cathedral as the royal procession disappeared; and the distrust of the people increased as they witnessed this unwonted immobility. The alarm spread; the passers-by, the idlers, and the curious, began to collect in groups, to listen and to watch. The military and diplomatic tactics of Comminges, were, however, an overmatch for their jealous apprehension; for while he remained passively at the head of his men, he had dispatched his carriage with four of his guards, a page, and

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz

an exempt to the house of Broussel, ordering the exempt at the instant in which he saw him enter the street, to draw up at the door of the councilor, with the blinds of the carriage closed, and the door secured. He had no sooner, therefore, waited the time that he considered necessary for the accomplishment of this order, than he rode away quietly from his men, and pursued his road alone to the house of the councilor. As he saw him approach, the exempt obeyed the directions which he had received; while Comminges rode up to the door, and rung the bell. It was opened without hesitation by a foot-boy, and Comminges instantly placed two guards upon the threshold, and ascended with two others to the apartment of Broussel. He found the councilor at table, surrounded by his family, and the consternation created by his appearance was extreme. Of all the party, Broussel alone remained seated. The captain of the Royal Guards explained his errand; upon which the councilor desired to know the nature of the crime for which he was arrested; but Comminges simply replied by stating that a captain of the guards was not privileged to interfere in matters which regarded the gentlemen of the law, and that he had merely received the order to arrest him, which he was now come to execute. As he spoke he stretched out his hand toward him; when an old female servant, who had nursed him in his boyhood, suddenly threw up the window, and shouted, at the pitch of her voice: "Help! help! they are carrying off my master!" And she had no sooner discovered that her cries had alarmed the neighborhood, than she sprung to the door of the apartment, vowing that her master should not be torn from his family while she lived to prevent it; and this passionate declaration was intermingled with louder and more vigorous cries for assistance.

The appeal had not been made in vain, for on reaching the door with his prisoner, Comminges remarked that about a score of persons had collected in front of the house, and

they discovered upon turning a corner, to drive down the next street, that chains had been stretched across it, and they were consequently compelled to turn back and pursue another route; which, however, they were not permitted to do without an exchange of blows between the guards and the people. Still the mob were rather boisterous than threatening; they had not yet measured their strength with the military in those metropolitan battle-fields, where every paving-stone supplies a weapon, and every house a fortress; and thus the guards felt the moral power which they still possessed over the crowd to be at least as valuable a defense as their arms. But, although the populace had permitted the carriage to reach the quay, they appeared to be resolved that it should advance no farther; the servants and friends of Broussel were traversing the streets in all directions, calling aloud for assistance to effect his rescue; and that dull roar of long-suppressed rage began to be heard among the multitude, which betrayed that its worst and fiercest passions were awakening. Stones began to cleave the air on all sides; and at each instant powerful hands grasped the bridles of the horses. Comminges was, however, worthy of the confidence which had been placed in his courage and resolution; and having at length succeeded in effecting an opening in the crowd, he ordered the coachman to drive forward at a gallop. Unfortunately the command was no sooner obeyed than one of the wheels came in contact with a loose paving-stone, and the heavy coach fell over upon its side. It was instantly surrounded by the people, but the drawn swords of the soldiers produced their effect; and after considerable difficulty the carriage was righted, when it was discovered that it could proceed no farther, not only on account of the shattered wheel, but also because opportunity had been taken in the confusion to cut the reins. In this emergency, Comminges detached ten of his men under the command of a sergeant, who, at a signal from him, surrounded a carriage in which half a dozen persons were sit-

ting, who had stopped on their way to watch the proceedings, and to inquire into the cause of the tumult; and, despite their remonstrances, compelled them to alight, and conducted the captured vehicle to his commander, who, finding the crowd increasing rapidly, both in numbers and in hostility, at once transferred his visitor to the carriage thus obtained, and drove off in all haste toward the Palais-Royal. By a singular fatality, the second carriage broke down in its turn in the rue St. Honoré; when the people seeing the opportunity to be favorable for a new attempt at rescue, fell resolutely upon the guards, who were at length compelled to repulse them with the butt-ends of their muskets, and even with their swords.

The sight of the first blood thus spilled urged the multitude almost to madness. Threats and wailings were heard on every side. Citizens began to issue from their houses, armed with their halberts; others appeared at the windows, with arquebuses in their hands. One shot was fired, which wounded a guard; and just as Comminges began to despair of the success of his mission, its failure was prevented by the approach of the carriage of his uncle, M. Guétant, into which he instantly removed his prisoner, and sprang in after him. The horses, which were fresh and vigorous, were urged into a gallop toward the Tuileries, where a relay was awaiting them, and, freed at last from the pressure of the crowd, the carriage drove rapidly toward St. Germain, whence the prisoner was to be transferred to Sedan. Meanwhile, two of the subalterns of Comminges had conveyed Blancmesnil and Charton to Vincennes.

The consternation created throughout the capital by these arrests was beyond description. For a short time the populace appeared to be paralyzed, but it was merely the threatening hush which precedes the tempest. Suddenly, and simultaneously, all the mighty mass sprang from its lethargy; shouts and yells reëchoed on all sides; the shops were closed as if by magic, and a living tide pressed, and

heaved, and jostled against each other along the great thoroughfares, alimented, as it passed on, by new throngs, which poured forth from every lateral street and alley. Those who possessed arms tendered them freely to all who needed them; and, in the midst of this tumult, the coadjutor, who sent to inquire into its cause, learned the arrest of the three citizens; upon which, he immediately left his house in the costume in which he had just performed the mass, that is, with his lawn sleeves and cape; and proceeded toward the palace, in order to ascertain the reason of a measure so discordant with the assurances that he had lately received. As he reached the Pont Neuf, he encountered the Marshal de la Meilleraye, who, although he had as yet no opponents save a few children who were throwing stones at the soldiery, was nevertheless greatly perplexed; for he not only began to foresee the gathering storm, but even recognized its approach. The marshal informed him in detail of the proceedings of the morning, when he in turn confided to the marshal that he was about to proceed to the Palais Royal, to confer upon the subject with the queen; and it was mutually agreed that they should visit her together, in order that by their united testimony they might prevail both upon herself and upon her minister to take some steps to appease the people, and to avert the threatened revolt. As they passed along the streets, they were followed by an immense crowd, who shouted, without intermission, "Broussel! Broussel! Broussel!" The name of a quiet citizen, subjected to the unjust tyranny of an unwise court, had suddenly become the watchword of a revolted city.

They found the regent in her great cabinet, surrounded by the Duke of Orleans, Cardinal Mazarin, the Duke de Longueville,* Marshal Villeroy, the Abbé de la Rivière,

* The Longuevilles were a celebrated illegitimate branch of the house of Orleans, originating in the brave Jehan, Count de Dunois, bastard son of Louis, Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. Henry, the second duke, mentioned in the text, was born in 1595; was pleni-

Bautru, Nogent, and Gintant, the captain of her guards. She received the coadjutor coldly, for she could not compel herself to admit that she had acted with impolicy; while the cardinal appeared to have entirely forgotten his pledges of the previous day. On his entrance, the coadjutor expressed to the queen that he had considered it his duty to wait upon her, and to receive her commands, in order that he might, to the extent of his influence, contribute to her safety. Anne of Austria replied by a slight gesture of satisfaction; but, as several of those by whom she was attended persisted in declaring that the disaffection was a mere trifle, unworthy of the royal attention, she abstained from any expression of gratitude. Still the coadjator retained his calm and warning attitude; but, as the courtiers amused themselves by making merry at the apprehensions of those who were to be daunted by a street row, which only required the presence of the military to disperse its partisans, Marshal de la Meilleraye became exasperated, and appealed to M. de Retz whether the subject was at that moment susceptible of raillery. The coadjutor, who had just been an eye-witness to the popular excitement, and who had no interest in suppressing the truth, testified that the public commotion was serious, and predicted that it would be-

potentiary at the Congress of Munster, in 1648, and Governor of Normandy. He embraced the party of the Fronde, in consequence of having been refused the government of Havre. In 1650 he shared the captivity of the princes of Condé and Conti. Having recovered his liberty in the following year, he withdrew from public life, and died in 1663. His second wife was Anne de Bourbon Condé, famous during the Fronde. She was the daughter of Henry, the second prince of Condé, and of Marguerite de Montmorency. Eminently beautiful and fascinating, she attracted to the faction her husband and the princes of Condé and Conti, her brothers. She profited by the passion with which she had inspired the famous Turenne, to induce him to revolt with the forces under his command, and availed herself of intrigue of every description to effect her object. On the conclusion of the peace, she retired to Port-Royal, and ultimately to a Carmelite convent, where she died, in 1679, amid the most austere practices of devotion.

come still more so; but he had no sooner emitted this opinion, than the cardinal smiled maliciously, and the queen angrily exclaimed that there was disloyalty even in believing a revolt to be possible; that such absurd histories were calculated to excite the rebellion which they affected to deprecate; but that all persons might make themselves tranquil upon the subject, as the authority of the king would soon restore order.

The cardinal, who felt that the regent was going too far, and who had not failed to remark the expression of countenance with which the coadjutor had listened to her intemperate reply, said, in the soft and cajoling accents which were familiar to him on all occasions of difficulty, where he felt himself to be dependent upon extraneous assistance, that he only wished it might please God to make every one speak with the same sincerity as the coadjutor, who feared alike for his flock and for the city, and for her majesty's authority; adding that, although personally he by no means apprehended that the danger was so imminent as M. de Retz believed, still he felt satisfied that the coadjutor had taken the view of it which he represented, and that he spoke religiously according to the dictates of his conscience.

The queen instantly understood the policy of her minister, and smoothing her brow, and composing her voice, she thanked the coadjutor warmly for his zeal, who, affecting to be duped by this gracious manifestation, answered with a low and reverential bow.

At that moment, every individual present, save one, was playing a part. The queen was affecting urbanity, and was swelling with concealed anger; the cardinal was striving to appear at his ease, and was internally trembling with fear; the coadjutor was assuming credulity, and inwardly despising the inane and presumptuous obstinacy of the proud woman before whom he stood in respectful silence; the Duke of Orleans was expressing great zeal, and uttering a

host of useless suggestions, while in his heart he cared little about the issue of the affair; the Duke de Longueville looked grave, and indulged in audible lamentations over the misguided populace, rejoicing meanwhile in the depths of his spirit at a demonstration which must tend to lessen the arrogance of the regent and the cardinal; the Marshal de Villeroy laughed at the folly of the mob, and an instant afterward declared, with tears in his eyes, that the nation was on the brink of a precipice; and finally, Bautru and Nogent were jesting and caricaturing, for the queen's amusement, the agonized excitement of the old housekeeper of Broussel, as she ran through the streets exciting the mob to liberate her master. The Abbé de la Rivière alone was calm and impassive, and persisted that the whole affair was too ridiculous for notice. The Marshal de la Meilleraye became infected by this atmosphere of real or affected security, and began, notwithstanding his late alarm, to concede that he had perhaps exaggerated the actual amount of danger, and given to the popular outbreak an importance of which it was undeserving, when the door of the cabinet was suddenly opened, and the lieutenant-colonel of the royal guards entered to apprise the queen that the people were becoming bolder and bolder, and threatened to force the troops. As the marshal was, according to De Retz, *a composition of contradictions*, he immediately turned his anger against the citizens; and instead of resuming his original opinion, requested that he might be allowed to place himself at the head of the four companies of the guards, taking with him all the courtiers who might be lounging in the antechambers, and all the soldiers whom he met on his way; when he assured the queen that he would at once disperse this insolent rabble. The regent, who was always inclined to adopt violent measures, at once conceded the point; but, as it was a grave measure thus to resort to extremity while a chance remained of pacificating the people, the proposition of the marshal remained unseconded; a fact

which somewhat chilled the enthusiasm of both the queen and her adviser; and at that precise moment the Chancellor Seguier presented himself, pale and trembling to a degree which so affrighted the regent, that she hurriedly inquired what had happened. Little accustomed as the chancellor might be to tell the truth, his terror was on this occasion more powerful than habit; and he related every thing he had witnessed, rather exaggerating than diminishing events. He had no sooner finished his recital, than the court party began to look upon the real state of affairs with more prudence than they had hitherto evinced; when he was in his turn succeeded by M. de Senneterre, as calm as the chancellor had been excited, who came to communicate the fact that the people were beginning to relax in violence, that they had ceased to arm themselves, and that, with a little patience, all would go well. Immediately there was a general outcry in favor of the marshal's proposition, and assurances were poured forth to the queen that a proper display of severity would at once put down the revolt; but, meanwhile, all these idle discussions were entailing great loss of time at a conjuncture when every instant was precious; and old Guitaut,* who, although he bore no great reputation for intelligence, was nevertheless known to be a zealous and faithful servant to the crown, ventured to speak in his turn, and, in even a hoarser voice than usual, declared, that something ought to be done one way or the other; adding that they could only be fools or traitors who remained inactive at such a moment.

"And what is your advice?" asked the cardinal (with whom the guardsman was no favorite), in a tone of pique.

"My advice is, sir," replied Guitaut, abruptly, "that you give up that old rascal, Broussel, dead or alive."

"The first measure," said the coadjutor, "would neither accord with the prudence nor the piety of the queen; but the second might put an end to the disturbances."

* Captain of the Queen's Guard.

"I understand you, sir;" was the retort of the regent: "you wish me to set Broussel free, but I would sooner strangle him with my own hands;" and as she spoke, she thrust them almost into the face of the coadjutor, adding, "as well as those who——" but here the cardinal interposed, and he had scarcely whispered a few words in her ear, when she recovered her self-possession, and fell back upon her chair with affected composure.

The next intrusion upon the cabinet was that of the civil-lieutenant, M. Dreux d'Aubray, a living embodiment of animated terror, who recapitulated his own perils in traversing the city so graphically, that he succeeded in once more spreading alarm in the royal circle. The excited populace began to assume a more formidable aspect in the eyes of the regent and her minister; it was no longer a vile mob, as absurd as it was reckless; but grew suddenly into consequence, as a menacing mass of human beings, resolved to throw off the yoke by which their shoulders had been galled, and the incubus which had weighed down their energies. At length, therefore, it was admitted that the event required consideration, and a sort of council was improvised at which each person was invited to state his opinion; when as the coadjutor, the two marshals, and Guitaut, declared it to be their advice that Broussel should be liberated, the cardinal at length joined their party, but added, that as the prisoner was not in Paris, he could only be given up on the following day.

The coadjutor at once understood that this clause was a mere pretext to gain time; and that if the people remained armed, Broussel would be restored to them; but that should they disperse upon the faith of the promise, measures would be adopted to prevent a recurrence of the outbreak, while the pledge would, without hesitation, be falsified; a conviction in which he was strengthened when Mazarin turned toward him, and remarked, with a bland smile, that no one could with so much propriety as himself announce this

concession to the citizens, being, as he was, in some degree their deputy. The coadjutor had Florentine blood in his veins, however, as well as the cardinal; and although the demand was not flattering either to Anne of Austria or her minister, he required to be furnished with a written promise which might convince the crowd that he did not act upon his mere personal authority; but the Marshal de la Meilleraye, more impetuous and less suspicious than himself, dragged him away, asserting that the words of the queen were better than any written document. M. de Retz was, nevertheless, far from convinced, and foreseeing the ruin of his popularity, should he be made the organ of a deception, he withdrew from the grasp of the eager soldier, and was about to renew his demand, when he discovered that the regent had already retired to an inner apartment; while Mazarin repulsed him with extended hands, saying, in his softest accents, "Go, Mr. Coadjutor, go, and save the State."

The body-guards then lifted him from the floor in their arms, and carried him out of the palace, shouting, "You alone, Mr. Coadjutor, can remedy the evil; go—go!" Thus M. de Retz found himself, without any volition of his own, once more in the street, in his lawn sleeves and cape, surrounded by a throng of people among whom he endeavored to force a passage, showering blessings on all sides as he pressed forward. This, however, was not what the mob had come there to seek; and accordingly he was assailed by new cries of "Broussel! Broussel! Give us back Broussel!" Resolved, nevertheless, to make no promise which he was convinced would not be ultimately performed, he continued to wave his hands with increased unction to the right and left, with all the solemnity that he could compel in such a situation, when the Marshal de la Meilleraye, at the head of the light-horsemen of the guard, advanced toward the heaving mass, brandishing his sword above his head, and shouting, in his turn, "Yes, yes—long live the king, and liberty to Broussel!"

Unfortunately, although his drawn sword was visible on all sides, his words were rendered inaudible by the combined exclamations of the people, who became still more furious as they witnessed his apparently threatening gesture. The cry to arms was heard, and a street-porter, with a sword in his hand, rushed upon the marshal, who killed him by a pistol shot. Instantly the tumult deepened. The crowd, which had followed the coadjutor from the palace, where they had awaited his reappearance, drove, or rather carried him to the cross of Trahoir, where they found the marshal contending against a strong body of citizens who had obstructed his passage, and who were returning the fire of the light-horsemen with considerable energy. The moment was critical, and trusting that his sacerdotal costume might inspire respect, where intimidation had failed, the coadjutor threw himself between the combatants; when the marshal profited by the circumstance to extricate himself from the difficulty into which he had been betrayed by his own impetuosity, and ordered his men to cease firing. The greater number of the crowd, who were near enough to understand the motive of this sudden termination of hostilities, imitated the example of the troops, but those who were on the outskirts of the throng still continued their fire; while twenty or thirty individuals who had forced their way from the rue des Prouvaires, armed with halberts and musketoons, not seeing, or affecting not to see, the coadjutor, pressed so closely upon the light-horsemen near whom he stood, that they broke the arm of M. de Fontrailles who was beside the marshal, wounded one of the pages who carried the cassock of the coadjutor, and knocked M. de Retz himself down with a stone. He had just risen to his knee when an apothecary's boy placed the barrel of his musket against his head; but as the prelate was thrusting aside the weapon, the young man fortunately recognized his opponent, turned aside his arm, and, while assisting him to rise, raised a shout of, "Long live the coadjutor!" The cry was re-

echoed on all sides, and as the people crowded about their idol, the marshal profited by the movement to retire toward the Palais-Royal

The coadjutor, on his side, directed his steps toward the market-hall, with a dense mob following closely upon his heels; but there, to use his own expression, he found all the swarm of salesmen under arms, and it became necessary for him to explain himself.

He had been seen to enter the Palais-Royal, and to leave it; and every one required to be informed of the nature of the queen's answer. Having no confidence in that which he had really received, and pressed upon on all sides by the crowd, the coadjutor was glad to be provided with an expedient for escape; and consequently he volunteered to return once more to the palace. The proposition was eagerly welcomed; and he accordingly retraced his steps at the head of about forty thousand individuals.

At the gate of the sergeants, he found La Meilleraye, who embraced him affectionately, thanking him for the efficient assistance which he had rendered; and as they entered the queen's presence the marshal exclaimed that he presented to Her Majesty the man to whom he owed his life, and to whom she herself was indebted for the safety of her city. Anne of Austria smiled; but there was so much ambiguity in the expression of her thanks, that M. de Retz was not deceived for a moment. He did not, however, suffer this distrust to appear; but as the marshal recommenced his panegyric, he cut it short by addressing himself, in his turn, to the regent, observing that it was not of him or of his services that it was expedient to speak at such a moment, but of Paris, which, submissive and disarmed, had just thrown itself at her feet.

The face of the queen flushed with anger as she exclaimed, that the city was rebellious and not submissive; although had it really been in the state of revolt which had been represented to her, she could not comprehend how it had

become appeased in so short a time. The marshal, who understood the covert taunt conveyed in this remark, again insisted upon the truth of what he had advanced; and losing patience at the pertinacity with which she sacrificed her interest to her temper, he declared that an honest man, seeing how much she was misled by those about her, was compelled in duty to speak the truth; and he consequently assured Her Majesty that if she did not, in the course of the day, set Broussel at liberty, there would not be one stone left upon another in all Paris.

The coadjutor was about to follow upon the same text, when Anne of Austria with a sarcastic laugh desired him to go and rest himself, as he must require repose after so much, and such effective exertion. M. de Retz, who did not require a repetition of the hint, at once left the palace, indignant at the affront to which he had been subjected; and although he commanded himself sufficiently not to utter a word as he walked homeward which might embitter the mood of the citizens, there was a feeling at his heart which argued no good to the court party, and especially to the queen-regent.

Yielding to the clamor of the crowd, he mounted the driving-box of his carriage, to explain the issue of his visit to the palace; and thence he acquainted them that he had communicated to his royal mistress the fact of their renewed obedience, and had assured Her Majesty that they had laid down their arms; to which she had replied that this was the only line of conduct calculated to insure the liberty of the prisoners. He added, moreover, whatever he imagined might soften their excited passions; and the supper-hour having fortunately arrived, the force of habit caused the throng to disperse, if not satisfied, at least tranquil. So far the coadjutor had acted, if not with, at least for, the court party; but having found it necessary to lose blood, in order to counteract the ill effects of the blow which he had received upon the head, his friends gathered about his bed, and informed him that he had been made the butt of the

courtiers, who had amused the queen throughout the evening by turning him and his exertions into ridicule. This information was as a spark dropped upon tinder; self-relying, proud, and ambitious, De Retz could better bear any thing than to see himself the subject of a jest; and he answered bitterly that he had at least spared himself the mortification of explaining his services, which was always insupportable to an honest man; but that had he remained quietly at home at such a moment, the queen, to whom he was indebted for his rank, would not have had cause to be satisfied with his conduct. He was assured, in reply, that she was even now far from being so; for that Madame de Navailles and Madame de Motteville had just told the Prince de Guémenée that the inhabitants of the Palais-Royal were convinced he had done all in his power to excite the people; and finally a messenger reached him from the Marshal de la Meilleraye, urging him to leave Paris on the instant, as a suggestion had been already emitted and discussed at the Louvre, which had for its purport his arrest and imprisonment at Quimper-Corentin,* while Broussel was to be sent to Havre-de-Grace; and at daylight the chancellor was to interdict all future meetings of the parliament, and to command its members to retire to Montarges.

De Retz was far, however, from evincing any inclination to profit by the warning of the marshal. He saw himself at the height of his ambition—about to become the head of a faction—and, moreover, urged to revolt by the injuries

* Quimper-Corentin was the ancient capital of Lower Brittany, and is now the chief city of the Department of Finisterre, at the junction of the Odet and the Fleyr, rivers which are navigable for vessels of 800 tuns. The city is situated at three leagues and a half from the ocean. Its population amounts to 9900 souls. It has a bishopric suffragant to Tours, which was established in the early centuries of the Christian era; tribunals of criminal and common law, two colleges, an agricultural society, a school of navigation, a library of 7000 volumes, and a theater. Quimper also possesses a very fine gothic cathedral, and other remarkable monuments. It is distant 136 leagues from Paris.

and injustice of which he felt that he had been made the object. He accordingly marshaled his forces, exerted his influence, became the disloyal subject he had already been accused of being, displayed considerable military talent, and succeeded in revolting the city. Before eight o'clock on the following morning the disturbances had spread over the whole of Paris; every one was armed, even to the women and children; and almost, as if by magic, in an incredibly short space of time more than twelve hundred barricades were formed. The chancellor, hustled on every side, and seeing the excited populace appear to rise from the very pavement, fled with great difficulty, pursued by shouts and maledictions, to the Hôtel d'O, at the extremity of the quay of St. Augustine; where, accompanied by his brother, the Bishop of Meaux, he concealed himself in a small closet behind the tapestried hangings, and escaped, as by a miracle, through the cupidity of the mob, who soon became so intent upon pillaging the house, and on carrying off the magnificent furniture, splendid hangings, and rich chimney-ornaments, that they relaxed in their pursuit of the owner.

Meanwhile a large circle had assembled in the apartments of the regent, among whom were all the princesses and the unhappy Queen of England, with her little daughter, who had fled from one revolted nation only to find themselves once more in an asylum which threatened to become equally insafe. "I went to the Palais-Royal," says MADEMOISELLE, 'where I found every one in great excitement, bewildered by this commotion, so inconsiderable in itself, but rendered important by the results which might ensue, and by past examples with which all our histories are filled. As for me, I had never seen any thing of the kind; while, not being of an age to reflect, all these novelties delighted me; and, moreover, as I was not altogether satisfied with either the queen or *Monsieur*, it was a great pleasure to me to see them in a state of perplexity." *

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

The disaffection, or rather the rebellion, soon attained to such a height that the members of the parliament proceeded in their robes to the palace, to expostulate with the queen, who did not, however, suffer the president to explain the purport of his errand; but immediately that they appeared, addressed them with great vehemence, demanding if they did not consider it both extraordinary and shameful that during the time of the late queen, her mother-in-law, they had permitted the arrest and imprisonment of the Prince de Condé without exhibiting the least resentment, when for the miserable and obscure Broussel they and the people were guilty of proceedings which would make posterity regard them with horror as the cause of such disorders; while the king, her son, would one day have a right to complain of their conduct, and to punish it?

To this intemperate appeal the president replied, that it was no time for recrimination; but that in the actual state of the population some remedy must be applied, in order to pacify the public mind; adding, that he should advise Her Majesty to avoid compelling them to deliver her prisoner by force, and to give him up through her own will and clemency.

Anne of Austria, however, critical as her position had become, disdained to yield; and after the exchange of a few more words little calculated to increase her popularity, she abruptly turned her back upon the whole body, and withdrew into her cabinet, where Mazarin was already awaiting her; whereupon the president dispatched a messenger imploring her to return, and to accord them a second brief audience. The queen did not, nevertheless, reappear; but she was represented by the chancellor, who informed the parliament that if they exhibited in future more respect for the will of the king, the regent would, on her side, concede them all the favor which might depend upon her pleasure. As this message was extremely ambiguous, the president demanded an explanation; upon which the chan-

cellor replied, that, provided the parliament would bind itself never to assemble in future for the discussion of state business, or attempt to control the edicts, the regent would deliver up the prisoners.

The members then retired, declaring that they would deliberate upon the proposition; but as they brought no pledge to the people that their reclamation had been conceded, the fury of the mob increased to such a height that they were assailed not only with reproaches but with menace; and at length an outcry was raised that they should be compelled to return to the Palais-Royal, and bring either Broussel in person, or Mazarin as a hostage. At this threat the alarm of the parliament became so great that, with the exception of the president, nearly all the members escaped by degrees among the crowd. He alone preserved his self-possession; and rallying the few of his body who still remained near him, he retraced his steps slowly toward the palace.

They were already aware in the royal apartments of what had happened; and, moreover, the sounds of the riot had reached the ears of the regent herself, while the shouts and threats which accompanied the return of the deputies were distinctly audible. She was consequently more disposed than before to listen to their arguments, and the ladies of the court having thrown themselves at her feet to entreat her to yield, she attempted no further resistance. "Well, gentlemen," she said, with the best grace she could assume, "consider what it is expedient to decide." The parliament assembled in the great gallery, to deliberate, and at the expiration of an hour returned to her presence; when the first president, in the name of the whole body, assured her of his loyalty and that of his colleagues, and then informed her that there should be no meeting held until after the festival of St. Martin. This was, of course, rather a truce than a peace, but the court was no longer in a position to dictate terms; and

accordingly the queen affected to be satisfied by the partial concession, and immediately gave a written order for the liberation of the prisoners, coupled with a command that one of the king's carriages should be dispatched to bring Broussel back to Paris. "When it had been determined to give up the prisoners," says MADEMOISELLE, "the deputies retired proudly, and with the air of people who wished you to believe that they had prevailed as a matter of course, and knew the persons with whom they had to deal. Henceforth they began to *fronder* the cardinal."*

This word *fronde*, rendered so famous by the civil war which adopted it as its title, simply signifies *sling;* but a sling of peculiar construction, at that period greatly in vogue with the boys of Paris, who practiced it in the city moat, and occasionally terminated in bloodshed the rivalry which was begun in sport. The fronde, properly so called, was formed of a narrow strap of leather, terminated at each end by a cord; some missile was placed upon the strap, which was then doubled, the two cords being held in the right hand; the fronde was then revolved, first slowly, but subsequently at speed, and when this could no longer be increased, one of the cords was suffered to escape, by which means the fronde opened and the missile was projected with great force. The fronde was the usual weapon of the foot-soldiers in ancient times, and during the middle ages. The inhabitants of the Balearic Islands (Minorca and Majorca) were celebrated as the most expert frondeurs in the world. In their infancy, in order to render them proficient, bread was given to them which they were not allowed to eat until they had projected it from the fronde. The Greeks and Romans had frondeurs, as well as the Franks, and the other nations of the middle ages. The invention of firearms superseded the use of this primitive weapon.

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

Mazarin had remarked a few days previously to the riots, that the parliament were like schoolboys *fronding* in the Paris ditches, who ran away upon the approach of the civil-lieutenant, only to meet again when he was out of sight; and this witticism was repeated to the deputies, who were extremely wounded by the comparison. On the morning of the barricades, the councilor Barillon, seeing the turn that affairs were taking, sang a couplet which he had improvised upon a popular air. It may be thus rendered:—

"A wind of the Fronde
This morning has set in;
I think it blows
Against the Mazarin;
A wind of the Fronde
This morning has set in."

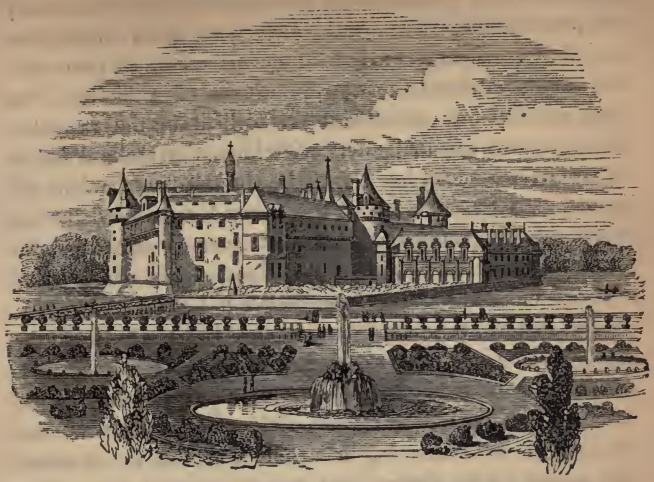
Poor as it was, it became instantly the fashion. The court party were called *Mazarins*, and those of the parliament *Frondeurs*. The coadjutor and his friends who had excited the movement accepted the title, and adopted hat-cords which bore the form of a sling. Immediately bread, gloves, handkerchiefs, fans, and scarfs, were all *à la fronde;* and thenceforward the revolution might come when it pleased; the name by which it was to be distinguished had been decided.

The people were only appeased, on the return of the deputies, by the exhibition of the order which the nephew of Broussel displayed unfolded to convince them of the sincerity of the parliament; while even then they still declared that, having already been duped, they would remain under arms all night; and that if, by ten o'clock on the following morning, Broussel had not arrived, they would sack the Palais-Royal, not leave one stone upon another and hang Mazarin over the ruins.

All was alarm at court. The citizens continued their firing, and the advanced force of the rebels was so near

the palace that it was within ten paces of the sentinels of the guard. The queen, bold as she was, never closed her eyes during the night; and as Mazarin was quite aware of the threats which had been fulminated against him, he was even still less at his ease, and remained in his closet ready dressed for flight. He had one body of guards in his apartments, another at his gate, and a regiment of cavalry awaiting him in the Bois-de-Boulogne, in the event of his being compelled to leave Paris. On the following morning the riots increased; nine o'clock had struck, and Broussel had not arrived. The citizens declared that they would liberate the Duke de Beaufort, and place him at their head; and the regent and her minister made preparations for instant departure. In an hour, however, all the yells and execrations were exchanged for shouts of joy and cries of triumph. Broussel had entered the city, and the people were carrying him in their arms, in the midst of lowered chains and broken barriers. Thus they bore him straight to Nôtre-Dame, where a *Te Deum* was sung; while the poor councilor, ashamed of the demonstrations of which he was made the object, did not await the conclusion of the mass, but escaped by a side door, and reached his own house, quite bewildered to find himself suddenly endowed with a popularity of which he had previously entertained no suspicion.

Meanwhile the parliament assembled, and issued a decree, ordaining the removal of all the chains and barriers, of whatever description, which had been erected in the city during the riots; and compelling the citizens immediately to return to their dwellings, and resume their avocations. They were once more masters of Paris, and felt that the regent and her party were in their hands. Two hours afterward every vestige of the late disturbances had disappeared, and the capital was as tranquil as though the transactions of the two previous days had been a dream.



CHAPTER IX.

Removal of the Court to Ruel—Recall of the Prince de Condé—Arrest of Chavigny—Rivalry between Gaston d'Orleans and Condé—Declaration of the Parliament against Mazarin—Private Marriage of the Queen and the Cardinal—Madame de Beauvais—The Cardinal's Hat—Reply of the Marshal d'Estrées—Politeness of the young King—Mazarinades—Reconciliation of the Duke d'Orleans with the Court—The Abbé de la Rivière—Favor of the Prince de Condé; his ill-judged Advice—The Twelfth-Cake—Evasion of the Court from Paris—Mademoiselle in the Queen's Coach—The Court at St. Germain—Effect of the King's Flight upon the Populace.

Paris having become insupportable to the regent, the court removed to Ruel, under the pretext of a necessity which existed for renovating the Palais-Royal. The king, the queen, and the Duke d'Anjou were all just recovering from the effects of small-pox, and Mazarin from those of terror, when they decided on this change of residence. The Queen of England occupied St. Germain, and the Prince of Wales was in Holland. The Duke d'Orleans and

Mademoiselle remained in the capital. Nothing, under ordinary circumstances, could have been more simple than such an arrangement; but it, nevertheless, at that precise moment, bore greatly the aspect of a flight. The king entered his carriage at six o'clock in the morning, and took the cardinal along with him; the Duke d'Anjou followed two hours later, with M. de Péréfixe; while the queen, "as the boldest of the party," says Madame de Motteville, "remained until the last, went to confession at the convent of the Cordeliers,* and took leave of her good nuns at Val-de-Grace, before she left in her turn." †

As, during the residence of the court at Ruel, the parliament continued to assemble daily, to *fronder* the cardinal, and even took some steps which were obnoxious to the regent, the Queen of England was compelled to vacate St. Germain, in order that the court might there take up its abode; and she accordingly returned to Paris.

The Duke d'Orleans remained behind, with a view to accomplish an understanding with the parliament, in the event of new difficulties. This prince, who had for some time passed nearly the whole of his life in retirement at Blois, began to emerge from his retreat, as timid, but as ambitious and as meddlesome, as ever. Notwithstanding that he was lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and, con-

* Monks of the order of the Younger Brothers of St. Francis, who wore gowns of coarse, gray cloth, with a small cowl, a cape, and a cloke of the same stuff, girt with a girdle of cord knotted in three knots. On their feet they wore only sandals. They were sometimes also called Scotistes, because they followed the doctrine of the famous Scot. The Cordeliers were admitted as fellows of the University, and even as doctors. Their name originated as follows:—These monks having repulsed the infidels during the war waged against them by St. Louis, the king inquired by what designation they were distinguished, and was answered that they were people of the *cordes liés* 'knotted cords); and since that time the name of Cordeliers remained o them. The order was suppressed in 1798.

† Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

sequently, possessed considerable authority, he was constitutionally too weak and cowardly to place any reliance on his own strength; and even while he ventured to remain thus almost isolated in Paris, and retained MADEMOISELLE near him, he caused *Madame* to leave the city with his two younger daughters, Mesdemoiselles d'Orleans and d'Alençon, who were both of tender age. The Princess de Condé also withdrew her grandson, the young Duke d'Enghien; and MADEMOISELLE, in her Memoirs, expresses her embarrassment on finding that she was the only junior member of the royal family who had not received an order to follow the court. "As no one should hesitate," she proceeds to say, "in doing what they feel to be their duty, even although their inclination may not urge them to it, I proceeded to Ruel, where I arrived as the queen was about to leave for St. Germain. She asked me where I came from, and I told her from Paris; for that, when the report of her departure reached me, I had hastened to have the honor of bearing her company; as it had appeared to me that, although she had not done me the favor to command my attendance, I ought not to fail in proving to her that I was aware of my duty, which I trusted she would be good enough to appreciate. She answered, with a smile, that she was not displeased at what I had done; and it was a great thing for me, after the manner in which I had been treated, even to see that I was borne with. I told *Monsieur* and the Abbé de la Rivière how greatly I was annoyed that even the little children should have been sent for, while I was forgotten. Their reply was embarrassed enough."*

At this period the Prince de Condé, who, at the capture of Furnes, had been wounded in the hip, was recalled to Paris by the regent, who, apprehending mischief from the intriguing character of the Duke d'Orleans, was anxious to secure the support of the conqueror against his machinations:

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

while, as a counterpoise to the triumphs of the popular party during the day of the barricades, she again exiled the old Marquis de Chateauneuf, and caused Chavigny to be arrested; the former upon the pretext that he had taken part with the rioters, and the latter under pretence that, in conjunction with several of the deputies, he had fomented them.

The parliament saw the return of the Prince de Condé with distrust; nor did the Duke d'Orleans witness it with more satisfaction; the prince being his rival, not only in politics, but also in the good graces of Mademoiselle de Végean to whom *Monsieur* was paying his court, and who was much attached to him. M. de Condé found the capital in commotion on the subject of the arrests, and the parliament assembled for the purpose of releasing De Chavigny; while only two days after his arrival, during his absence at Ruel, where he had gone to pay his respects to the queen, a very stormy meeting took place, which terminated in the declaration of Blancmesnil, that all the discontent existing throughout the kingdom was attributable to the influence of an alien, and might at once be overcome by applying to the individual in question the decree which had been promulgated in 1617, subsequently to the execution of the Marshal d'Ancre; by which it was forbidden to every foreigner to hold office, dignity, sinecure, honor, or government in France. This was the most direct blow which had yet been struck against Mazarin, and its echo soon reached Ruel, whence a short time subsequently the regent promulgated a declaration signed by herself, the princes, the cardinal, and the chancellor, to the effect that—"No officer could be dismissed even from the discharge of his duty by a mere written order; that every officer arrested must be given up twenty-four hours to his proper judges; and that even so it should be for all the king's subjects, unless from failure of proof, in which case the detention could not exceed six months." Moreover, De Chavigny, who had already been

transferred to Havre, was set at liberty, but with an order to retire to his estates.

This new triumph assured the position of the parliament, and tended to convince Mazarin that he had narrowly escaped the effects of the decree issued in the year 1617; while it is almost equally certain that he owed his impunity principally to the fact of his private marriage with the queen-regent; a circumstance doubted by some historians, but affirmed by the Princess Palatine, the second wife of *Monsieur*, brother of Louis XIV.* Moreover, all the circumstances of the marriage are now known; and the secret way by which the cardinal was accustomed to reach the chamber still exists in the royal palace. The assertion of the Princess Palatine is also borne out by other chroniclers, who assert that when, in her turn, Anne of Austria visited Mazarin in his own apartments, he was in the habit of exclaiming impatiently, "What does this woman want with me again?"

Madame de Beauvais, first femme-de-chambre of the queen-regent, was the confidant of the marriage, a fact which compelled her royal mistress to consult her wishes upon all occasions, and excited the astonishment of the courtiers, who could discover no reason for such an excess of favor. The court-newsman of his day, the Marquis de Dangeau,† re-

* "The Queen-Mother, widow of Louis XIII., not satisfied with loving Mazarin, had finished by marrying him. He was not a priest, and consequently had not taken the orders which prevented his contracting marriage. He became terribly tired of the good queen, and treated her harshly; but it was the custom of the time to contract clandestine marriages."—*Fragments of Original Letters, written by Charlotte-Elizabeth de Bavière, widow of Monsieur, only brother of Louis XIV., to H. R. H. Monseigneur Antoine-Ulric de Bavière.*

† The Marquis de Dangeau left behind him fifty-eight volumes of his Memoirs. "Every one has heard of these Memoirs. They are a MS. Journal of the Court from 1686 to 1720. I have read them all. If he did not write them from day to day, it can not be doubted that he must have revised them carefully; and it may be said that, if they be not a

marks on the subject of Madame de Beauvais: "She was a woman with whom the greatest men had been in communication; and who, old, hideous, and blind of an eye as she had become, still continued to appear from time to time at court in full dress like a nobleman's wife, and to be treated with distinction till she died."*

The first trial of strength between the Duke d'Orleans and the Prince de Condé, was on the subject of a cardinal's hat which had become vacant, and which *Monsieur* had solicited for the Abbé de la Rivière, his favorite, while Mazarin asked it for the Prince de Conti. The duke resented this substitution loudly, sulked, and even threatened; but the cardinal had carefully measured the strength of the two princes before he determined upon which he might best rely for support, and disregarded an anger which he knew to be as empty as it was loud. M. de Condé next increased his influence by advising the immediate return of the young king to Paris, a step which gave general satisfaction; and was immediately succeeded by the peace with Germany, on which occasion the *Gazette de France* announced, "That the French might henceforward fearlessly water their horses in the Rhine."

Meanwhile the young king was beginning to give evidence of the development of an intellect which, if the chronicles of the age may be believed, required only proper assistance to be worthy of his rank. When the victory of Sens was announced to him, he is reported to have said: "Ah, ah, there is something which will not make the parliament laugh;" while, child as he was, he deeply felt the contempt into which his authority had fallen. One day, when the

true history of the court of France during thirty-five years, they offer at least good materials to compose it."—*D'Argenson.*

* It was at this period that there appeared a shoal of lampoons written by each faction against its adversaries; among others the celebrated Fronde pamphlets of "The Real Truth Hidden," "What have you seen at Court?" and "The Old Woman in Love."

courtiers were discussing in his presence the absolute power of the Turkish sultans, and were giving examples of its extent, he exclaimed, "That is as it should be: that is really reigning."

"Yes, sire;" replied the Marshal d'Estrées,* who overheard the remark; "but two or three of those very emperors have been strangled in my time."

The Marshal de Villeroy, who had lost neither the observation nor the rejoinder, instantly made his way through the throng, and addressing D'Estrées said earnestly, "Thank you, sir; you have just spoken judiciously to the king, and not as his courtiers are too apt to do."

Nevertheless, either from a feeling of intuitive good breeding, or because he already understood the value of the Prince de Condé on one occasion when the latter entered the apartment where he was pursuing his studies, Louis XIV. rose, and began to converse with his visitor bareheaded. This excess of politeness, which was contrary to all etiquet, wounded Laporte, who entreated that either the preceptor, or the sub-preceptor, would desire the king to put on his hat, but neither the one nor the other would consent to do so; upon which Laporte himself took the beaver of the young sovereign from the chair where he had left it, and presented it with a grave salutation:—"Laporte is right, sire;" said the prince, as he remarked the action; "Your Majesty should be covered when you converse with us; you do us sufficient honor by a bow."

* Francis Annibal d'Estrées, Duke, Peer, and Marshal of France, was born in 1563, and, having originally embraced the ecclesiastical profession, was promoted by Henry IV. to the bishopric of Laon, which he left to follow the career of arms. He distinguished himself on several occasions, relieved the Duke of Mantua in 1626, took Trèves, and won great reputation by his courage and ability. Appointed Ambassador-Extraordinary to Rome in 1636, he upheld effectively the interests of the Crown; but his want of courtesy forfeited his favor with Urban VIII. Recalled to France, he refused to explain his conduct; and died in 1670. He wrote the Memoirs of the Regency of Marie de Medicis.

At this period Prince de Condé appeared much attached to the king. His first question on his return from the army, had been to ask Laporte if the king would be an honest man, and if he possessed intellect; and on receiving an affirmative answer, he had exclaimed, "All the better! You delight me; for there could be no honor in obeying a bad prince, and no pleasure in yielding to a fool." This was also the opinion of the cardinal Mazarin; who, on one occasion, when the Marshal de Grammont was flattering him with the hope of long-enduring power, replied energetically, "Ah, sir, you do not know His Majesty. There is stuff enough in him to make four kings and an honest man."

It was this same Marshal de Grammont, who, having sided with the Frondeurs, afterwards said to Louis XIV., "At the period when we served Your Majesty against Mazarin;" a phrase which greatly amused the king.

During this time the festival of St. Martin had arrived; and the parliament had resumed its deliberative sittings, showing itself more bitter than ever toward the court party. Pamphlets against the cardinal were of constant recurrence; and every day some new *Mazarinade* made its appearance. At first the minister had laughed as heartily as any one at these lampoons, and had given utterance to the famous words so often quoted—"They sing, and they shall pay for it;" but at length the songs gave place to a production which caused an immense sensation, and which was entitled, "A petition from the Three States of the Government of the Isle of France to the Parliament of Paris." It was a furious attack upon the minister. "He was," said this petition, "a Sicilian, a subject of the king of Spain, and of low birth, who had been a valet at Rome, and had made himself serviceable in the most abominable debaucheries; having been advanced by rascalities, buffooneries, and intrigues;—a man who had been received in France as a spy; and had, by his influence over the queen, governed everything for the last six years, to the great scandal of the royal

household, and the great derision of foreign nations;—who had dismissed, banished, and imprisoned princes, officers of the crown, members of the parliament, great nobles, and in short, the most faithful servants of the king;—who had surrounded himself with traitors, exactionists, unbelievers, and atheists;—who had assumed the office of king's governor in order to rear the sovereign according to his own ideas;—who had corrupted the little truth and good faith which still existed at court, by introducing cards and games of chance; had violated and overthrown justice; pillaged and ravished all the finances; and consumed in advance three years of the state revenues;—who had encumbered the prisons with twenty-three thousand persons, five thousand of whom had died in a single year; and although he had devoured near one hundred and twenty millions annually, had not paid neither the army, or the pensions, or the maintenance of the strongholds; but had shared these large sums with his friends, having exported out of the country the greatest portion of his unholy gains as well in letters of change, and in specie, as in precious stones."

At any other time this libel, although correct and truthful upon many points, would have been of little consequence; but at that precise moment it corresponded so well with the feeling of the people, and the complaint of the parliament, that it became a matter of importance. Great researches was accordingly made to discover its author, but without success; all that could be accomplished was the identification of the printer, who was condemned to perpetual banishment by sentence of the Châtelet. It was, however, im

* A name given to the advanced fortress which defended a city. The two *châtelets* of Paris formed two fortresses, which, from the opposite banks of the Seine, closed the approaches of the *cité*. The head of the *Pont-au-Change*, on the right of the river, was defended by the great *châtelet;* and that of the little bridge on the left, by the little *châtelet*. The construction of these forts was attributed to Julius Cæsar. The last was demolished in 1782, and the first in 1802. The little *châtelet*

possible that this state of things could endure; and it consequently became important to ascertain which really ruled the nation, the sovereign or the parliament; and it, as Anne of Austria herself expressed it, her son was merely a king of cards.

The first prudential measure adopted by the court, was to make overtures for a reconciliation with the Duke d'Orleans, who had continued to resent the preference which had been shown by the minister to the interests of the Prince de Condé in the matter of the cardinal's hat; and this was soon effected, by the appointment of the Abbé de la Rivière to the secretary of stateship, and a seat in the council, accompanied by the promise of the next vacant seat in the conclave.

De la Rivière, whose interests were thus deeply involved in this reconciliation, and who well knew how little reliance could be placed upon the tortuous and vacillating spirit of his master, whose energy of purpose always failed at the moment in which it had become important, undertook the necessary negotiations himself; and the affair was amicably arranged during the Christmas festivals.

A council was immediately convened, and resolutions were adopted relatively to the measures to be pursued; when the Prince de Condé being at that moment all-powerful, it was necessarily his opinion which prevailed; but it unfortunately proved to be the advice of a soldier rather than that of a statesman, and was the germ of all the evil which succeeded. He recommended that the king should be removed to St. Germain, and that means should be adopted to prevent all bread reaching Paris from Gonesse,* in order that famine might be introduced into

was used as a prison for the provost-marshal; while the great *châtelet* was the common judicial court of the city, which acted in the name of the provost.

* The chief town of the canton of the Department of the Seine and Oise, three leagues from Paris, and seven and a half from Pontoise.

the city. The people, in such a strait, he said, would naturally blame the parliament for their sufferings; and the parliament, in their turn, would be too happy to receive the pardon of the court upon its own conditions.

This proposition found instant favor with the regent, to whom extreme measures were always welcome; while, whatever might be the actual sentiments of the cardinal, he had too much interest in conciliating the prince, to offer any opposition to such unwise and dangerous counsel, and it was accordingly decided that the measure should be adopted; but as it was simultaneously felt that perfect secrecy was necessary to its safe accomplishment, it was agreed that the Duke d'Orleans should not mention the subject either to *Madame* or to MADEMOISELLE; nor the Prince de Condé to his mother, his brother, or his sister.

The moment of departure was then arranged for the night of the 5th of January; and that *Monsieur* religiously respected the pledge which he had given we have evidence in the Memoirs of MADEMOISELLE, who relates;—"I had supped that evening with *Madame*, where one of my people came and told me, as a great secret, that the court would leave the capital the next day. I could not believe this, however, on account of the state of *Monsieur;** and I mentioned the news to him as a joke. His silence upon the subject led me to suspect the truth of the intelligence, and the rather as he wished me good night a moment afterward, without having made me any reply I went to the chamber of *Madame*, who thought as I did, that the silence of *Monsieur* implied the fact of the departure; and I returned home tolerably late." †

This borough, situated on the Croust, contains 2200 inhabitants, and celebrated markets for wheat, corn, and forage. Gonesse was renowned, during the middle ages, for the excellent quality of its bread, by which Paris was almost entirely supplied for many years. Philip Augustus was born in Gonesse, in 1166.

* The Duke d'Orleans was suffering severely from gout.

† Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

During the days which intervened between the resolution and its accomplishment, all the disposable troops to the amount of about eight thousand men, were concentrated toward Paris; a movement which gave some uneasiness to the citizens, who became restless, and collected in groups about the streets, like persons who were awaiting the advent of some important event. Nor was the court more tranquil than the city. Orders and counter orders succeeded each other continually; but, as we have already stated, no one was absolutely in the confidence of the arrangement, save the queen, the Duke d'Orleans, the Prince de Condé, the Cardinal, and the Marshal de Grammont.

The day of the 5th of January passed in increased excitement; and in the evening, according to custom, the princes and ministers paid their respects to the regent, but retired early. The Marshal de Grammont being in the yearly habit of giving a grand supper on the eve of the festival of the Kings, every one proceeded to his hôtel, and the queen, as soon as she found herself alone, passed into a small cabinet where the king and the Duke d'Anjou were engaged in their sports, under the charge of Madame de la Trémouille. When the queen entered, she seated herself in front of a table, upon which she leaned to watch their movements; and an instant afterward Madame de Motteville appeared, and took her station behind her royal mistress, who addressed her as calmly as usual, and then once more turned all her attention upon her children. At this moment Madame de la Trémouille, who was seated in a corner out of sight, made a sign to Madame de Motteville that she wished to speak to her. The signal was obeyed, and, as her friend drew to her side, Madame de la Trémouille said, in so low a voice that the regent could not overhear her: "Do you know there is a report that the queen leaves Paris to-night?" The reply was a silent shrug of in-

credulity, as Madame de Motteville pointed to Anne of Austria, who was quietly contemplating the gambols of her sons; but who was not, however, so absorbed by their infantile games as to remain unconscious that some whispered remark had been made in her presence, for she immediately turned and inquired of Madame de la Trémouille what she had said. As neither of the court-ladies put any faith in the rumor, they felt no hesitation in repeating it; upon which the queen replied, with a careless laugh, "The people in this country are really mad, and scarcely know what to imagine. To-morrow I shall pass the day at Val-de-Grace."

The Duke d'Anjou, who was at the moment going to bed, heard the words, and would not leave the room until the queen had consented to take him with her. She promised this, and the child withdrew in delight.

"Now that D'Anjou is gone, ladies," said the regent, "we will, if you please, in order to amuse the king, draw for the bean* among ourselves. Call Bregy, and tell them to bring the cake."

She was obeyed; the cake was brought, and Madame de Bregy having entered the room, it was cut into six portions; one for the king, one for the queen, one for Madame de la Trémouille, one for Madame de Motteville, one for Madame de Bregy, and one for the Virgin.

Each ate their portion without finding the bean, as it chanced to be in the reserved slice; upon which the king took it, and gave it to his mother, thus making her queen of the evening; while she, as though she had no other occupation for her mind save the wish to amuse those about her, sent for a bottle of hypocras, of which her ladies first partook, afterward compelling her to do the same, in order that they might have the opportunity of exclaiming, according to the rules of the game, "The queen drinks!"

* An amusement similar to that of our Twelfth-Night.

The conversation then turned upon a dinner to be given two days afterward by Villequier, the Captain of the Guard; and the queen named such of her women as she would allow to attend it; adding, that the violin-band of the Prince de Condé should be sent for in order to add to their amusement. Ultimately Laporte was summoned, to whom she committed the young king, that he might go to rest in his turn; and all this was done so calmly and so naturally, that Madame de la Trémouille was the first to laugh at the report which she had been so eager to promulgate.

About eleven o'clock, when the queen had retired to her chamber, and her ladies where preparing to assist her to unrobe, she sent for Béringhen,* the first equerry, who immediately presented himself, when she took him aside, and conversed with him some time in a low voice. It was to order out the king's carriages; but, as she still feared any premature suspicion, she said aloud as he left the room, that she had been giving some instructions about certain alms which she wished to distribute; and her self-possession was so perfect, that her ladies proceeded to their several duties without a single misgiving. These performed, they were dismissed; and at the door they encountered Comminges and Villequier, who were as unconscious as themselves of the intended departure.

The ladies of the household had no sooner left the Palais-Royal, than the gates were closed; and the queen summoning Madame de Beauvais, again dressed herself. Comminges and Villequier, who had been desired to remain in the saloon, were next introduced, and received the necessary orders. After them entered the Marshal de Villeroy, who then also learned the intentions of the regent for the first time; and immediately retired to make

* James Louis, Marquis de Béringhen, Count de Chateauneuf, and du Plessis-Bertrand, Knight of the Order of the King, First Equerry, and Governor of the citadels of Marseilles.

his personal arrangements, as well as those which were necessary to the comfort of the young king, who was left to sleep in peace until three o'clock in the morning.

At that hour both the princes were awakened, and placed in a carriage which was in waiting at the gate of the royal garden, where the queen immediately afterward joined them, attended by Madame de Beauvais, and followed by Guitaut, Comminges, and Villequier, who had all descended by the back stair-case which led from the queen's apartments to the garden. The carriages then drove off without encountering any obstacle, and did not stop until they reached the Cours, which was the general *rendezvous;* and there they awaited the Duke d'Orleans the Prince de Condé, and all the other members of the royal family. Shortly afterward *Monsieur* arrived with *Madame*, then MADEMOISELLE, whom Comminges had been sent to summon, and the princes of Condé and Conti, with the princess; and finally, the Demoiselles de Mancini, who had been sent for from the hôtel of Madame de Senecey, where they were residing. The tardy appearance of the cardinal completed the party. He had been engaged at cards, of which he was passionately fond, and having had a run of luck, he was with difficulty prevailed upon to abandon the game.*

The account given of this royal flight by MADEMOISELLE is at once so characteristic of her own personage, and so graphic, that we will transcribe it.

"While M. de Comminges was speaking, I was quite agitated with joy to see that they were about to commit an error, and that I should be a witness of the troubles in which they would be involved in consequence. It revenged me, in some degree for the persecutions that I had suffered. I did not then foresee that I should find myself in a powerful faction, where I might do my duty and revenge myself at the same time; nevertheless, in this

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

sort of vengeance one is apt to gratify one's self to one's own despite. I rose with all possible celerity, and drove away in the carriage of Comminges. Neither my own, nor that of the Countess de Fiesque,* was ready. The moon had disappeared, and day had not yet dawned. I desired the countess to bring me my equipage as soon as possible. When I entered the carriage of the queen, I said, 'I will be placed either in front, or at the back of the coach; I am not fond of the cold, and I wish to be at my ease.' This was in order to make the princess change her seat, as she was in the habit of occupying one of these places. The queen replied, 'The king, my son, and I are in them, with the princess-dowager.' To which I answered, 'Let her remain then; young people ought to give up the good places to the old;' and I remained near one of the doors with the Prince de Conti; while at the other were seated the princess, her daughter, and Madame de Senecey. The queen asked me if I had not been very much surprised? I said, No; for that *Monsieur* had forewarned me of her intention; although, in fact, he had done nothing of the kind. She thought to detect me in a falsehood, for she asked, 'How then came you to go to bed?' I answered, that I was very glad to lay in a stock of sleep, not knowing if I should have a bed to lie in the next night. I never saw a creature so gay as she was; if she had gained a battle, taken Paris, and hung all those who were obnoxious to her, she could not have been more so; and, nevertheless, she was very far from having done all this."†

Ere long the Cours became thronged with about twenty coaches, containing at least a hundred and fifty persons; for the friends of those who were about to depart, informed of the circumstance at the eleventh hour, would not remain in Paris, where they apprehended a new outbreak; and,

* Governess of MADEMOISELLE.

† Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

meanwhile, all these fugitives, save the few who were in the secret, were overcome with fear, and looked like people who were escaping from a beleaguered city.

The queen expressed some surprise at the non-appearance of Madame de Longueville; but as she had no suspicion of the real motive which detained her in Paris, she declared herself satisfied with the reason assigned by the duchess, and communicated by the princess, her mother-in-law, and which was based upon her approaching confinement; and having seen her household assembled, she gave the order to depart.

We will again have recourse to MADEMOISELLE for a description of matters at St. Germain. The picture is admirable.

"When we arrived at St. Germain we went straight to the chapel to hear mass, and all the rest of the day was spent in questioning those who arrived as to what they were saying and doing in Paris. Every one spoke of it in his own way, and all were agreed that no anger had been exhibited at the departure of the king; that the drums were beating all over the city, and that the citizens had taken up arms. I was very uneasy about my equipage; I knew that the Countess de Fiesque was so timid that she would not leave Paris during the commotion, nor forward my equipage, which was most necessary to me; as for herself, I could have done very well without her. She sent me a coach, which passed through the rebels without remark, and the others could have come with equal ease; those who were in it were treated with great civility, although it was by people who are not in the habit of showing it; and I was informed of the circumstance. She sent me in this coach a matress, and a little linen. As I saw myself in so sorry a condition, I went to seek help at the Chateau-Neuf,* where *Monsieur* and *Madame* were

* There were two palaces at St. Germain-en-Laye, where several kings had resided. That which still exists, and which was built several

lodged. She lent me two of her women; but she had not her clothes any more than myself; and nothing could be more laughable than this disorder. I slept in a very handsome room, well painted, well gilded, and large, with very little fire and no windows; which is not agreeable in the month of January. My matresses were laid upon the floor, and my sister, who had no bed, slept with me. I was obliged to sing to get her to sleep; and her slumber did not last long, so that she disturbed mine; she tossed about, felt me near her, woke up, and exclaimed that she saw the beast; so I was obliged to sing again to put her to sleep, and in that way I passed the night. Judge if I were agreeably situated for a person who had slept but little the previous night, and who had been ill all the winter with sore throats and a violent cold; nevertheless, this fatigue cured me. Fortunately for me, the beds of *Monsieur* and *Madame* arrived; and *Monsieur* had the kindness to give me his room. They had previously occupied one which the prince had lent him. As I was in the apartment of *Monsieur*, where no one knew that I was lodged, I was awoke by a noise. I drew back my curtain, and was much astonished to find my chamber quite filled by men in large buffskin collars, who appeared surprised to see me, and who knew me as little as I knew them. I had no change of linen, and my day-chemise was washed during the night; I had no women to arrange my hair and dress me, which is very inconvenient; and I ate with *Monsieur*, who keeps a very bad table. Still I did not lose my gayety, and *Monsieur* was in admiration at my making no complaint; and it is true that I am a creature who can make the best of every thing, and am greatly above trifles. I remained in this state ten days with *Madame*, at the end

centuries ago, and enlarged during successive reigns, but particularly in that of Louis XIV.; and another, erected by Henry IV., which has been, in a great measure, pulled down. The town is girdled by a forest of six leagues in circumference, entirely surrounded by a wall.

of which time my equipage arrived, and I was very glad to have all my comforts. I then went to lodge in the Chateau-Vieux, where the queen was residing; and I had resolved, if my equipage did not reach me, to send to Rouen to have some clothes and a bed made; and for that purpose to request some money from the treasurer of *Monsieur*, who might very well give it to me, as they were enjoying my property: and if, indeed, they had refused me a supply, I should have had no difficulty in finding some one who would have lent it."*

Notwithstanding, however, the assertion of MADEMOISELLE's informants, the news of the king's flight had no sooner been circulated in Paris than it produced a terrible effect; and from six o'clock in the morning the streets were loud with shouts and tumult. Immediately all the individuals who were in any way attached to the court attempted to escape and rejoin the royal party; while at the same moment the people were closing the city gates, and stretching chains in every direction, to intercept their flight. The chancellor made good his retreat, disguised as a monk of St. Lazarus; Madame de Brienne as a Gray sister; Brienne and his brother as students, with their books under their arms; while their father, who attempted to force a passage with his relative, the Abbé de l'Escaladieu, was compelled to fire his pistol in order to effect his purpose; and the abbé was wounded with a halbert.

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier

CHAPTER X.

Tranquillity of the Coadjutor—Idle Rumors—Mob-Enthusiasm—Declaration of Louis XIV. to the corporate Bodies—Interdict upon the Parliament—Attempt to create a Famine in Paris—Parliamentary Decree against Mazarin—Contempt of the Court—Madame de Longueville at the Town-Hall—Disaffection of the Princes—Intrigues of Madame de Longueville—Perplexity of the Coadjutor—Arrival of the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Longueville at Paris—The Prince de Conti and the Parliament—M. d'Elbœuf and his three Sons—The Princes offer their Services to the Parliament—Madame de Longueville and the Populace—Siege of the Bastille—A dangerous Witticism—The Citizen-Court—Measures of the Prince de Condé—Alarm at St. Germain—Intended Flight of Mazarin—Indignation of Condé—The Hunchback—Fronde-Pasquinades—Royal Retorts—Political Scandal—The Duke de Beaufort in the Capital—"The King of the Markets"—Leaders of the Fronde—Tancred de Rohan.

Meanwhile the coadjutor remained perfectly tranquil, and found food for amusement in the terror which had taken possession of the citizens. Blacmesnil entered his chamber as pale as a ghost, to tell him that the king was marching upon the parliament-house with eight thousand horse-

men; to which M. de Retz replied that His Majesty had left the city accompanied by only two hundred. To the affrighted president succeeded other visitors equally in consternation; and this audience of alarm continued throughout the greater portion of the day, without in the least degree affecting the vigorous nerves of the coadjutor, who at every instant received reports from the officers in his interest, asserting that the first movement of the populace had been one of fury, which requires time to degenerate into fear; and he calculated that before night he should be able to allay all apprehensions in the minds of the citizens; for, although the prince, who distrusted his brother (M. de Conti), had taken him from his bed and carried him off to St. Germain, the coadjutor never doubted that, as Madame de Longueville remained in Paris, he would soon reappear; and the rather, as he had himself received a letter from M. de Longueville on the previous evening, dated from Rouen, in which he gave an assurance that he should on the following night reach Paris.

The coadjutor had, nevertheless, lost ground. Broussel and Blancmesnil had been set at liberty, and this was all that the people required. He had been summoned to court, where the queen had received him almost with affection, and Mazarin had kissed him upon both cheeks; but he was not duped by the hollowness of a welcome so overacted; and he had, consequently, remained quietly in the city, preserving his popularity, and awaiting patiently the progress of events. On the very day upon which the king left Paris, M. de Retz was awoke at five o'clock in the morning by the house-steward of the regent, who brought him an autograph letter from Anne of Austria, begging him to follow her to St. Germain; to which he replied that he would not fail to obey her orders. That he could have done so, had he seen fit, admits of no doubt, as persons were continually leaving the city in disguise; but such was not his purpose, and he accordingly ordered his carriage

openly, took leave of his friends at his own door, and shouted to his coachmen, "To St. Germain"—being well aware that he should not be permitted to proceed. His calculation was a correct one; for, at the end of the rue Neuve Nôtre-Dame, a timber-merchant, named Du Buisson, who was very popular on the quays, raised the people, belabored the postillion, beat the coachman, and declared that the coadjutor should go no farther. The carriage was lifted off its wheels, and the women of the New Market having raised a sort of litter upon them, they placed the coadjutor on this impromptu car, and, to his great joy, conducted him home in triumph.

On his arrival beneath his own roof, M. de Retz immediately wrote to both the queen and the cardinal to express his regret at the popular interference, and to explain the impossibility of continuing his journey. Neither of them were, however, deceived by this subterfuge, and the turbulent prelate became more obnoxious at court than ever.

Meanwhile all was confusion and uncertainty; when it was suddenly announced that the municipal magistrates, as well as the magistrates of police and commerce, had received a letter from the king, copies of which were soon circulated. In this letter, Louis XIV. declared that he had been compelled to leave the capital in consequence of the pernicious designs of the parliament, who were in com munication with the enemies of the state; and that, by the advice of his honorable lady and mother, he had withdrawn from Paris to prevent the seizure of his person; recommended to them the safety and well-being of the city, and urged them to continue in their duty of good and faithful subjects, as they had hitherto done; while he, at the same time, expressed his confidence in their fidelity and affection.

On the 7th of the month, De Lisle, a captain of the guards, delivered, on the king's authority, an interdict against the continued sittings of the sovereign courts, and an order for the parliament to retire to Montargis. The

parliament, however, refused to recognize the order, asserting that it did not emanate from the monarch himself, but from those by whom he was surrounded, and who were endangering his safety by their evil counsels; and this reply had no sooner reached St. Germain, than the queen sent to forbid the villages round Paris from supplying either bread, wine, or cattle; from which moment the design of the court to cause a famine in the capital became evident.

In this extremity the parliament decided that a deputation should bear their remonstrances to the regent; and accordingly it reached St. Germain, where it was refused admission; when, having reported its failure to the body, in reply to the king's letter, a decree was issued, stating:

"That, as Cardinal Mazarin was notoriously the author of all the disorders of the state, and of the present troubles, the parliament has declared, and does declare him, the disturber of public peace, the enemy of the king and the state, and enjoins him to retire from the court in the course of this day, and in eight more from the kingdom; and, the said time expired, calls upon all the subjects of the king to hunt him down (*courre sus*). Forbids every one to receive him. Orders, moreover, that a sufficient number of men-at-arms shall be levied in this city to this end; commissions delivered for the safety of the city, as well within as without; both to escort those who bring in provisions, and to arrange that they may be brought and carried in all safety and freedom; and the present decree shall be read, published, and posted up in every place to which it belongs; and in order that none shall affect ignorance, the municipal, police, and commercial ministers are enjoined to lend a helping hand to its execution.

(Signed) "GUIET."

Both this obscure name, and the letter to which it was affixed, greatly amused the court; but their gayety was shortly tempered by the intelligence that the Duke d'El-

bœuf* and the Prince de Conti had both quitted St. Germain for Paris; that the Duke de Bouillon had declared for the parliament; and that Madame de Longueville had taken up her residence in the Town-Hall, having promised to the popular cause the support of the Duke de Longueville her husband, and the Prince de Marsillac† her lover. A civil war was consequently declared, not only between the king and his people, but also between the princes of the blood.‡

The Duke d'Elbœuf was a man of confined intellect, and best known as the elder brother of the Count d'Harcourt. He was disaffected, because it was the fashion of the house of Lorraine to be so, and that, moreover, the princes of this line held a bad position at court, not receiving the same honors as those of Condé. M. de Bouillon was of better reputation, both in war and politics; but it may be remembered that during the lifetime of Louis XIII. he had been compromised in the affair of Cinq-Mars; and, as he was sovereign prince of Sedan, had made his peace with the court by giving up his

* Charles, grandson of Réné de Lorraine, Marquis d'Elbœuf, the seventh son of Claude, Duke de Guise. He married Catherine-Henrietta, the legitimized daughter of Henry IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrées. He died in 1657.

† Francis, sixth Duke de la Rochefoucauld, Prince de Marsillac, Knight of the Orders of the King, and Governor of Poitou, was one of the wits of the seventeenth century. Born in 1613, he was still young when he involved himself in the intrigues which distinguished the last years of Richelieu. He played a prominent part in the wars of the Fronde, through his passion for Madame de Longueville. Restored to royal favor at the close of the struggle, he occupied himself in writing the two works by which he has been immortalized. His *Memoirs*, an interesting and valuable production; and his *Maxims*, a collection of moral reflections, tending to prove that the motive of all our actions is self-love. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld died in 1680. He assisted, it is said, in writing the romance of "The Princess of Cleves," a work by Madame de Lafayette, who was his intimate friend toward the close of his life.

‡ Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

city. When the king and the cardinal were both dead, he expected to hold it anew, but it was not restored to him; and although he had been promised a pecuniary indemnification, this had never been paid, and he began to perceive that his pretensions were laughed at. These were the reasons of M. de Bouillon's disaffection. The Prince de Conti was disaffected because younger brothers were always so at that period; then, because he was hump-backed; and finally, because he was required to go into the church; and that although they might obtain for him the cardinal's hat, which had already produced such a discussion between the Duke d'Orleans and his brother, he preferred a gray beaver with a white feather, and the vest of black velvet lined with minever, which was the costume of the time, to the red cap and the crimson robes.

Madame de Longueville was disaffected, because her brother, the Prince de Condé, to whom she was tenderly attached, had been paying his court to Mademoiselle de Végean, and that she could not endure a rival in his affections; while she had become so embittered against him in consequence, that she had embraced the opposite party to revenge herself; M. de Longueville was disaffected, only because his wife was so.

The coadjutor was a great friend of the duke, but as he was not, according to M. de Retz himself, the man of the court who was on the best terms with his wife, he had not seen the duchess for some time. He now felt, however, that circumstances might occur in which her influence would be important to him, and he accordingly paid her a visit. He found her extremely enraged, both against the court and the Prince de Condé; and thereupon inquired if she had any power over M. de Conti, to which she replied that he was entirely in her hands, and that she could make him do whatever she pleased. This was all the coadjutor wished for at the moment, as he only desired to have some one to oppose to the prince.

The feebleness of the individual did not disturb him; what he sought was merely a chief for the faction who would be governed by himself; and he accordingly requested the duchess to hold herself in readiness for whatever might occur, to recall her husband to Paris, and not to leave the capital on any pretext whatever; but she was, nevertheless, ill at ease, the prince having carried off M. de Conti almost by force, the Prince de Marsillac having left Paris to endeavor to bring him back, and M. de Longueville not having arrived from Normandy. She was, consequently, alone, and dared not venture into the streets, which were filled with uproar and confusion. The citizens had, at their own instigation, taken possession of the Porte St. Honoré, while the coadjutor had placed a guard at that of the Conference; and the parliament were again assembling. It was therefore finally determined between them that, in addition to the Prince de Marsillac, they should send M. de Saint-Ibal, a confidential friend of the coadjutor, to St. Germain, that he might endeavor to see the Prince de Conti, and press his return; and Saint-Ibal accordingly left the city in disguise.

Three days were consumed in all these arrangements. Neither M. de Marsillac nor Saint-Ibal returned; but it was ascertained that the Duke de Longueville, learning that the court was at St. Germain, had turned his horse's head in that direction, and had gone to join the queen; with what design no one could determine. The coadjutor was greatly embarrassed. He had answered to the Duke de Bouillon for the coöperation of the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Longueville; and while they had no news of the former, those which they had received of the latter were any thing but encouraging. At this precise moment a new and unexpected event increased his perplexity tenfold.

In the afternoon of the 9th of January, M de Brissac, who had married the cousin of M. de Retz, entered his

apartment; when, as they rarely met, the coadjutor inquired to what happy circumstance he was indebted for so unexpected a visit. In reply De Brissac stated that he wished to join the parliamentary army, the Marshal de la Meilleraye having given him offense, for which reason he was anxious to serve the opposite faction. The coadjutor upon this assurance, invited him to be his companion to a meeting of the Deputies, and requested him to look from the window and ascertain whether his equipage had yet drawn up; when M. de Brissac, while in the act of complying, uttered an exclamation of surprise, and announced the arrival of the Duke d'Elbœuf and his three sons.

No circumstance could have been more unwelcome to the coadjutor, who endeavored to throw a doubt upon the accuracy of the statement; but M. de Brissac rendered this impossible, by asserting that they had traveled together from the bridge of Neuilly to the cross of Trahoir where he had left them; and that throughout the journey the duke had sworn to him that he would render more efficient service to the Fronde than M. de Mayenne his cousin had ever done to the League.*

* Charles de Lorraine, Duke de Mayenne, was the second son of Francis de Lorraine, Duke de Guise. Born in 1554, he distinguished himself at the sieges of Poitiers and La Rochelle, and at the battle of Montcoutour. He overcame the Calvinists in Guyenne, Dauphiny, and Saintonge. His brothers having been killed at the States of Blois, in 1588, he declared himself Chief of the League, and took the title of Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France. He caused the Cardinal de Bourbon to be declared king, under the name of Charles IX., and inherited the hatred of his brothers for Henry III., and his successor, Henry IV. He marched, at the head of 30,000 men, against the latter monarch, and was beaten at the battle of Arques, and at that of Ivry. He extinguished the faction of the Sixteen, and was finally compelled to reconcile himself with the king in 1599. Henry IV. became sincerely attached to him, and gave him the government of the Isle of France. He died in 1611, leaving by his wife, Henrietta of Savoy, the daughter of the Count de Tende, one son, Henry, who died vithout issue in 1621, at the age of forty-three.

The perplexity of M. de Retz was at its height. He dared not confide to any one the engagements into which he had entered with regard to the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Longueville, lest they should by some accident reach the ears of the court party, and cause their arrest; while, on the other hand, M. de Bouillon had declared that he would not commit himself, until he was assured of the coöperation of the former; as did the Marshal de la Motte Houdancourt,* until he had consulted with the Duke de Longueville; and meanwhile, M. d'Elbœuf, who enjoyed with the Parisian populace the old popularity acquired by the Princes of Lorraine, might, by causing himself to be chosen generalissimo, overthrow all his projects. The coadjutor consequently resolved to gain time by affecting to adopt his interest.

When the duke and his three sons were ushered into the apartment of M. de Retz, the usual salutations were no sooner exchanged, than M. d'Elbœuf explained that he and his children had determined to embrace the cause of the parliament; and that knowing the influence which the coadjutor possessed over the citizens of Paris, he had resolved to pay him his first visit. This politeness was followed by a crowd of flatteries, in which the sons joined whenever they found an opportunity of sharing the con-

* Philip de la Motte-Houdancourt, Duke de Cardonne, was early initiated in the career of arms, and led the French forces in Piedmont in 1639. He commanded in Catalonia in 1641, defeated the Spaniards before Tarragona, took from them several towns, and received for his services the bâton of a marshal, in 1642, the Duchy of Cardonna, and the title of Viceroy of Catalonia. Overcome before Lerida in 1644, and unfortunate throughout the remainder of the campaign, he was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Pierre-Encise at Lyons, until his innocence was fully proved by the parliament of Grenoble in 1648. Viceroy of Catalonia for the second time in 1651, he forced the enemy's line before Barcelona in 1652; and died at Paris in the following year. He left only three daughters, the Duchesses of Aumont, Ventadour, and La Ferté-Senneterre.

versation; and the coadjutor received all these courteous demonstrations with a great exhibition of gratitude and respect, inquiring, with marked interest, what steps the duke purposed to take. He was answered by M. d'El bœuf, that his intention was immediately to offer his ser vices to the police and commercial magistrates of the city; and he asked whether M. de Retz were not of opinion that this was the best course to pursue.

His host answered evasively; rather recommending that he should wait until the next day, and then volunteer his assistance to the chambers collectively.

The duke affected to be convinced; and asserting that he would be ruled in all things by the advice of his newly-elected friend, took his leave, followed by his three sons.

They had scarcely withdrawn, when the coadjutor, who believed that he had detected a peculiar smile exchanged between M. d'Elbœuf and his children, ordered one of his people to follow them, and to let him know where they went. It was as he had foreseen; they had proceeded straight to the Town-Hall. Neither had been the dupe of the other; and consequently there was no time to be lost, nor was M. de Retz likely to be a laggard in such a war of wits. He instantly wrote to the first police magistrate, Fournier, who was one of his friends, to caution him against allowing the municipality to send M. d'Elbœuf to parliament, a step that would have secured to him a position against which it would have been difficult to struggle; and he next desired such of the curates of Paris as were the most devoted to his own interests, to excite among their parishioners suspicions of the duke's good faith; reminding them that he was capable of doing every thing for money, and that he was one of the intimate friends of the Abbé de la Rivière, the favorite of the Duke d'Orleans. Finally, he left his house in disguise at seven o'clock in the evening,

and visited all the members of parliament with whom he was acquainted, in order to call to their recollection that M. d'Elbœuf was an unsafe partisan, and that the parliament had a right to consider it as an affront that the duke should have offered his services to the municipal magistrates, instead of to themselves, as he, the coadjutor, had advised. He continued this pilgrimage until two o'clock in the morning, feeling convinced that, on his side, M. d'Elbœuf would not lose his time; and he had just retired to bed, worn down by fatigue, and almost determined to declare himself openly against the duke on the morrow, when he heard a violent knocking at his door. He had hastily called his valet-de-chambre, and ordered him to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, when he detected rapid steps approaching his chamber; and immediately the Chevalier de la Chaise, who belonged to the household of M. de Longueville, entered unannounced, exclaiming that the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Longueville had arrived at the Porte St. Honoré, but that the populace would not let them enter, saying that they were come to betray the city.

The coadjutor sprang from his bed. This was the event which he had been awaiting impatiently for the last three days; he was dressed in an instant; and, as he had ordered his carriage directly the news reached him, it was ready as soon as himself. He jumped in, followed by the chevalier, and drove to the house of Broussel, whom he summoned to accompany him; and then, preceded by torch-bearers, he advanced to the Porte St. Honoré, where he found the prince and the duke, who had fled from St. Germain on horseback. The crowd which had collected was so great, that it was with difficulty he could make his way; and it was broad daylight before the gate was opened, as in the excited state of the populace it was necessary to harangue them; after which he conducte . the princes to the Hôtel de Longueville. Hay-

ing had a short interview with the duchess, and entreated her to maintain her husband and brother in their present resolutions, the coadjutor next hurried to the residence of the Duke d'Elbœuf, to propose that he should unite his interests to those of the two brothers; but he had already departed for the Palace.* On ascertaining this fact, M. de Retz galloped back to the Hôtel de Longueville, to entreat the princes instantly to present themselves to the parliament: but M. de Conti, feeling fatigued, had gone to bed; while M. de Longueville, who could never compel himself to haste, remarked that there was time enough. The coadjutor, whose vexation was extreme, then proceeded to the chamber of the prince, in order to compel him to rise; but this attempted coercion only made him more determined to resist: he was overcome with sleep; and to all the remonstrances of the prelate merely replied that he was very ill. M. de Retz, half mad with annoyance and disappointment, then had recourse to the duchess, who in her return made her way to the apartment of her brother, where she announced that the parliament had risen; and that the Duke d'Elbœuf, still followed by his three sons, was on his way to the Town-Hall to take the oath.

Thus the opportunity was lost; and it was consequently arranged that the Prince de Conti should present himself to the parliament during the meeting of the following day The coadjutor promised to call for him; and wishing to turn to account the few hours that remained, he busied himself in hiring persons to surround the house of parliament, and to shout, "Long live Conti!" As for himself, he required no such unstable assistance, for he felt that he had become more popular than ever.

The Prince de Conti entered the carriage of the prelate without any personal suite, that of the coadjutor being, however, very numerous; and on his way the prince evinced

* The building in which the parliament assembled was so called.

the most perfect confidence in the populace, although among the shouts of, "Long live the coadjutor," he could not detect the sound of his own name, until they arrived in the midst of the men hired by M. de Retz. They reached the palace before M. d'Elbœuf: but the coadjutor admits in his Memoirs, that he perceived the people had by no means conquered their distrust, and that he rejoiced when he had conducted M. de Conti in safety to the great chamber. The Duke d'Elbœuf, who had already been appointed general of the parliamentary forces, arrived immediately afterward, followed by all the city guards, who had accompanied him since the morning. The people shouted on all sides, "Long live His Highness! Long live Elbœuf!" mingled with cries of, "Long live the coadjutor!" and in the midst of these acclamations the duke entered the palace, giving an order to the guard to remain at the door of the great chamber. The coadjutor, who dreaded some attempt against the prince whom he protected, also remained at the same door, with all his suite about him.

As soon as the deputies were seated, M. de Conti advanced into the hall and said with tolerable firmness, that having witnessed at St. Germain the pernicious counsels which were given to the queen, he had considered himself compelled, in his quality of prince of the blood, to oppose them, and was consequently come to offer them his services.

He had scarcely ceased speaking when the Duke d'Elbœuf moved forward in his turn; and, like all weak persons who believe themselves to have secured the vantage ground, he said harshly and haughtily that he was well aware of the respect which he owed to the Prince de Conti, but that he could not resist reminding him that it was he who had broken the ice, and had first offered himself to the party; that it had done him the honor of confiding to him the marshal's bâton, and that he would never resign it while he lived.

Vehement applause followed this declaration, for the parliament, like the people, distrusted the brother of the man who had threatened their city with famine. The sitting was then terminated by a decree forbidding all troops, under risk of the crime of *lèse-majesté*, to approach within twenty leagues of Paris; and the coadjutor found himself compelled, after a bootless errand, to be satisfied with conducting the Prince de Conti in safety to the Hôtel de Longueville; while even in order to effect this simple purpose, he was obliged almost to carry him through the crowd on leaving the great chamber. His cause appeared desperate, but M. de Retz was not to be easily discouraged; and upon reflection he felt convinced that all was not yet lost; for, as he himself says, "The confidence of the people which has been cultivated and nourished for a long period, never fails to stifle, if it only have time to germinate those slight and budding flowers of public good-will which chance sometimes forces into growth."

Chance, however, on this occasion, rather favored him than his adversaries for on arriving at the Hôtel de Longueville, the coadjutor found Quincerot, a captain of Navarre, who had been page to the Marquis de Ragni, the father of Madame de Lesdiguières,* awaiting him as the messenger of the duchess from St. Germain, under a specious pretext relating to some prisoners; but in fact to apprise M. de Retz that an hour after the arrival of the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Longueville in Paris, M. d'Elbœuf had written to the Abbé de la Rivière in these words:—

"Tell the queen and *Monsieur* that this devil of a coad-

* The wife of Francis de Bonne, Duke de Lesdiguières, who was born at St. Bonnet, in Upper Dauphiny, in 1543, was appointed general of the Huguenots, and gained several victories over the Catholics. When Henry IV. became King of France, he appointed him lieutenant general of the forces in Piedmont, Savoy, and Dauphiny. Lesdiguières gained great advantages over the Duke of Savoy, and was created marshal of France in 1608. He embraced Catholicism in 1612, and died in 1626, with the title of Constable.

jutor is losing every thing here; that two days hence I shall no longer possess any power; but that if they will give me their support, I will prove to them that I did not come to Paris with so bad an intention as they suppose."

La Rivière showed this letter to the cardinal, who only laughed, and in his turn exhibited it to the Marshal de Villeroy. In the hands of the coadjutor, however, it became a dangerous weapon against the writer. He did not lose a moment; but aware, as he declares, that nothing increases the value of a communication so much as an appearance of mystery, he showed it in strict confidence, before nightfall to between four and five hundred persons. At nine o'clock in the evening, several of the parochial clergy informed him that the confidence which the Prince de Conti had shown in the people, by venturing himself alone, and without his personal followers, in the carriage of the prelate, even when he knew that they were prejudiced against him, had produced a great and favorable impression; while an hour later he received above fifty letters, informing him that both his clerical and military agents had succeeded admirably in their efforts to produce a reaction in the popular feeling, and that proofs of this encouraging change were evident. The coadjutor, with all the perspicacity of a man who had thoroughly studied the nature of a Paris mob, felt that the moment was now come when he could thoroughly disembarrass himself of the Duke d'Elbœuf, if he could only succeed in making him ridiculous. In all ages ridicule has been a formidable weapon against a Frenchman: he can resist poverty, disgrace, exile, or bereavement; but once make him appear absurd, and he ventures upon no further struggle. It is confidently asserted that when Louis XVIII. was compelled to leave France, he thought less of the crown which was slipping from his brow, than of the epigrams which would succeed his departure.

In the present emergency, the coadjutor had no occasion to seek for an associate in his purpose. Marigny was at

his elbow; who forthwith wrote the famous ballad of "M. d'Elbœuf and his Sons,"* which was the first of a large family of similar pasquinades. A hundred copies were transcribed, distributed in the streets, and pasted up at the corners during the night; and consequently, ere sunset the next evening, it was in every mouth, and might be heard in every thoroughfare. Fortune had decidedly declared for the coadjutor, for at this precise moment news arrived that the king's troops had possessed themselves of Charenton*. M. d'Elbœuf had been too much occupied in his own defence to remember that it was necessary to defend Paris; and M de Retz seized that opportunity of circulating copies of the letter which the duke had written to La Rivière; nor did he fail to remind his partisans that if they desired a proof of his coöperation with the court, they had now secured it.

A little after midnight, M. de Longueville, the Marshal de la Motte-Houdancourt, and the coadjutor went to the residence of the Duke de Bouillon, who was confined to his bed with the gout, and had consequently hitherto taken no share in their proceedings. At first he was reluctant to declare himself; but when they had thoroughly explained their plans, and proved to him the facility with which they might be accomplished, he consented to join the popular faction. Their proceedings for the morrow were arranged; and then each returned to his own home. The next morn-

* The ballad in question may be freely rendered thus:—

"M. d'Elbœuf and his sons
Have done wonders all the four;
They are pomp and pride all o'er,
M. d'Elbœuf and his sons;
For two thousand years and more,
Will their triumphs be talked o'er,
M. d'Elbœuf and his sons
Have done wonders all the four."

† A town in the Department of the Seine, on the right bank of the Marne, two leagues distant from Paris. It is now celebrated for a lunatic asylum of immense extent.

ing at ten o'clock, the Prince de Conti, his brother-in-law, and the coadjutor, left the Hôtel de Longueville in the most magnificent of the duchess's equipages, followed by a numerous train in the livery of the prince. M. de Retz placed himself near the door, in order that he might be visible to the people, and thus they advanced at a slow pace toward the palace. They had not proceeded far ere the coadjutor began to reap the harvest which he had so sedulously sown, for shouts of "Long live the Prince de Conti!" resounded on all sides; while at intervals might be heard snatches of the ballad of "M. d'Elbœuf and his three Sons," to which several more verses had already been appended. As they advanced, the crowd became more dense; and when they arrived at the palace they were greeted with one unanimous peal of applause.

On presenting themselves, the prince once more offered his services; after which the Duke de Longueville entered; and having followed his example, and moreover tendered to the assembly the coöperation of Rouen, Caen, Dieppe, and in short of all Normandy, he proposed as his surety that the duchess and her children should reside at the Town-Hall. This offer was warmly and energetically received, both by the companies, and by the Duke de Bouillon, who, in consequence of his gout, was supported by two gentlemen of his household. Having seated himself near M. de Longueville, he expressed, as had been previously arranged during the night, the gratification that he should feel in serving the parliament under so great a prince as M. de Conti; upon which the Duke d'Elbœuf renewed his declaration that he would never resign the bâton which had been delivered to him.

A murmur arose in the assembly as this contestation commenced; while M. d'Elbœuf continued to speak with considerable talent, but with great want of judgment. He placed too much reliance on his own strength had, and not measured the amount of that which was opposed to him.

He was still pursuing the war of words into which he had entered, when, according to the arrangement made by the coadjutor and his friends, the Marshal de la Motte-Houdancourt presented himself in his turn; and having taken a seat below the Duke de Bouillon, repeated the same offers of service which had been made by those who preceded him. The effect of this third apparition was all-powerful; the marshal, although not a man of much talent, was nevertheless known to be a brave soldier, and one whose partisanship could not fail to be at once creditable and useful. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the party of the Prince de Conti gained considerable ground; but as, even in the parliament, there were certain individuals who still clung to the court, the verdict in his favor was not yet unanimous. The first impulse of the President Molé* was to profit by this struggle in order to weaken both parties, and thus strengthen the cause of the regent; in consequence of which he proposed that the decision of the chambers should be deferred until the meeting of the following day: but the President de Mesme, who was more long-sighted, leaned toward him, and whispered in his ear that he was acting with imprudence, as the princes would, in all probability, if left to themselves, come to some arrangement prejudicial to the authority of the parliament; adding, that it was easy to perceive M. d'Elbœuf had been duped, and that his adversaries were already masters of Paris. He was yet speaking, when the President le Coigneux, who was in the in-

* Matthew Molé, Lord of Champlâtreux, Lassy, &c., was descended from an ancient and noble family of Troyes, in Champagne, to which France is indebted for a great number of excellent magistrates. He was the most celebrated among them, and won universal esteem by his probity, his talents, and his zeal for the public welfare and the glory of the State. He was made Councilor to the Parliament in 1606, and became successively President of Requests, *Procureur-Général*, and, finally, First President of the Parliament of Paris, in 1641. He was appointed Keeper of the Seals at Chateauneuf; and died in 1656. Many traits of firmness and fearlessness are quoted of this exemplary magistrate.

terest of the coadjutor, raised his voice, and declared that some resolution must be adopted before they dined, even should their dinner be deferred until midnight; and that he should suggest that each of the gentlemen should privately make known his intentions, after which the assembly would be enabled to decide which among them was best disposed toward the state.

This counsel was at once acted upon. The Prince de Conti and the Duke de Longueville were conducted to one apartment, and MM. de Novion and de Bellièvre (both friends of M. de Conti) and the Duke d'Elbœuf to another. The coadjutor perceived that the triumph of his cause was certain; and, accordingly, he had no sooner seen the princes thus closeted, than he hurried from the palace to the Hôtel de Longueville, where he took up the duchesses de Longueville and de Bouillon with their children, and at once drove them to the Town-Hall. The small-pox, from which Madame de Longueville had but recently recovered, had added to the brilliancy of her complexion, although it had somewhat deteriorated her actual beauty; while Madame de Bouillon, although on the decline, was still a strikingly handsome woman: and when they appeared upon the steps of the Town-Hall, each with an infant in her arms, the effect produced upon the people was electrical.

The Grève was crowded, even to the roofs of the houses; and while the men shouted for joy, the women wept, for they felt the whole beauty of the spectacle. Madame de Longueville put the finishing-stroke to this enthusiasm by lifting her child above her head, and exclaiming, in a clear and silvery voice, "Parisians! our husbands confide to you what is dearest to them on earth—their wives, and their children!" She was answered by a peal of joyous clamor, and cries of wild delight; and as upon occasions such as these the coadjutor never suffered himself to fall into insignificance, he followed up her address by a shower of gold, which he poured down from the window

of the Town-Hall; and then, having confided the adies to the care of MM. Noirmoutier and Mizon, he retraced his steps to the palace, followed by a dense throng of men, many of whom had arms in their hands, and who kept up so incessant a strain of acclamation, that every other sound was drowned. The captain of the Duke d'Elbœuf's guard, who witnessed the whole scene, had already preceded him to the palace, feeling convinced' that all the dukes hopes were at an end, and being anxious to apprise him of the circumstance. He found him already prepared for failure; and the president Bellièvre had no sooner, in reply to his inquiry of the meaning of all the drumming and trumpeting without, been informed by the coadjutor in his most florid style, of the circumstances of the scene which he had just quitted, than M. d'Elbœuf declared that he would no longer offer any resistance to what appeared to be the general wish of the assembly, but was ready, like the Duke de Bouillon and the Marshal de la Motte-Houdancourt, to serve under the orders of the Prince de Conti; requesting only that it might be himself to whom the privilege was accorded of summoning the Bastille to surrender, as the only equivalent which he would ask for his resignation of the sovereign authority. This was conceded, and accomplished the same afternoon, for the Bastille had never contemplated offering any resistance; and M. du Tremblay, its governor, had permission to march out, three days being allowed him to remove his property.*

While M. d'Elbœuf was superintending the surrender of the Bastille, the Marquis du Noirmoutier, the Marquis de la Boulaie, and M. de Laigues, marched to the relief of Charenton. The Mazarins endeavored to hold the town,

* "The Bastille surrendered, after having received, for form's sake, five or six cannon-shots. It was amusing enough to see the ladies who were present at this famous siege, carry their chairs to the garden of the arsenal where the battery was erected, as though they were going to hear a sermon."—*Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.*

but they were driven out; and, in consequence, at seven o'clock in the evening, these gay cavaliers, still animated by the first smell of gunpowder, arrived at the Town-Hall, in their cuirasses, where they were enabled to be the heralds of their own success; for the apartments of Madame de Longueville were crowded, and the mixture of blue scarfs, ladies, armor, and music in the saloon, blended with the trumpets which were pealing through the square, produced a spectacle rarely seen beyond the walls of a theater, or the pages of a romance. M. de Noirmoutier, who was a great admirer of *Astrée*,* remarked that he could fancy they were beseiged in Marcilly; to which the coadjutor replied, that the comparison could not be borne out; for that although it was certain that Madame de Longueville was as beautiful as Galatea, it was equally notorious the Prince of Marsillac was not so honest a man as Lindamor. The coadjutor mentions, that as he uttered the remark, he observed the "little shrimp" who was standing at a window near him, and must have overheard it; to which circumstance he attributes the hatred which the prince thenceforward manifested toward him. Meanwhile, the real court of France was assuredly that which was assembled at the Town-Hall

* A celebrated romance, written by Honoré d'Urfé, Count de Chateauneuf, who was born at Marseilles in 1567, of an illustrious house of Forez, which was originally Swabian. He was destined by his family to become a Knight of Malta; but, unwilling to incur the obligation of celibacy, and unable to conquer a passion which he had nourished from his boyhood for Diana de Chateaumorant, he returned home; where, on his arrival, he found his mistress married to his elder brother. At the end of twenty-two-years, this marriage having been annulled, Honoré d'Urfé married Diana (1596); but, soon becoming disgusted with her, they separated, and he retired to Piedmont. He died in 1626. While there, he wrote his romance of *Astrée*, a pastoral, in four volumes, 8vo, which delighted all Europe for more than half a century. It is affirmed that the plot is based upon the history of Diana de Chateaumorant, and the gallantries of Henry IV. This pastoral romance, almost unknown in our times, gave birth to those of the Scuderis, the Calprenèdes, &c.

of Paris. There all was splendor, gallantry, and amusement. The rank of the leaders of the Fronde gave consequence to the circle; while the beauty of the ladies, and the high fashion of the two duchesses, lent it a crowning grace. On the other hand, the king, the queen, and the cardinal, were inhabiting an unfurnished palace, and sleeping upon straw, which became so scarce on their first arrival at St. Germain, that Madame de Motteville declares in her Memoirs, it could not be obtained for money.

The position alike of the crown and of the capital was extraordinary, unnatural, and threatening.

The Prince de Condé was, meanwhile, as active as the leaders of the Fronde, and soon established his quarters. He posted the Marshal du Plessis at St. Denis; the Marshal de Grammont at St. Cloud; and M. de Palluau at Sèvres.

The alarm had been great at St. Germain, when the recapture of Charenton and the surrender of the Bastille became known; and it was heightened by the fact that the prince did not return until late from his outposts, a circumstance which induced whispers that he had joined his brother in Paris. The cardinal, who never doubted that such was the case, was on the point of quitting the court, when the prince reappeared, furious against M. de Conti, and still more so against the Duchess de Longueville, to whom the princess, her mother, who was also at St. Germain, wrote on the morrow a detailed account of the whole affair; and mentioned that, as the prince alighted at the palace-gate, he chanced to see a poor hunchback, whom he compelled to accompany him to the presence of the regent, which he had no sooner reached than he thrust him forward, exclaiming, "Here, madam, I have brought you the general of the Parisians!" a piece of bitter wit which could only be excused by the excitement under which it was uttered. The queen laughed heartily at this sally; and the contempt with which M. de Condé spoke of the rebels put the court into high spirits.

On their side, the Frondeurs replied by new songs; and they had no sooner learned the anger of the prince against M. de Conti, and that he was preparing to give him battle, than the streets rung with the following doggerel voice:

"Condé, is yours a glorious trade,
Even should you gain the victory,
Over the office and the trade?
You will but make your noble mother
Say, 'My tall son is very cross,
For he has beat his little brother.'"

In this extraordinary war, in which more words than shots were exchanged, such an attack could not be suffered to remain unanswered; and, accordingly, the Mazarins replied by a pasquinade against the Duke de Bouillon, of equal poetical value, and which ran thus:

"The brave M. de Bouillon
Is sadly troubled with the gout;
He is as bold as a lion,
The brave M. de Bouillon;
But when he meets a battalion,
He soon wheels to the right-about;
This brave M. de Bouillon
Who is tormented with the gout."

Nor did the ladies fare better than their champions in this war of wits; as is amply proved by the collection of cotemporaneous scandal made by M. de Maurepas, and which fills no less than forty-four volumes.*

While these events were progressing, a new competitor for the government of Paris appeared in the person of the Duke de Beaufort, who, since he had escaped from Vincennes, had remained concealed in the Vendômois. On his arrival in the capital, he sent for M. de Montrésor,† who, having received his directions, hastened to the coadjutor to inform him that in a quarter of an hour the prince would

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

† Afterward Marshal de Clairenbault.

pay him a visit. "I forestalled him," says M. de Retz, "and waited upon him myself. I did not find that his imprisonment had given him any more sense, though it is certain that it had gained him more reputation. He had sustained it with firmness, and terminated it with courage: and it was even meritorious that he should not have left the banks of the Loire at a time when, in truth, it required both firmness and address to maintain his position.* * * * * Montrésor, who had faithfully reported to him all the obligations which he was under to myself, had taken every step to insure a close intimacy between us. You will easily believe that it was not disadvantageous to him from my position in the party; and it was almost necessary to me, because my profession impeding me on a thousand occasions, I required a man whom I could, in certain circumstances, place before me. The Marshal de la Motte was so dependent on M. de Longueville that I never could answer for him. M. de Bouillon was not a subject to be governed. I required a phantom, but I wanted no more than a phantom; and, fortunately for me, it happened that this phantom was the grandson of Henry the Great; that he talked as they talk in the markets, which is not usual with the descendants of Henry the Great; and that he had very long and very light hair. You can not conceive the value of these circumstances, nor can you imagine the effect which they produced upon the people."*

On the very day of his arrival, the duke drove through the streets of Paris with the coadjutor, and they both seated themselves near the same door of the carriage, in order that they might be simultaneously recognized; while M. de Retz moreover constantly pointed out his companion to the populace, coupling his name with the most laudatory epithets as they passed along; until, on their arrival in the rue St. Denis, the enthusiasm of the citizens had exceeded all bounds; and while the men shouted "Long live

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

Beaufort!" the women pressed upon him to kiss his hands When he reached the market-stalls all previous demonstrations appeared, however, to fade into lukewarmness, compared with the wild exhibition of delight indulged in by the saleswomen, who compelled him to alight from his carriage, in order that they might embrace him at their ease.

On the morrow, the duke presented a petition to parliament, in which he demanded a hearing, in order that he might clear himself of the accusation brought against him of having conspired against the person of the cardinal; a privilege which was accorded on the following day.

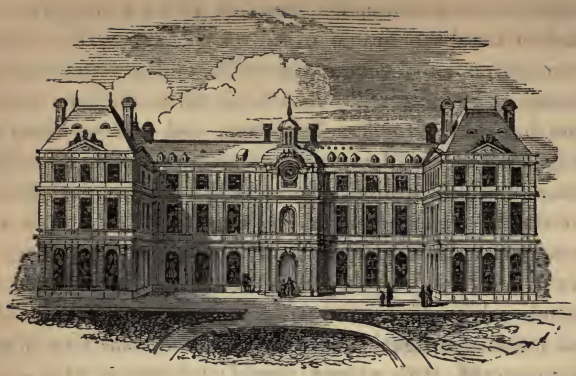
Meanwhile, Paris was becoming populated with princes all eager to join the faction against the court, and with nobles who came to serve under them. Already the parliament counted among its defenders the Prince de Conti, the Duke de Longueville, the Duke d'Elbœuf, the Duke de Bouillon, the Duke de Chevreuse, the Marshal de la Motte-Houdancourt, the Duke de Brissac, the Duke de Luynes, the Marquis de Vitry, the Prince de Marsillac, the Marquis de Noirmoutier, the Marquis de la Boulaie, the Count de Fiesque, the Count de Maure, the Marquis de Laisgues, the Count de Matha, the Marquis de Fosseuse, the Count de Montrésor, the Marquis d'Aligre, and the young and handsome Tancrède de Rohan, whom a presumed illegitimacy of birth had deprived of the illustrious name of his family by a decree of the privy council, at the instigation of the Prince de Condé.

The blow was terrible, for he was a youth of high spirit, and reckless bravery, of great personal beauty, and noble aspirations; and, thus constituted, he bitterly felt the blight, which, from the known frailty of his mother (Marguerite de Bethune-Sully), had settled upon his fortunes. He longed to shout the noble war-cry of his ancestors: "*Roi ne puis, Prince ne daigne, Rohan je suis!*"* He remembered, with a throbbing heart, that he was the nephew of that

* "*King I can't, Prince I scorn, Rohan I am!*"

Catherine de Soubise, Duchesse de Deux Ponts, who replied to the dishonorable overtures of Henry IV.: "Sire, I am too poor to become your wife, and too well-born to become your mistress." And he found himself an outcast from his race, nameless, homeless, and kinless, when he flung himself, in desperation, into the Fronde. "The prince," he said, proudly, "has beaten me in parliament; but should I meet him on the road to Charenton, it will then be seen which of the two must yield." And when, on one occasion he was expostulated with by a friend for fatiguing himself unnecessarily in wearing his arms day and night, and figuring in every skirmish that took place, he answered, with a bitter smile: "Situated as I am, I have no time for rest; if I make no personal effort to save myself, the world will soon be of the same opinion as the parliament."

Madame de Rohan had but one daughter, who was the heiress of the duke, and who married the Count de Chabot, her husband assuming the name of Rohan; which, without this privilege, would have been extinct in the person of Henry, the second duke, who was killed on the 13th of April, 1638, at the battle of Reinfeld.



CHAPTER XI.

Prudence of the Parliament—Seizure of the Cardinal's Property—Munificence of the City to the Queen of England—An exiled Princess—The condemned Prisoner—Exchange of Prisoners—Check of the Royal Forces before Rouen—The first Sortie—"The First of the Corinthians"—Death of Tancred de Rohan—Battle of Charenton—Death of Chanleu—The Ball and the Bâton—Defeat of the Frondeurs at Charenton and Ville-Juif—The Herald—Treaty with the Princes—Turenne declares for the Parliament—Terms of the Treaty—Venality of the Princes—The Citizen-Prince.

The measures adopted by the parliament were so prudent that its position became daily more stable. The royal army amounted only to seven or eight thousand men, while the organized militia of Paris comprised more than sixty thousand. The forces under the Prince de Condé had made an attempt to occupy Charenton, Lagny, Corbeil, Poissy, and Pontoise; but before they could accomplish their object, the peasantry, in the anticipation of reaping a golden harvest, had conveyed all the provisions they possessed to Paris; and these, together with the small convoys which escaped the vigilance of the royal troops, sufficed for the supply of the capital. Moreover, in virtue of the

decree pronounced against Mazarin, all his property, both personal and real, had been seized, as well as his public income; and, as if to prove to the court that there was no scarcity of money in the rebel city, forty thousand livres were sent to the Queen of England, who had remained at the Louvre, where, for several previous months, the cardinal had suffered her to exist almost in a state of famine.

It was to the influence of the coadjutor that Henrietta-Maria was now indebted for this well-timed assistance. Five or six days before the court left Paris, he had been to visit her, and found her sitting by the bedside of her daughter. On his entrance she said, with a melancholy smile, "You see, M. le Coadjutor, that I am keeping Henrietta company.* The poor child has not been able to leave her bed to-day, because we have no fire." The cardinal had, in fact, omitted during the last six months to pay the queen's pension; the wood-merchants refused to furnish any further fuel, and there was not a morsel of wood in the palaco M. de Retz afforded instant relief to the royal sufferer, at once the daughter, the wife, and the mother of kings; and he no sooner saw the parliament possessed of sufficient funds to justify the suggestion, than he descanted indignantly and energetically upon this unheard-of abandonment; when the sum which we have stated was at once voted to the granddaughter of Henry the Great.

The faction having assumed strength and consistency, and requiring only a formal recognition through the medium of the cartel, once more found itself in the ascendant by the mere force of opportunity. A cornet of the Regiment de Retz having been taken by a party of the royal forces, and conveyed to St. Germain, the queen desired that he should immediately lose his head. The grand-provost, however, who anticipated the sentence, and who was a friend of the coadjutor, no sooner recognized the prison-

* The Princess Henrietta had been conveyed privately to France by her governess, the Countess of Dalkeith.

er, than he dispatched a messenger to apprise the latter of his capture; and M. de Retz instantly sent a trumpeter to M. de Palluau, who commanded at Sèvres, with, as he himself expresses it, "a very ecclesiastical letter," but one which warned the royalist general of the certainty of immediate reprisals; and afforded information, at the same time, that the parliamentary party had also made several prisoners; among whom, moreover, was M. d'Olonne,* who had been arrested as he was endeavoring to escape from the city in the disguise of a lackey.

M. de Palluau lost no time in proceeding to St. Germain, where he represented the inevitable consequences of the proposed execution; but it was with considerable difficulty that the regent was prevailed upon to defer it until the following day. In the interval she was, however, compelled to comprehend and admit the probably mischievous results of so glaring an act of hostility; and an exchange was consequently made between the captured cornet and one of the royal officers, which established the recognition of the cartel.

The court, meanwhile, experienced a check in Normandy. The Count d'Harcourt had been recalled from Spain, to take possession of Rouen in the name of the king, and to replace the Duke de Longueville in his government; but the parliament of the city, wrought upon by M. de Longueville, and following the example of that of Paris, closed their gates against M. d'Harcourt; and, as the count had gone thither without either money or troops, the only levers by

* Louis de la Trémouille, Count d'Olonne, was born in 1626, was at the battle of Nordlinguin, in 1645, commanded the light-horse at the majority of Louis XIV., and died, in 1686, without issue. He married, in 1652, Catherine Henrietta d'Angennes, a relative of the wife of the Marshal de la Ferté; and the Countess d'Olonne, who died in 1714, acquired a scandalous notoriety by the laxity of her conduct. This branch of the Trémouille family became extinct in 1690, in the person of a brother of the Count d'Olonne, whose daughter conveyed the hereditary estates to the Montmorencys.

which gates may be either forced or opened, he was compelled to retire.

All these events gave new courage to the besieged Parisians, who began to make sallies, carrying with them flags on which were inscribed, "We are looking for our king." On the first sortie they made with this extraordinary device they captured a drove of pigs, which they impelled triumphantly through the gates; and this absurd adventure afforded ample mirth alike to the court and to the forces of the Fronde.

Ere long, skirmishes between the two factions became of almost daily occurrence. The Duke de Beaufort marched out of the city to give battle to the Marshal de Grammont, but returned with the intelligence that the marshal had declined the challenge; a fact which was almost equivalent to a victory. This advantage was, however, speedily compensated by a check experienced by the Chevalier de Sévigné, who commanded a regiment raised by the Archbishop of Corinth. On this occasion the defeat of the new recruits was complete, and the encounter was called "the first of the Corinthians." Compensation even for this misfortune was, nevertheless, afforded by the recapture of Charenton, which had been abandoned by the Prince de Condé, and which the Frondeurs strengthened with some pieces of artillery. But, as if the whole of the war was to resemble a game of chess, the Marquis de Vitry was attacked near Vincennes by two squadrons of German cavalry, who killed twenty of his men; and he was compelled to retreat, leaving on the field the gallant young Tancrède de Rohan, mortally wounded.

The character of this brave youth was consistent to the last; feeling that his condition was beyond hope, he would never reveal his name, and persisted in speaking Dutch till he died; but as the enemy, nevertheless, suspected that he was a person of distinction, his body was exposed, in order that it might be identified; and it was by these means that

the Duchess de Rohan was apprised of his dea h, of which the news reached her at Romorantin, where she had retired.

The Prince de Condé began, after a time, to weary of this futile and profitless war, and resolved to apply himself seriously to its termination. He accordingly suffered the Frondeurs to fortify Charenton, and gave them time to garrison the place with three thousand men; after which he determined to take it. On the evening of the 7th of February, M. de Chanleu, who commanded the post, received intelligence that the Duke d'Orleans and the Prince de Condé were marching upon him at the head of seven or eight thousand infantry, four thousand calvary, and a brigade of artillery; and he immediately sent to inform the Prince de Conti of the fact, and to request his orders. A council was held by the bedside of the Duke de Bouillon, who was again confined with the gout, and who, considering the place untenable, advised that Chanleu and his men should march out, only leaving a detachment to defend the bridge. M. d'Elbœuf, however, who was partial to Chanleu, and wished to give him this opportunity of distinguishing himself, was of a contrary opinion, and he was seconded by the Duke de Beaufort and the Marshal de la Motte. M. de Chanleu was accordingly directed to defend himself to the utmost, with a promise that he should receive help from the garrison of Paris; but although the troops began to march out at eleven o'clock at night, they were not in the field until eight on the following morning. It was then too late. At daybreak the prince had attacked Charenton; and the engagement had scarcely commenced when Gaspard de Coligny, Duke de Châtillon, received a ball through his body, and fell. The Prince de Condé immediately took his place, and flung himself into the intrenchments, where the brave Chanleu was killed; but Charenton passed once more into the hands of the Royalists. On the following day the Duke de Châtillon expired, holding in

his hand the marshal's bâton which Anne of Austria had forwarded to him only an hour previously.

Favored by this engagement, the Marquis de Noirmoutier, at the head of a thousand horse, left Paris unperceived, in order to meet a convoy which was arriving from Etampes; and as on the second day he did not return, the Duke de Beaufort and M. de la Motte sallied forth in their turn to cover his retreat; but in the plain of Ville-Juif they found the Marshal de Grammont with two thousand infantry, Swiss and French guards, and two thousand horse; the latter commanded by Charles de Beauvau, Seigneur of Nerlieu, one of the bravest nobles of the royal army, who had no sooner recognized the regiment of the Duke de Beaufort than he charged it. At the first fire Nerlieu fell dead; but the engagement, nevertheless, continued with such fury that M. de Beaufort, while fighting breast to breast with an adversary, had his sword wrested from his grasp; the Marshal de la Motte coming to his assistance, however, at that precise moment, the Mazarins were compelled to give way. Shortly afterward the convoy appeared in sight, but the marshal would not farther pursue his advantage, declaring that the enemy would be sufficiently beaten if he could succeed in securing its entrance into Paris; and he did so without difficulty, under an escort of nearly a hundred thousand men, who had taken up arms on hearing that the Duke de Beaufort was engaged with the enemy.

The day but one following, the commander of the Porte St. Honoré apprised the parliament that a herald, clad in complete armor, and preceded by two trumpeters, demanded admittance. He was the bearer of three letters, one for the parliament, one for the Prince de Conti, and the third for the municipal magistrates. This intelligence caused great excitement; but, prompted by the cardinal, the councilor Broussel rose and said that heralds were only habitually sent to equals or to enemies, and that, consequently, as the parliament were not either the equals or the

enemies of the king, they could not receive his herald This declaration, subtil as it was, elicited great applause; and it was decided that a deputation should wait upon the sovereign, to ascertain what overtures he desired to make to the parliament; after which the herald was dispatched on his return with a request that safe conduct should be given to the deputation. On the second day the surety arrived, and the deputation left the city.

These, however, were only the public measures of the court; for, while the deputies were on their way to St. Germain, M. de Flamarens arrived in Paris, ostensibly to offer a compliment of condolence from the Duke d'Orleans to the Queen of England on the death of her husband, the intelligence of whose execution had reached the court only three or four days previously; and during his residence in the city he paid a visit to the Prince de Marsillac, who had been wounded in a skirmish at Brie-Comte-Robert,* and who began to be tired of this petty warfare, to tender, on the authority of the Abbé de la Rivière, certain secret propositions to the rebel leaders. In the first place they offered to the prince himself a seat in the council, and a fortress in Champagne, on condition that he would cede to La Rivière the contested cardinal's hat, for which M. de Conti had, personally, no ambition, as he desired beyond all else to abandon the profession of the church. To M. de Longueville, who was engaged to bring succor to Paris from Rouen, they proposed, in the event of his delaying this succor, to give him, in addition to the governments which he already held, that of Pont-de-l'Arche, and a place at court; engag-

* It was on the occasion of this engagement, that the Count de Bussy-Rabutin, then serving in the royal army, wrote to Madame de Sévigné: "I have just returned from our expedition of Brie-Robert as tired as a dog. For eight days I have not taken off my clothes. We are your masters, but, it must be confessed, not without difficulty. The war of Paris begins to weary me. If you do not soon die from hunger, we shall from fatigue. Surrender to us, or we must soon do so to you." It will have been remarked that M. de Sévigné had joined the Fronde.

ing, moreover, to terminate definitively with M. de Bouillon the purchase of the city of Sedan, which had been so long a time in abeyance. All these promises, superadded to the gracious words in which the queen had expressed them, combined with the arrival of a Spanish agent, authorized to propose the mediation of the Archduke Leopold, who, as he wrote, "would not again treat with the cardinal, but with the parliament," produced a species of truce, during which a hundred barrels of wheat were to enter Paris daily, and conferences to take place at Ruel.

Three days subsequently these conferences commenced; and while they were proceeding two startling pieces of intelligence reached the parliament: first, that M. de Longueville was on his march to Paris with ten thousand men from Rouen, for the service of the capital; and, secondly, that M. de Turenne had declared for the parliament. Upon the strength of this important news they immediately wrote to their plenipotentiaries to maintain their ground firmly; but the latter, seeing on one side the Duke d'Orleans exasperated, and the Prince de Condé menacing, and on the other the people excited, and the parliament resolved to push matters to extremity, with, moreover, Spain ready to profit by the intestinal divisions of the kingdom, took upon themselves to sign a treaty without further delay; and, accordingly, fourteen articles were agreed upon and signed, which went to nullify all proceedings on both sides since the commencement of hostilities. There was, however, one small defect in this treaty, which was so hurriedly drawn up that private interests had been altogether overlooked; and, after a stormy meeting of the parliament, it was decided that a second deputation should be sent to court, in order to secure the claims of the generals upon a solid basis.

These generals were the Prince de Conti, the Duke d'Elbœuf, the Duke de Bouillon, the Duke de Beaufort, the Duke de Longueville, and the Marshal de la Motte Houdan-

court. Something also, it was resolved, must be done for the Marshal de Turenne, who, although he had been tardy in his adhesion to the faction, had nevertheless, ultimately decided in its favor.

Thus—and no circumstance throughout the whole reign of Louis XIV. serves, perhaps, more fully to expose the venality and the shamelessness of the time—these private stipulations were inserted in the general treaty, and publicly discussed!

The Prince de Conti obtained Danevilliers. The Duke d'Elbœuf the payment of moneys due to his wife, and a hundred thousand livres for his eldest son. The Duke de Beaufort, his return to court, the full pardon of all persons who had assisted him to escape, the restoration of the pensions granted to the Duke de Vendôme, his father; and an indemnity for his houses and castles which the parliament of Brittany had caused to be demolished. The Duke de Bouillon, domains of equal value with the estimate which might be made of Sedan, an indemnity for the non-enjoyment of his principality, and the title of Prince to be granted to him and his descendants. The Duke de Longueville, the government of Pont-de-l'Arche. The Marshal de la Motte Houdancourt, two hundred thousand silver livres, without prejudice to any other favors which it might please the king to accord him. And, finally, as the forces in Germany were about to be suppressed, the Marshal de Turenne was to be employed according to the esteem due to his person and services.

These new conditions conceded, a peace supervened; and on the 5th of April a *Te Deum* was chanted with great pomp at Nôtre-Dame, on which occasion the French guards and the king's Switzers reappeared as the representatives of absent royalty.*

Thus terminated the first act of the most singular, bootless, and, we are almost tempted to add, burlesque war,

* Lov's XIV. et son Siècle.

which, in all probability, Europe ever witnessed. Throughout its whole duration society appeared to have been smitten with some moral hallucination. Kings and cardinals slept on matresses; princesses and duchesses on straw; market-women embraced princes; prelates governed armies; court ladies led the mob; and the mob, in its turn, ruled the city. The infant son of a prince of the blood, born during the revolt, was presented at the baptismal font by a municipal magistrate;* a citizen court was held at the Town-Hall; and an exiled queen was left to starve in the palace of the Louvre.

† Madame de Longueville gave birth to a son during her residence at the Town-Hall, who received the incongruous names of Charles-Paris-Orleans.

CHAPTER XII.

Return of the royal Fugitives—Reluctance of the Queen and her Minister—Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Mademoiselle and Henrietta of England—The Duke of York—Return of Monsieur to Blois—The Duke de Beaufort and Madame de Montbazon—The Court at Compiègne—Mademoiselle and Charles II.—Egotism of Mademoiselle—Character of the Prince de Condé—Ambitious Projects of Madame de Longueville—Disaffection of Condé—Libelous Publications—Rescue of the Printers—Altercation between the Duke de Beaufort and the Marquis de Jarzé—Arrival of Charles II.—Reconciliation of the Queen-Regent and Condé—The Coadjutor at Compiègne—Reception of Madame de Chevreuse—Entry of the King and Queen in Paris—Popularity of Mazarin—The Duke de Beaufort at the Palais-Royal—Death of the Empress of Germany—Renewed Hopes of Mademoiselle—The Courtship of Charles II.—Illness of Mademoiselle—Confirmation of the young Princes.

Mademoiselle was one of the first of the fugitives who returned to Paris after the conclusion of the peace, for neither the queen nor the cardinal were in any haste to throw themselves into the midst of the shower of insulting pamphlets, pasquinades, and epigrams which were daily

pouring upon them. Nor was the capital by any means so loyal as at the first glance it might appear to be. There was no longer any open rebellion, it is true; but the reverse of the cards bore nearly the same impress as ever. The Duke de Beaufort was still the king of the markets, and the hero of the market-women; those formidable *Dames de la Halle* who have, at every outbreak in the French metropolis, played so prominent and so extraordinary a part; the coadjutor, the only leader of the Fronde who asked nothing for himself either privately or by treaty, was possessed of unbounded popularity; Madame de Longueville had merely removed her court from the Town-Hall to her own hôtel, where her grace, her beauty, and her wit retained about her not only her political adorers, but attracted to her shrine all that was noblest and most intellectual in the capital; while Madame de Chevreuse had returned to the Hôtel de Luynes, substituting for her own beauty, which was now considerably on the wane, that of her young and lovely daughter, at that period in the full zenith of her charms, and whose extreme intimacy with M. de Retz had already given rise to rumors which affected her reputation; and amid all this, the whole city *fronded* more than ever; for the Fronde had now ceased to be a faction, and had become a fashion.

Mademoiselle was then, as we have stated, the first to return to Paris. Not, as she declares, because she was weary of St. Germain, where, on the contrary, she was very happy, and would have liked to remain all her life, but because she was anxious to pay her respects to the Queen of England, and to offer her condolences on the death of her royal husband; for whom, she says, the court had never gone properly into mourning, wearing black only upon their persons, but making no alterations in their equipages, "for want of money." Having received the permission of the regent and *Monsieur*, she accordingly proceeded to the capital, accompanied by Madame de Carigan, for whom

she had a great affection;* and they alighted at the Louvre. "I did not find the Queen of England," she pursues, "so deeply affected as she should have been from the regard which the king her husband had for her, and the rather as he had always behaved perfectly well toward her; for she was mistress of every thing: the manner of his death ought also to have added considerably to her affliction. For my own part, I think that it was strength of mind which enabled her to appear so calm." The queen had with her the Duke of York, her second son, who had just arrived from Holland, where he had resided with his sister, the Princess of Orange, since the time that he escaped from his prison in England, where he was confined for a considerable period. He was then about fourteen years old, very handsome, well-grown, and fair, and spoke the French language fluently.

On her return to St. Germain, MADEMOISELLE was closely questioned by the regent as to what she had seen and heard in the capital; of all which she gave a precise account; and shortly afterward the palace of St. Germain became thronged with guests, all the principal actors in the Fronde having hastened to salute Their Majesties, except the Duke de Beaufort and the coadjutor. M. de Vendôme, who, thanks to the treaties, had been recalled from his exile, and his eldest son, the Duke de Mercœur, had taken up their residence at court; and a report soon spread that M. de Mercœur was soon to give his hand to Victoria Mancini, the elder of the three sisters; "a thing," says a modern author, "so apparently impossible that every one believed it."

At this period the Duke d'Orleans, in his turn, visited

* "The society of Madame de Carignan was very agreeable to me, for she was infinitely witty, although she had little good sense; no one lied with more grace; and her falsehoods, although improbable, always amused me. She was the sister of the Count de Soissons."—*Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier*

Paris; but after a brief sojourn, retired once more to his retreat at Blois; while MADEMOISELLE, having had an interview with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who, with her mother, had been residing at the court of Flanders previously to their recall to France, became again infatuated with the idea of marriage, and readily listened to the desire of the archduke to win her hand, and the almost certainty which existed that he would be created a sovereign prince, like the Archduke Albert.

During the revolt in Paris, the Duke de Beaufort had paid his court to Mademoiselle de Longueville, who was a wealthy heiress through her mother, who had been a Bourbon, and the sister of the former Count de Soissons, deceased without issue. Thus no one was surprised at his devotion; the only astonishment which the affair elicited was that Madame de Montbazon* would permit it; as being very beautiful, and constantly in his society, there was a general impression that she looked forward to becoming his wife at the death of her own husband. But the duke

* "Madame de Montbazon was very beautiful; but modesty was wanting to her attractions. Her haughtiness and flippancy would, during a period of less agitation, have been an equivalent for her want of intellect. She had little good faith in matters of gallantry, and none at all in politics. She loved nothing but pleasure, save, indeed, profit, which she preferred. I never saw any one who, even amid vice, had preserved so little respect for virtue."—*Mémoires du Cardinal du Retz.*

This lady was the person who, receiving from the Marchioness de la Baume, a surreptitiously-obtained copy of Bussy-Rabutin's celebrated "*Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules,*" put it it into the hands of the printer; in revenge for which perfidy, the caustic count, who had been upon discreditable terms with her, caused to be inscribed beneath her portrait, which was in his possession:

"CECILIA,
ISABELLA HURANT DE CHEVERNY,
MARCHIONESS DE MONGLAS,
WHO, BY HER INCONSTANCY,
HAS RESTORED TO HONOR THE MATRON OF EPHESUS,
AND THE WIVES OF ASTOLPHUS AND JACONDUS."

also sedulously cultivated the good graces of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse; and as she was, like Madamoiselle de Longueville, very handsome, and a rich heiress, many thought that he would demand her hand in marriage. Being considered an eligible suitor, all the princesses felt an interest in his establishment; Madame de Nemours* was anxious for it; Mademoiselle de Longueville desired it for the advantage of her brother, and for fear he should ultimately marry Madame de Montbazon; and MADEMOISELLE herself was taking an active part in the intrigue, when the regent once more summoned her to court, to attend her on a journey which she was about to undertake with the young princes to Compiègne; while the Prince de Condé and the cardinal advanced to La Fère to review the troops which were shortly to march for Flanders.

During the sojourn of the court at Compiègne, the unfortunate Charles II., who was dividing his time between Holland and Jersey, wrote to request permission of the king and the regent to visit France; upon which the queen, *Monsieur*, and the cardinal urged MADEMOISELLE to give him her hand, assuring her that France should afford him powerful protection; that he had already acquired several allies; that there were even yet provinces which had remained faithful to him; and that he was master of the entire kingdom of Ireland. Thus urged, MADEMOISELLE. designing her late dream of the archduke, replied to the regent (who confided to her that the Queen of England had declared her son to be passionately enamored of her person, and that he desired nothing so much as to make her his wife), that although the position of the king would not permit him to afford such assistance to the English monarch as would suffice to replace him on the throne, she was,

* Mary d'Orleans, daughter of the Duke de Longueville, and wife of Henry de Savoie, the last Duke de Nemours, who died without issue in 1659. She was born in 1625, and died in 1707, leaving behind her some authentic and plaintfully-written Memoirs.

nevertheless, ready to obey Her Majesty and *Monsieur* in all that they might command.

Lord Germain then informed her that he was immediately about to return to Holland to escort Charles to France; and demanded a positive reply, because the affairs of his kingdom required his prompt appearance in Ireland; adding, that should she accept his proposal, the king would come to court, where he would remain two days, make her his wife, and after spending two other days in the royal circle, in order to afford her the privilege of taking precedence of the regent (as was usual on the occasion of royal marriages), conduct her to St. Germain, where the Queen of England had resumed her residence; after which he would depart for Ireland; while she should be permitted, if she desired it, to reside in Paris, as she had been accustomed to do. To this proposal MADEMOISELLE replied that the last condition was impossible; that she was willing to accompany the king to Ireland, should he wish it, or to reside with the queen his mother, or even to retire to one of her estates; but that she should not consider it seemly to remain in the gay world while the king was at the head of his army; nor to incur the expenses which a person of her rank must inevitably do in such a position, when it would be her duty to make every exertion to afford him assistance; that she could not divest herself of great anxiety while seeing him engaged in such a war; and that, in short, if she became his wife, she must sooner or later make resolutions much more difficult of accomplishment, and was quite aware that it would be necessary for her to dispose of all her property to reconquer his kingdom; all which reflections, she confessed, alarmed her a little, reared as she had been in opulence and luxury.

To this sententious address the English envoy replied, in his turn, that all the remarks of MADEMOISELLE were undoubtedly just; but that he would venture to remind her that there was no other suitable match for her in Europe; that

the Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain were both married; that the King of Hungary was about to espouse the Spanish Infanta; that as regarded the archduke, he would assuredly never be sovereign of the Low Countries; that she had declined to accept the sovereigns of Germany and Italy; and that in France both the king and *Monseigneur* were too young to marry; while the Prince de Condé had been settled for the last ten years, and his wife was in excellent health.

To this last piece of information the granddaughter of Henry IV. responded by one of those extraordinarily coarse replies which would be inadmissible at this period from the lips of any woman, and far more from those of an unmarried princess; and ultimately, after several more arguments on the part of Lord Germain, MADEMOISELLE finally remarked, that should *Monsieur* wish her to marry the King of England, and feel that the alliance was inevitable, she should prefer to give him her hand while he was unfortunate, because under such circumstances he would feel the obligation he had incurred toward her; and when restored to his throne, would consider her as the main cause of his success, through the assistance which he would have received from her family.*

On the morrow the court proceeded to Amiens, where Lord Germain followed it, in order to have another interview with MADEMOISELLE; who, in reply to his extreme urgency, informed him that she had a profound respect for the Queen of England; and, if she might venture to say so, an equal affection; that for her sake she was ready to overlook all the disadvantages of her son's position; but that his religion was an obstacle which she could not surmount; and consequently, if His Majesty had any regard for her, he would remove this difficulty, as she had made so many sacrifices on her side: but the envoy at once discouraged such an idea, by frankly declaring that the situation of the

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

king would not permit of his changing his religious tenets, for which he gave the most satisfactory reasons; alledging, in conclusion, that were he now to become a Romanist, he would exclued himself forever from the throne of Great Britain.

Mademoiselle had, however, found a sufficient pretext for withholding a definite acceptance of his suit; and she herself states that after she had taken leave of Lord Germain, the name of the King of England was not even mentioned to her again before the day which preceded his arrival.

We have stated that M. de Condé and the cardinal had gone in company to La Fère; but the prince had previously secured several interviews with Madame de Longueville which produced a great effect upon his mind. He was a man of considerable intellect, and of a lively imagination; brave as a lion, but fickle, greedy of distinction, and soon wearied of that which he had secured. Thus, at the age of twenty-seven he had gained the reputation of a great general, and his renown in arms rivaled that of Turenne; there was little left to acquire as a soldier, and he was anxious to measure his strength as a politician with that of some opponent. "The Prince de Condé," says De Retz, "was born a warrior, a thing which never happened save to himself, Cæsar, and Spinola; he has equalled the first, and has surpassed the second. Intrepidity is one of the least traits of his character. Nature gave him an intellect as great as his heart; and fortune, in assigning him to a warlike century, enabled the latter to display all its strength, while birth, or rather education, in a house at once attached and in submission to the cabinet, limited the former too narrowly. He was not imbued at a sufficiently early age with those vast and general maxims which are, and constitute, what is called consistency. He had not time to acquire them of himself, because he was forestalled in his youth by the unforeseen fall of high interests, and by

the habit of success. This defect has been the cause that, with the least bitter tendencies in the world, he has been guilty of more than one injustice; that, with the heart of Alexander, he has not been exempted, any more than him, of weakness; that, with a wonderful mind, he has fallen into imprudences; that, having all the great qualities of Francis de Guise, he has not, on certain occasions, served the state so well as he ought to have done; while, having all those of Henry of the same name, he has not carried faction so far as he might have done. He could not render justice to his own merit, which is a defect, but one which is at once rare and beautiful."*

Madame de Longueville soon succeeded in making him comprehend his position accurately. All those who had served against the court were restored to favor, and had, moreover, made their own conditions before they returned to their allegiance. He, on the contrary, had adhered throughout to its interests, and had not even obtained the cardinal's hat, which he was so anxious to secure to his brother. This was bad enough; but to a man jealous of power, as he was, there still remained something worse behind. His younger brother, feeble, deformed, of bad address—in one word, neither a warrior nor a diplomatist—had been, thanks to the name he bore, appointed generalissimo of the Parisian forces. For a brief period, M. de Conti, with all his disadvantages, had been one of the three or four individuals who had reigned in the capital of France. What, therefore, might not the prince himself have done had he filled the same position? How proud a part might he not have enacted? Alike a soldier and a man of genius, it was impossible to limit the range of probabilities. He would assuredly have reigned alone; and who should say that the scepter, thus secured for an interval, could ever have been wrested from his grasp?

The duchess was eloquent; while her favorite brother.

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

newly restored to her confidence and affection, listened with avidity; and Madame de Longueville had by no means, even at this point, terminated her representations. She had felt too fully and too deeply the charm of her temporary regality, to lift the tiara of popularity and power calmly from her brow, and to see it deposited upon its cushion, awaiting another hand; and it was consequently with flashing eyes and throbbing pulse that she proceeded to remind him how much the projected alliance between the house of Vendôme and Mazarin must militate against his interests. M. de Beaufort, a less accomplished soldier than himself, but quite as brave, and infinitely more popular, aspired to the post which he occupied; and whatever obstacles might have before presented themselves, were about to be rendered nugatory by the marriage of Victoria Mancini. All these arguments produced their effect; and the result was, that during his sojourn at Compiègne, the prince had been moody and discontented; and that when he arrived at La Fère with the cardinal, he took still less pains to disguise his ill-humor; which so visibly increased, that Mazarin at last grew weary of the assumption of the great captain, and lost temper in his turn. This was precisely what the prince desired: he only sought an opportunity to break with the court; and when things had come to this extremity, he did so without hesitation.

The Count d'Harcourt was then recalled from the army in Spain, and ordered to supersede M. de Condé in his command in Flanders; upon which the prince retired to his government of Burgundy, thoroughly disaffected.

During this time the pamphlets to which we have already alluded pursued their course. Those which merely attacked the cardinal caused laughter, and no one interfered with them; but others which were written against the king, the regent, and the church, occasionally created great uneasiness. Two printers at this time published works in which the queen was so severely handled, that they were legally pursued. History has preserved at once the name of one

of these printers, and of the work which he put forth; the culprit was called Marlot, and the pamphlet was entitled "The Guardian of the Queen's Bed." Both the delinquents were put upon their trial, and condemned to be hanged, and the sentence was about to be executed, when the populace collected round the gibbet. While the culprit who was to be the first to suffer had the cord about his neck, and his foot upon the ladder, some one suddenly exclaimed that both he and his companion were about to lose their lives merely for having written some verses against Mazarin. The mob caught at the words, uttered loud shouts of fury, rushed upon the gibbet, and carried off the two culprits in triumph; who, at the first opportunity which presented itself, declining any further ovation, prudently disappeared.

Mazarin was still more safe at Compiègne than at Paris.

All these events greatly annoyed the partisans of the cardinal, who had returned to Paris; and among these was the Marquis de Jarzé, who was one of the wittiest men at court,* and rivaled by his repartees and epigrams even Angevin, the Prince de Guimenée,† and Bautru!‡ Resolved to suppress the demonstrations of enmity which were exhibited against his patron, Jarzé took an opportunity of insinuating that the Duke de Beaufort had purposely avoided a meeting with him and his friends in a public thoroughfare; adding, that he would take the wall of him wherever they might chance to meet, even should it be within the precincts of the palace. This defiance was repeated to the

* Réné Duplessis, Marquis de Jarzé, and Lord of Plessy Bourré. He was appointed Captain of the Royal Guard in 1648.

† Hercules de Rohan, Prince de Guimenée, Duke de Montbazon, born in 1568.

‡ William Bautru, Count de Céran, born at Antwerp in 1588, died in 1663. He was one of the wits of the seventeenth century, and a member of the French Academy. He was also one of the creatures of Richelieu, and afterward of Mazarin; Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and Minister-Plenipotentiary in Flanders, Spain, England, and Savoy.

duke; and the result was that M. de Beaufort went, accompanied by a party of his intimate associates, to a tavern where Jarzé was supping with the Duke de Caudale, Le Freton, Fontrailles, Ruvigny, the commanders of Jars* and Souvré, and some others of their friends; and he had no sooner entered the apartment which they occupied than he seized one corner of the table-cloth, threw every thing on the ground, and overturned the table. Swords were drawn, and there was a great tumult, but no one was either killed or wounded.

The insulted party instantly resolved to challenge the Duke de Beaufort, but they were aware that they could not venture to meet him and his friends in Paris, where his party was all-powerful, and where they would themselves have incurred the risk of being murdered by the fishwomen; and in consequence of this fact they all went in a body to St. Germain, where *Monsieur* succeeded with some difficulty in making up the quarrel.†

Their escapade, however, nearly proved an obstacle to the marriage of the Duke de Mercœur and Victoria Mancini; for the cardinal was enraged at the insult which had been offered to his adherents, and declared that he would not give his niece to the brother of a man who hated him. Such a resolution could not, nevertheless, be long entertained under the circumstances; for Mazarin, little as he might be inclined to avow it, was too subtil not to feel the advantage which must accrue to himself from an alliance with a descendant of Henry IV.

While this absurd contention was engrossing the court, Charles II. had arrived at Péronne, whence a courier was forwarded to apprise Their Majesties of the fact. The queen immediately communicated the news of his advent to MADEMOISELLE, saying with a smile, "Your suitor is coming;"

* Gabriel de Rochechouart, Duke de Mortemart, Peer of France, First Gentleman of the Chamber. He died in 1675.

† Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

and it is evident, notwithstanding the disclaimers of the princess, that she was greatly excited by his reappearance; for, blended with the *morgue* and egotism of her style, snatches of the most extraordinarily simple and straightforward frankness may be detected. In the present instance she says, with almost girlish unguardedness:—

"When the Abbé de la Rivière spoke to me on the subject, I told him that I was dying with anxiety for the English king to say soft things to me, because I did not yet know what they meant, for no one had ever dared to address them to me; not on account of my quality, since many had been said to queens of my acquaintance, but because it was well known that I was not coquettishly inclined.

"On the day of his arrival we all rose early to prepare for him: he was only to dine at Compiègne, and it was necessary to set off betimes to meet him. I had caused my hair to be curled, which I seldom did: and as I entered the carriage of the queen, she exclaimed, 'It is easy to distinguish those who expect their gallants. How she is dressed!' I was quite prepared to reply that those who had themselves had lovers knew how to act, and were aware of the trouble which it was necessary to take in order to please them; and I might even have added, that as mine was to be my husband, I had reason to be particular about my appearance; but I did not dare to say any thing. We went forward a league to meet him. When he appeared, every one alighted; he first saluted Their Majesties, and then myself. I thought him very good-looking; much more so than when he left France; and if his intellect had appeared to me to equal his person, perhaps he might have pleased me on that occasion. When he was in the carriage, the king questioned him about dogs, horses, the Prince of Orange, and the sport in that country; to all which he answered in French. The queen wished to have some particulars of his political position, but he did not reply to her inquiries; and when he was asked at different times to ex-

plain several very serious facts which were of considerable importance to his personal interests, he excused himself from answering, by urging that he could not speak our language. I own that, from that moment, I resolved not to conclude the marriage; for I conceived a very poor opinion of him, being a king at his age, and having no knowledge of his affairs. As soon as we arrived, dinner was served up. He ate no ortolans, but flung himself upon a piece of beef and a shoulder of mutton, as if there had been nothing else at table. After dinner the queen amused herself, and left him with me. He was a quarter of an hour without saying a single word; but I am willing to believe that his silence was the result of respect rather than of any want of passion; though on this occasion I frankly confess that I could have wished it to have been somewhat less plainly exhibited. As his supineness began to weary me, I called Madame de Comminges to my side, that she might endeavor to make him talk, in which she fortunately succeeded. M. de la Rivière shortly afterward approached me, saying, 'He looked at you during the whole of the dinner, and is looking at you still.' To which I replied, 'He has plenty of time to look at me before he will please me, if he does not speak.' 'Ah,' said he, 'you will not admit that he has said sweet things to you.' 'Pardon me,' I retorted; 'come near me when he is at my side, and you will see how he sets about it.' When the queen rose I approached the King of England; and, in order to make him talk, I inquired for some persons whom I had seen in his suite; but he answered my questions without the slightest gallantry. When the hour of his departure arrived, we got into our carriages, and bore him company to the middle of the forest, where every one alighted, as they had done on his arrival. He took leave of the king, and then approached me, accompanied by Lord Germain, saying, 'I believe that my Lord Germain, who speaks French better than I do, has explained to you my sentiments and my intention; I am

your very obedient servant.' I answered that I was equally his obedient servant. Germain paid me a great number of compliments; and, after they were over, the king bowed and departed."*

We consider this description of the courtship of the "Merry Monarch" as sufficiently curious to afford its own apology to our readers for the length of the quotation.

Meanwhile, much as she detested the Prince de Condé, the regent quite understood that she was not strong enough to dispense with his services. He had, as we have stated, declined the command of the army in the present campaign, and had retired in disgust to Mâcon, in Burgundy, the seat of his government; where he remained so long that the court at last became alarmed; and the queen, finding it absolutely necessary to temporize, wrote him one of those autograph letters in which she was such an adept when she had an important point to gain, full of tender professions, and pious affection. The prince was not proof against such an attention, but prepared at once to return to Compiègne; a concession which so delighted the cardinal, whose nerves had been considerably shaken by the effects of an estrangement of which he was himself the author, that he went to meet him; and he was overwhelmed on all sides with homage and attention, which was bestowed the more lavishly as there was every reason to apprehend that he would be displeased with the regent for having appointed the Duke de Vendôme to the rank of an admiral, in consequence of the marriage of the cardinal's niece with M. de Mercœur. The court party flattered themselves that the prince would be conciliated by fine words and empty honors; but as he was well aware that he had nobly earned whatever distinction might be accorded to him, he evidently did not feel himself under such an obligation as they had anticipated.

The queen had only awaited his arrival to negotiate her

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

reëntrance into Paris; while the coadujutor, who considered this reëntrance inevitable, resolved to appropriate the merit of it; and accordingly set out for Compiègne, alighted at the door of the palace, and while ascending the stair-case, and on the landing, met, as he asserts in his *Mémoires*, a short man, dressed entirely in black, who slipped a paper into his hand, upon which was written, "If you enter the house of the king you are a dead man." M. de Retz was not, however, to be deterred by an anonymous threat, and accordingly he put the warning into his pocket and continued his way.

The queen received him admirably, and urged him several times to see the cardinal; but the coadjutor, who had no wish to sacrifice his popularity in Paris by any such concession, resolutely refused; upon which the regent almost lost her temper. M. de Retz remained, however, perfectly unmoved, suffered her to say whatever she pleased, and when she at last ceased speaking, merely replied that, from the moment in which he should become reconciled with the cardinal all his influence would be lost, and he should no longer be in a position to serve her interests.

A few days after the visit of the coadjutor, Madame de Chevreuse received permission to wait upon Anne of Austria; for she was still, although not personally, yet as regarded her connections, an enemy whom it was necessary to conciliate. The duchess had, however, lost all confidence in her once royal friend; and expressed so much reluctance to venture herself at court, that the first president ultimately found it necessary to pledge himself that she should not suffer any annoyance, and his word was redeemed by her return in health and safety; but her pride had been stung by the coldness of the welcome she had received, which, although reaching, as it did, the extremest limits of courtesy, was extended no further, while she had the mortification of being dismissed by the regent without the customary embrace.

On the morrow it was the turn of the Prince de Conti, who went to Compiègne on the pretext of seeing his brother; and who, having been accidentally met by the cardinal, was invited to dine with him; an invitation which he at once accepted.

About this time news arrived that the Count d'Harcourt had forced the Escaut,* between Bouchain and Valenciennes, overcoming a body of eight hundred of the enemy's horse; and although this victory was comparatively of slender importance, it was so well-timed that the queen resolved to profit by the circumstance to return at once to the capital, which she accordingly did in August, 1649, after an absence of six months. The accounts given of this ceremony differ greatly in spirit, although not in substance. "The entry of the king that day," says Madame de Motteville, "was an actual prodigy, and a great victory for the minister. Never had so dense a crowd followed the carriage of the sovereign; and it seemed, by the public joy, as though the past had been a dream. The hated Mazarin sat near one of the windows with the prince, and was so stared at by all who followed the king, that you would have declared they had never seen him before. They said to each other, 'There's Mazarin.' The populace, who impeded the carriages which could not make way through them, blessed the king and queen, and spoke in praise of Mazarin. Some said he was handsome; others held out their hands, and told him that they loved him; while others again declared that they would go and drink his health;

* The Escaut (formerly called the *Scaldis*), the Scheldt of the Dutch, a river belonging to France and Germany, takes its source in France, near the town of Câtelet (Aisne), traverses the Departement du Nord, passing by Cambray, Valenciennes, and Condé; and then entering Belgium, laves Tournay, Audenarde, Ghent, and Antwerp. The Escaut separates, at Fort Lillo, into two branches; the Western Escaut (*Hond*, or *Wester-Schelde*), which throws itself into the Northern Ocean, near Flessingua; and the Eastern Escaut (*Ooster-Schelde*), which enters the same sea near Helvoetsluys.

and at last, when the queen had retired, they began to make bonfires, and to bless Mazarin for having brought them back their king." *

"The court was received," states the Cardinal de Retz, "as kings have always been, and always will be: that is to say, with acclamations, which signify little enough to any save those who seek to delude themselves. An insignificant king's attorney of the châtelet, who was a sort of madman, hired twelve or fifteen women, who at the entrance of the faubourg cried, 'Long live His Eminence!' when they saw Mazarin in the carriage of the king; and His Eminence forthwith believed that he was master of Paris. At the end of four days, however, he discovered that he had fearfully deceived himself." †

"The king returned to Paris," writes MADEMOISELLE, in her turn, "and all the city companies went as far as St. Denis to meet him. It was an unexampled confusion of people, and I never was so wearied in my life. I was in the carriage of the queen; it was excessively hot; and we were from three o'clock in the afternoon to eight in the evening getting from Le Bourget to Paris, although the distance amounts only to two short leagues. The cries of 'Long live the king!' were continuous; and the people uttered them with the more joy because they had not seen His Majesty for a long time, and that his return at the conclusion of a war appeared to compel them to exhibit their delight in a greater degree. Although it gave me a good deal of gratification, I was, nevertheless, stunned; and had a terrible headache." ‡

It must be mentioned, however, that, at the close of her glowing description, even Madame de Motteville is frank enough to confess that Mazarin had caused money to be distributed to the populace; while other authorities assert

* Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Anne d'Autriche, par Madame de Motteville. † Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

‡ Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

that, despite his avarice, the minister devoted as much as a hundred thousand livres to the preparation of this transitory triumph. Be this as it may, it is certain that it had one very injurious effect upon the regent: for, while she received all these acclamations as genuine, she believed them to be a sign of the approbation accorded by the people to all her previous measures.

In the evening there was a grand reception at the Palais-Royal; and while the cardinal went, as he said, to repose himself in his own apartment, *Monsieur* conducted the Duke de Beaufort through the private rooms, and presented him to the queen, when he gave her repeated assurances of his loyalty and devotion; and as he was the only leader of the Fronde who had not yet been to pay his court, either at Compiègne or at St. Germain since the peace, every one was anxious to see how he would acquit himself. Nothing could exceed the urbanity with which the queen received his homage, nor the kindness with which she assured him that all the past should be forgotten: and ultimately each retired, without attaching the slightest faith to what the other had said. It was, perhaps, unfortunate for both the actors in this scene that the interview took place in the very room in which M. de Beaufort had been arrested seven years before; but, nevertheless, on the following day, the regent was evidently so well satisfied with herself, and with every thing about her, that she did not appear to remember that she had ever left Paris.

The festival of St. Louis occurred a short time afterward; on which occasion the king went on horseback to the Jesuits' convent in the rue St. Antoine, accompanied by all the princes and great nobles who were in the capital, elegantly attired, and mounted upon horses covered with rich housings; while the cardinal, who was not celebrated for his personal courage, actually joined him there, after having traversed the whole city in his coach, almost without attendants; and stranger still, without meeting with the least

annoyance. MADEMOISELLE also followed the queen, and upon reaching the convent was informed by Her Majesty that news of the empress's death had arrived, and that on this occasion every thing should be done to secure her own marriage with the Imperial widower. MADEMOISELLE thanked her with great humility, and confesses that the tidings gave her considerable pleasure. When the court returned to the Palais-Royal, the cardinal had, in his turn, a long conversation with the princess, and told her decidedly that he should send an envoy to Germany, to offer a compliment of condolence to the emperor from Their Majesties; and that he would be careful that the messenger should be a personal friend of her own, who would be zealous to forward her interests.

Charles II., in the mean while, who was only to have remained a fortnight in France, had lingered there for three months; but, as the court were at Paris, and he resided with his mother at St. Germain, he was very seldom in the society of the princess. When his approaching departure was announced, MADEMOISELLE went to pay her respects to the queen, and to take leave of himself, upon which occasion the queen said that she felt she ought to rejoice with her niece at the death of the Empress of Germany, as, although the negotiation for her marriage had failed with the emperor on a former occasion, there was no doubt but it would now be successful. The princess replied, with affected carelessness, that she bestowed no thought upon the subject; when the queen immediately and earnestly rejoined, that there was a young man then present who fancied that a king of eighteen years of age was better than an emperor of fifty with four children; and indulged in a great deal of banter of the same description; remarking, somewhat bitterly, in conclusion, that her son was too poor and too unfortunate for so great a princess; after which, suddenly softening, she whispered, as she pointed to one of the English ladies of her suite, that her son was in love

with her, and that he was fearful lest MADEMOISELLE should hear it, and bade her remark how disconcerted he was to see them thus brought together, lest she should mention the circumstance. When Charles withdrew, the queen requested MADEMOISELLE to accompany her to her closet, where, having previously closed the door, she said that her son had requested her to apologize to the princess, if the offer which she had made to her at Compiègne had excited her displeasure—an idea of which he could not divest himself—that, as to herself, she had endeavored to decline the commission, but that he had so earnestly entreated her to fulfill it, that she could not refuse; that she thought, as the princess did, that she would have been miserable with him, and she loved her too well to wish it, although it would have been fortunate for him personally if she could have been induced to share his unhappy fate; but, meanwhile, all she could hope was, that he might ultimately be successful in regaining his kingdom, and that MADEMOISELLE might then be prevailed upon to accept his hand. The princess, somewhat embarrassed by this exhortation, replied as well and as gratefully as she could under such circumstances, and then took her leave, in order to proceed to the Abbey of St. Louis, at Poissy, where her two elder sisters had been placed during the Fronde.

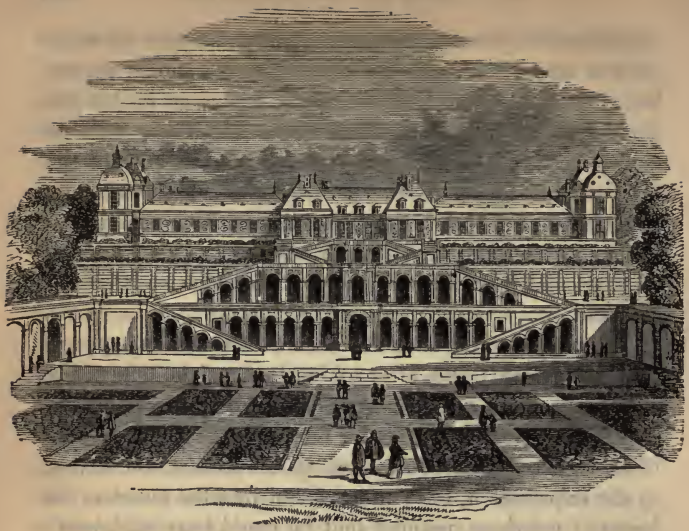
The young Duke of York having volunteered to accompany her, if she would afterward leave him at St. Germain, Charles proposed also to join the party; but to this arrangement she would not consent, alledging that the duke being a mere youth, she could consent to his wish without impropriety, but that in the case of His Majesty she felt herself compelled to refuse. Charles, however, was not to be so readily denied; and having prevailed upon his mother to accompany MADEMOISELLE, all feasible objection was removed; and accordingly, the queen, the princess, and the two princes all traveled in MADEMOISELLE'S coach; and her royal aunt profited by the opportunity to dilate, through-

out the whole journey, upon the admirable terms on which her son would live with his wife when he should marry; loving only her, and dismissing from his mind all his previous follies; an assertion which he gravely confirmed, declaring that he could not understand how any rational man who loved an agreeable woman could attach himself elsewhere; that, as for himself, whatever inclination he might previously have felt for any other person, it would be at an end from the very moment in which he became a husband.

The princess remained but a short time at Poissy, as it was getting late; and, after taking leave of the queen, was led to her carriage by Charles, who paid her many compliments, without, however, for an instant divesting himself of his reserve; and she drove off quite satisfied; for having, as she expresses it, once more fallen into the snare of the imperial marriage, nothing that he could have said would have made any impression upon her.

It is curious to contrast both the demeanor and the professions of Charles II. at that period, with his bearing and principles in after-life.

Some time subsequently MADEMOISELLE was attacked, in her turn, by small-pox; and except the Prince de Condé, every one evinced great anxiety for her recovery. He alone failed to leave his name at her door, which augmented the hatred she always felt toward him; and her health was no sooner reëstablished than she attended the confirmation of the two young princes; *Monsieur* and MADEMOISELLE being the sponsors of the king; while the Prince de Condé and the Princess-Dowager, his mother, acted as those of the Duke d'Anjou.



CHAPTER XIII.

Hollow Reconciliations—Arrogance of the Prince de Condé—Defiance of Mazarin—"Adieu, Mars!"—The Tabouret—A new Affront—Marriage of the Duke de Richelieu and Mademoiselle de Pons—The Cardinal and Madame de Chevreuse—A War of Wits—Meditated Arrest of the Princes of Lorraine—Autograph Letter to the Coadjutor—His Distrust of the Regent—Sincerity of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Stipulations of the Coadjutor—Treachery of the Abbé de la Rivière—the Duke d'Orleans and Madame de Soyon—Adhesion of Monsieur to the Conspiracy—The Cardinal's Secretary—Apprehensions of the Dowager-Princess de Condé—Arrest of the Princes—The Journey to Vincennes—Public Excitement—Flight of the Duchess de Longueville—Separation of the Duchess and her Daughter—The Princesses de Condé banished from the Court—The Queen-Regent at Rouen—Disgust of Madame de Longueville—Her Escape—Her Arrival in Holland—Evasion of the Duke de Bouillon and Marshal Turenne—Return of the Court to Paris.

All these seeming reconciliations at court were, however, as will be readily understood, merely conventional, and had no solid basis. There were too many and too

virulent jealousies beneath the surface; too many remembrances of past power on the part of the pardoned, and too many memories of mortification on that of the pardoning. Moreover, the equality of rank among the principal actors was so great, that, supplying by their influence the slight difference which existed, they were in no mood for implicit and unquestioning submission in the one party; while presuming upon the royal prerogative and the time-hallowed privileges by which they were built in, they had no inclination to offer concession in the other. The Prince de Condé was especially irksome to the court; as aware of the large share he had taken in the preservation of that throne which made the strength of his adversaries, he became every day more haughty and more exacting. He considered that he had fulfilled all his engagements when he brought the king back in safety to Paris, and continually threatened to withdraw to his government. The projected marriage of the Duke de Mercœur and Victoria Mancini, moreover, annoyed him bitterly. He had learned the private reception of M. de Beaufort, and he saw ministerial favors about to be showered down upon the house of Vendôme, which he detested; while, urged by his sister the Duchess de Longueville, to exact the government of Pont de l'Arche which had been promised to her husband, he could not compel compliance with his demand. His pretensions, well-founded as they were, alarmed and annoyed both the regent and the cardinal; and at length, one evening, when he was persisting in his claim even more resolutely than usual, Mazarin, contrary to his general custom, answered him very abruptly; upon which he inquired if His Eminence desired that there should be war between them?

"I do not seek to excite hostilities," replied the minister; "but if you commence them, Prince, I must necessarily defend myself."

This calm defiance was too much for the forbearance of

M. de Condé, who, taking up his hat, and looking at the cardinal with the sarcastic smile which was peculiar to him, bowed profoundly; and saying, "Adieu, Mars,"—quietly left the room.

The rejoinder had been overheard; and on the following day all Paris called the cardinal nothing but the God Mars. It was now universally believed that the prince was definitively embroiled with the minister; and the most zealous of the Frondeurs were already leaving their names at the door of M. de Condé, when the Duke d'Orleans, urged by the Abbé de la Rivière, who was trembling for his seat in the conclave, succeeded in effecting at least a seeming reconciliation between them. One of the clauses of this new treaty of peace was, however, that the Princess de Marsillac and Madame de Pons* should have the honors of the tabouret;† and in virtue of this concession made to the friend of his sister, and to the wife of her lover, the prince consented to go through the comedy of another peace-making. But even here he was destined to be deprived of his triumph; for this affair of the tabourets was of more importance to the French court than a new campaign, and presented, in point of fact, an unheard-of innovation upon its venerable etiquet; for neither the wife of the Prince de

* Mademoiselle de Pons was a charming and witty person of the queen's household; admirably shaped, with a very pleasing face, although, perhaps, of somewhat too high a complexion; and had been loved by the Duke de Guise who caused the revolt in Naples.

† The tabouret was a small four-legged stool, without back or arms. *To have the tabouret* was, in the old French court, a right possessed by certain persons to place themselves on this stool, or on a folding-seat, in the presence of the queen. The tabouret was originally conceded only to princesses or duchesses; but it was afterward allowed to all such ladies as occupied the first rank in the queen's household, and whose husbands had a right to an arm-chair in the king's apartment; especially when they were dukes and peers. From the reign of Francis II., cardinals, ambassadresses, duchesses, and ladies whose husbands were grandees of Spain, as well as the wives of chancellors and of keepers of the seals, were permitted to occupy them

Marsillac, nor the widow of Francis Alexander d'Albret, could advance a claim to so marked a distinction. All the nobility, consequently, rose against this presumption, and held meetings upon the subject, at one of which, in the hôtel of the Marquis de Montglat, Grand-Master of the Ceremonies, a protestation against the grant was signed.

This was a new cause of displeasure for M. de Condé against the queen; as, in order to prove that the concession had been forced from her, she permitted her most intimate friends to join the opposition, which soon acquired so much importance that she considered it necessary to assure the prince that she felt herself compelled to yield to so general a demonstration; and, in consequence, four marshals were appointed to announce to the assembly of the nobles that the regent withdrew from Madame de Pons and the Princess de Marsillac the favor which she had conceded to them.

An opportunity of revenge soon offered itself to the Prince de Condé, who did not fail to make it available. The Duke de Richelieu, second nephew to the late cardinal, had fallen in love with Madame de Pons, from whom the queen had just wrested the tabouret; but his passion was disapproved by the court, for M. de Richelieu being governor of Havre, his marriage with Madame de Pons became a matter of serious importance. She was, as we have already stated, the intimate friend of the Duchess de Longueville, who already had, through her husband, too much influence in that province; and for this very reason the prince resolved upon the accomplishment of a union which every one declared to be impossible. He conducted the lovers to a house which the duchess possessed at Trie, where their marriage took place, he himself acting as the witness of the bridegroom; and the ceremony had no sooner taken place than he started them to Havre, in order that the duke might take immediate possession of his government; and having done this, he returned immediately to court, and openly

boasted that M. de Longueville now possessed another fortified town in Normandy.

This last exploit cruelly wounded both the queen and Mazarin, who thenceforth vowed the ruin of M. de Condé; and they were still writhing under the blow, when Madame de Chevreuse, who had been in a great measure restored to favor, went to pay her New-year's visit to Anne of Austria, where she found the cardinal, who, as she was about to retire, led her into the the bay of a window, remarking that he had just heard her make great professions of regard to the queen, and was anxious to know why, if they were sincere, she did not induce her friends to espouse the interests of Her Majesty. The duchess replied that it was impossible, as the queen was no longer a sovereign, but merely the very humble servant of the Prince de Condé.

The cardinal retorted that the regent could not do impossibilities; but that if she could assure herself of certain persons, she could do a great deal; that, as it was, the Duke de Beaufort was at the disposal of Madame de Montbazon; Madame de Montbazon at that of Vigneul;* and the coadjutor at that of ——. Here he paused, for he had not assurance enough to complete his sentence; but the duchess was less delicate, and she finished it for him by pronouncing the name of her daughter.

The cardinal laughed somewhat sarcastically; and when he had enjoyed his jest, Madame de Chevreuse rendered it still more palatable by adding that she would answer both for the one and the others. Mazarin took her at her word: and upon this understanding, desired her to keep their secret, and to return to the palace in the evening. The duchess was punctual. She had retained all her passion for intrigue, and had been so long compelled to remain inactive, that she was delighted when the queen confided to

* Vigneul was one of the gentlemen of the Prince de Condé's household, and entirely devoted to his interests.

her the desire she felt to arrest the prince, his brother, and M. de Longueville simultaneously. One thing only deterred her, as she declared to the duchess, and that was her uncertainty as to whether the coadjutor would lend himself to this arrest; and if the Duke d'Orleans, without whose coöperation it could not be ventured upon, might be persuaded to keep the secret; not from the prince himself, but from his confidante, the Abbé de la Rivière, who was exerting all his energies to maintain a good understanding between M. de Condé and *Monsieur*.

After a moment's reflection, Madame de Chevreuse answered for this also; only asking from the queen some written document which she might show to him, should he doubt the authority under which she acted. On a gesture from the cardinal, the request was granted; and Anne of Austria wrote with her own hand the note that follows:—

"I can not believe, notwithstanding both the past and the present, that the coadjutor is not in my interests. I beg him to wait upon me without the knowledge of any one, save Madame and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. This name will be his surety. ANNE."

Armed with these credentials, the duchess ultimately left the palace radiant with new life. She had now an important secret in her keeping, and was about to become herself an actor in a scene which must convulse the entire nation. She was no longer the powerless and forsaken exile; the wheel of life had turned once more, and she was again the trusted favorite of a powerful sovereign.

It, however, now remained for her to redeem the pledge that she had given; and she could not conceal from herself that in answering for the actions of the coadjutor, even under any circumstances, stringent and binding though they might be, she had entailed upon herself a great risk of failure.

On her return from the Palais-Royal, Madame de Chevreuse found M. de Retz awaiting her, who at once discovered that she had some important communication to make, from the fact that her daughter, whom she had tutored during her drive, began immediately to speak of Mazarin, and to question him as to his resolution should the cardinal propose a reconciliation. Nor did he remain long in doubt that this attempt was about to be made, for Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who did not dare to speak openly before the duchess, affected to let her handkerchief fall to the ground; and when M. de Retz stooped and restored it to her, she pressed his hand emphatically, in order to make him understand that she was acting merely under coercion.

The coadjutor began to reflect, and his first impulse was a decidedly negative one; for some time previously he had refused to participate in a similar negotiation to which the duchess had endeavored to urge him; and had subsequently been informed that the advances made by the regent toward a reconciliation were a mere snare, the intention having been to conceal the Duke de Grammont behind a tapestry screen, in order that he might be enabled to inform the prince that famous Frondeurs, whom he was occasionally inclined to support, were only anxious to save themselves individually by abandoning their party, when, by so doing, they could advance their own interests. The plot had signally failed, it is true, but it had engendered increased distrust and suspicion; and of this fact the duchess had been aware when she required a written evidence from the queen which must exonerate herself.

Nevertheless, the coadjutor having reason to place implicit faith in the exasperation of the regent against the Prince de Condé (which was by no means unfounded, as he had encouraged the Marquis de Jarzé in a boast which he had made, of being essentially, rather than creditably, in her favor), he felt inclined to believe that on this occasion her intentions were sincere. When she saw him waver, Made-

mo'selle Chevreuse could forbear no longer, but exerted all her influence to induce him again to refuse the overtures of the court, which she declared would entail certain ruin both upon his person and his fortunes. The duchess, however, persisted in her importunity; and the coadjutor at last prevailed upon her daughter, who had thrown herself, drowned in tears, upon a sofa, to trust to his discretion; and when she had conceded thus much, he began seriously to consider the bearings of the case. The eloquence of Madame de Chevreuse was persuasive, but not convincing; and at length he terminated the discussion with his usual diplomacy, by declaring that he would not move a step without a written invitation to that effect from the queen herself.

We have already seen that the duchess was prepared to meet this objection; and, accordingly, she placed in the hands of the coadjutor the letter of the regent; which he had no sooner read than he inquired if she would personally be the pledge of its sincerity. She assented without hesitation; and upon this assurance M. de Retz took up a pen, and wrote a reply in these terms:—

"There has never been a moment in my life of which I have not been equally in the interest of Your Majesty. I should be too happy to die in your service, to seek to give one thought to my own safety. I will present myself wherever Your Majesty may command."

Having written this concise but important answer to the royal missive, the coadjutor, with a high-heartedness which assuredly did him honor, inclosed both the notes in the same cover, and committed them to the care of Madame de Chevreuse, by whom they were on the morrow delivered to the queen, who received them with every demonstration of satisfaction and confidence. In the course of the day M. de Retz received an intimation from the duchess to be in

the cloisters of St. Honoré at midnight, and he had remained there only a few minutes, when he was joined by Gabouri, the queen's cloke-bearer, who conducted him by a back stair-case to the private oratory of the queen, where he found her alone. This was the apartment in which great political questions were generally decided, "and where at rare intervals," says a French author, cynically, "they prayed to God from sheer want of presence of mind." *

He was received as men always are who are essential to their receivers; and M. de Retz was the more welcome because the queen knew him to be personally inimical to the prince; but as he himself declares, great and earnest as was her hatred of M. de Condé, throughout the whole interview her attachment to Mazarin was still more manifest; of him she spoke continually as the "poor cardinal," both when discussing the late faction-war, and while trying to impress upon the coadjutor the great attachment of the minister to himself.

At the end of half an hour the cardinal entered the oratory; and requesting that the queen would permit him for an instant to fail in the respect which was her due, by embracing in her presence a man whom he both esteemed and loved, he threw himself into the arms of the visitor, declaring that he had now but one regret, which was, that he could not at that very moment transfer to M. de Retz his own seat in the conclave; and at length, after a multitude of other professions, all without doubt equally sincere, he paused for a reply.

That which he received from the coadjutor was brief and simple. The prelate said that the honor of serving the regent was the only recompense to which he aspired, and that he requested none other might be offered, in order that he might retain the proud satisfaction of feeling that he had not been influenced by any merely personal consideration. This text was a safe one for Mazarin; who, there-

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

upon, became still more urgent, and insisted that when M. de Retz was about to render such essential service to the state, the queen was bound to confer upon him some signal favor; and he particularized an application for the next cardinal's hat, in opposition to the claim of the Abbé de la Rivière, which he declared to be both unfounded and presumptuous; but the coadjutor stood firm, and positively refused to accept so high a dignity upon any political plea; while, in like manner, he declined the offer which was made to pay his debts, to make him grand-almoner, and to give him the abbey of Orleans. But as Mazarin still insisted that the honor of the queen would compel her to some act of beneficence at such a conjuncture, M. de Retz at length said that there was one point upon which Her Majesty could serve him more essentially than were she even to bestow upon him the triple tiara itself. She had informed him of her intention to arrest the Prince de Condé; but he was well aware that the imprisonment of a person of his rank and services could not be eternal; and that on its cessation, when he reappeared, his anger would be the ruin of those who had assisted in effecting his disgrace. He added that there were several other persons of distinction who had as much zeal for the queen's service as himself, and who had assisted her as effectually; and that should Her Majesty see fit to confide to one of them some considerable trust, he should feel more individually obliged than by the possession of ten cardinal's hats: upon which Mazarin at once remarked to the regent that nothing could be more reasonable, and that he himself would arrange the matter with M. de Retz.

The queen then impressed upon the coadjutor the necessity of maintaining a profound silence on the subject of this interview with the Duke de Beaufort; as Madame de Montbazon, to whom he would not fail to confide her intention of arresting the prince, would immediately communicate it to Vigneuil, who was the firm friend of M de

Condé. The coadjutor at once gave the required assurance; and then added, that as a secret of this nature withheld from the duke, whose interest was bound up with his own, was a failure of confidence which would dishonor him in the eyes of the world if it were not compensated by some competent service, he would consequently entreat Her Majesty to allow him to remark, that the superintendence of the navy, which had been promised to his family at the commencement of the regency, would produce a most beneficial effect if bestowed upon M. de Beaufort.

As he ceased speaking, the cardinal observed, with some abruptness, that the place had only been promised to the father and the elder son; but the coadjutor had anticipated the difficulty, and replied, with a low bow and a meaning smile, that he had a strong conviction that the elder son in question was about to contract an alliance which would elevate him far above even that dignity; upon which the minister, whose vanity was flattered by the inference, once more smiled; and turning toward the queen, repeated that they would arrange the matter between them.

M. de Retz, fully aware that he had now the game in his hands, readily acquiesced in this arrangement, and his diplomacy did him credit; for he stipulated that—

The Duke de Vendôme should have the superintendence of the navy during his life, and M. de Beaufort the reversion of the same post.

That M. de Noirmoutier should have the command of Charleville and Mount Olympus.

That M. de Brissac should have the government of Anjou at a fixed price, and with a discretionary patent for the whole sum.

That the Marquis de Laigues* should be captain of the guard to the Duke d'Orleans.

And that, finally, M. de Sévigné should receive twenty-two thousand livres.

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

These terms accepted, he guarantied to the queen that she should be left at full liberty to arrest the princes at her pleasure; but he endeavored to intercede in behalf of M. de Longueville, offering himself as his security, and undertaking to answer for his loyalty. Upon this point, however, both the regent and her minister maintained their ground; and as the coadjutor was still persisting in his importunities, the cardinal drew from his pocket a letter written by the Abbé de la Rivière to the Chevalier de Flamarens; and, pointing to a particular passage, M. de Retz read these words:—

"Thank you for your information; but I am as sure of M. de Longueville as you are of M. de la Rochefoucauld; the decisive words have been said."

All expostulation was of course useless after such conclusive evidence, not only of the adhesion of the Duke Longueville himself to the party of the prince, but also of that of *Monsieur's* favorite.

In a second conference, at which the queen was again present, a long discussion arose as to the best method of inducing the Duke d'Orleans to consent to the arrest of the princes. The regent anticipated very little difficulty, saying that she knew him to be heartily tired of M. de Condé, and still more so of La Rivière, whom he had discovered to be devoted, body and soul, to the prince; but the cardinal was far from entertaining the same confidence. It was, therefore, resolved that all should be left to the management of Madame de Chevreuse; who, enchanted by the confidence reposed in her, only awaited a favorable opportunity of undertaking her mission. It was not long wanting. *Monsieur*, although, as it will be remembered, he had run away with his second wife, and had persisted in marrying her against the inclination both of her family and his own, was, nevertheless, from time to time guilty of sundry infidelities with the ladies of the court; and it so chanced that a short time previously he had formed an at-

tachment for Madame de Soyon, one of the ladies of honor to *Madame*, who suddenly disappeared from the court, and shut herself up in a Carmelite convent, whence neither threats nor promises could induce her to emerge.

The duke, in his despair, appealed both to the queen and the cardinal upon the occasion; but as at that particular moment they had no interest in exerting their interference in his favor, they had excused themselves upon the plea that both the royal will and the ministerial power were useless against a religious vocation; while that of Mademoiselle Soyon was declared to be extraordinary. *Monsieur* was, consequently, in despair.

Nothing could have more effectually assisted the projects of the duchess. She waited upon him while he was still indulging the bitterness of his grief; and after a demonstration of indignant sympathy which excited his gratitude, she confided to him the exasperation of the queen against M. de Condé; declaring that, notwithstanding the many reasons which Her Majesty assuredly had for feeling annoyed with the prince, her anger was more excited by his interference with the interests of the Duke d'Orleans than from any consideration for herself. When this adroit flattery had taken firm root, she exaggerated, with all her well-tried skill the immense advantage which he must necessarily derive from restoring to the king's service a faction so powerful as that of the Fronde; and then, with an admirably-acted shudder, she confessed to him the terror in which she lived, and which was shared by all her friends, at the idea of once more seeing Paris delivered over to bloodshed; an argument which was, perhaps, the most powerful that she could have advanced, as His Royal Highness invariably shook with fear upon every occasion when he was compelled to traverse the streets, and to attend the parliament.

But her culminating point of genius was yet to be attained; and when she found that she had so worked upon the alarm of the duke that he had become plastic in her

hands, she offered to reveal to him the secret of the cabal which had deprived him of his mistress; and, on condition that he would take an oath upon the Gospel to keep what she was about to reveal a perfect secret, even to induce Mademoiselle Soyon to leave the convent.

Monsieur swore whatever she directed, for he made light of such a ceremony at all times; and, for once, he kept his word. She told him that the plot had originated with the Princess de Condé and the Abbé de la Rivière, both of whom were jealous of Mademoiselle Soyon: the former because she feared that her enemies might avail themselves of the influence of this new favorite to perpetuate the enmity of *Monsieur* and her husband; and the abbé for reasons which are sufficiently obvious. The detail was so incredible that the duke asked for proofs of its truth. Madame de Chevreuse had provided them, and they were at once exhibited; upon which the despair of *Monsieur* turned to anger. This point gained, the duchess next put into his hands a letter, in which Mademoiselle Soyon declared that she was ready to leave the Carmelites, if she could be assured that the queen would protect her against her enemies; alluding to the princess and La Rivière. This was too much; and the anger of *Monsieur* at once degenerated into fury.

Roused suddenly from his lethargy, like a lion from his lair, his violence became so great that the duchess trembled lest she should have gone too far, and accordingly exerted all her efforts to restore him to composure, eventually so far succeeding that he promised to allow her to arrange the whole affair, and once more swore to keep it secret. As two of the oaths of His Royal Highness might be allowed to bear the same weight as one from any other person, Madame de Chevreuse had no alternative but to trust to them; and she did so with the better faith, that the duke would not risk his own safety by consenting to the arrest, until Madame de Chevreuse, on her side, procured from the coadjutor a written promise that he would second him;

to which she readily consented—when, having reported her success to the regent, the arrest of the princes and their brother-in-law was fixed for mid-day on the 18th of January, when they were summoned to attend the council.

The Duke d'Orleans, proud of the diplomacy which he had displayed, lost no time, not only in assuring the regent of his coöperation in her design, but also of his having induced M. de Retz to join the conspiracy; and as a proof of this feat, he displayed to her the note of the coadjutor, pluming himself upon the point which he had gained; while, as a necessary consequence, no effort was made to undeceive him.

On the evening of the 17th, as a matter of course, *Monsieur* was suddenly taken ill, for such was always the case upon the eve of any transaction which involved danger, or by which he might be compromised; and in the course of the following morning, the Prince de Condé paid a visit to the cardinal, whom he found in conversation with Priolo, the body-servant of M. de Longueville, sending sundry kind messages to his master, mingled with entreaties that he would not fail to attend the council. On the entrance of the prince, Mazarin was about to dismiss his companion, but M. de Condé made a sign that he should not disturb himself, and approached the fire.

Close to the mantle-piece, Lyonne, the secretary of state, was writing; but, as the prince drew near, he concealed the papers upon which he was engaged under the table-covering; the interruption was, in fact, inopportune enough, for he was just then drawing up the warrants for the treble arrest. M. de Condé remained nearly a quarter of an hour, chatting with the minister and his secretary, and then took leave of them to fulfill a dinner-engagement with the princess-dowager. He found her in a state of great uneasiness. She had been, in the course of the morning, to the Palais-Royal, to pay a visit to the queen; and as she had the entrée at all hours, she had been admitted to her sleep-

ing-chamber, where she found the regent in bed, and complaining of indisposition, although her appearance belied the assertion. Nor was this her only cause of alarm. Anne of Austria was embarrassed and ill at ease with her friend; and this friend had not yet forgotten that she had seen Her Majesty in nearly the same state on the day of the Duke de Beaufort's arrest. She therefore earnestly cautioned her son to be careful of his person, for that she had a foreboding of evil.

M. de Condé was, however, in no mood to start at shadows; and, for all reply, he drew from his pocket a letter which he held toward his mother, declaring that she had no cause for distrust, as he had seen the queen on the previous day, when she was full of kindness; and that only four-and-twenty hours before, he had received that letter from the cardinal.

The princess read the communication with a beating heart. It was, in truth, well calculated to allay her fears, had she not been a mother. These were its contents:

"I promise the prince, under the good pleasure of the king, and by the command of the queen-regent his mother, that I will never abandon his interests, but will sustain them toward all, and against all; and I entreat His Highness to consider me as his very humble servant; and to favor me with his protection, which I will merit by all the obedience that he may desire from me. To which I have signed in the presence, and by the command of the queen.

"CARDINAL MAZARIN."

Madame de Condé shook her head doubtingly as she refolded the letter. Its formality and precision alarmed her. More than ever convinced that she had serious cause for misgiving, she at once proceeded to expostulate with her son: declaring that it was not only her own idea that there was a conspiracy against him, but that the Prince de Mar-

sillac, who had opportunities of ascertaining most of the movements of the court, had begged her to prevent, should it be in her power, the simultaneous appearance of the princes at the council. Her entreaties were, however, vain; M. de Condé had too much faith in his own strength to apprehend violence; and all which the princess could induce him to concede was, that she should be allowed on the morrow to precede him to the presence of the queen, of whose health she was about again to inform herself.

A quarter of an hour afterward, the prince was, in his turn, ushered into the royal chamber, where the regent was still in her bed; but the curtains were drawn closely round her, probably to conceal the emotion which she was unable altogether to suppress. The prince approached and entered into conversation with her, when her replies were so calm and unembarrassed, that he felt convinced, even if he were not at the extreme height of favor, that he was at least very necessary to the well-being of the court; and, after the customary compliments, he took his leave.

As her son was about to pass her, the princess-dowager extended her hand, which M. de Condé carried with respectful tenderness to his lips. How different would have been their parting could they have foretold that it was destined to be a final one! The poor mother never saw that son again: her death-bed was to be embitterred by the remembrance that the gallant representative of her noble house was the inmate of a prison.

From the apartment of Anne of Austria the prince passed through a small cabinet, which gave entrance to a second, opening both into the room of the cardinal, and the gallery in which the council held their sittings, and he was about to proceed to the apartment of Mazarin, when the minister suddenly appeared with his most winning smile upon his lips. While they were conversing, they were joined by M. de Longueville, and finally by the Prince de Conti; and the cardinal had no sooner ascertained that the three

brothers were at last within his grasp, than he desired one of the door-keepers to inform the queen that the princes and M. de Longueville had arrived, that *all was ready*, and that she might proceed to the council-chamber.

This was the signal concerted between the regent and her minister, and the door-keeper departed on his errand. As he withdrew the Abbé de la Rivière entered, upon which the cardinal requested the princes to excuse him, as he had to confer on business of importance with the abbé, adding, that if they would enter the council-room he would shortly follow them.

They complied without suspicion, and were immediately joined by the other members of the ministry; and, meanwhile, the cardinal withdrew to his apartment, accompanied by La Rivière, where he amused him in an extraordinary manner. He had provided a number of patterns of cloth of different shades of crimson, and took this opportunity of desiring him to select that which he conceived would be the most becoming to his complexion when he obtained the cardinalate. This was the bait with which he had for the last two years deluded the favorite of *Monsieur;* and the abbé, enchanted with every thing which seemed to approach him to the object of this ambition, had just chosen a charming shade, which could not fail to be effective, when a great noise was audible from the gallery. Mazarin smiled one of his treacherous smiles, and grasping the arm of the ecclesiastic, asked him if he could guess what was taking place at that moment.

Of course he replied in the negative, upon which the cardinal informed him of the arrest. La Rivière became as pale as ashes, let fall the piece of cloth which he held in his hand, and inquired if the Duke d'Orleans was aware of the intention of the queen. Mazarin replied that he had not only been acquainted with it for the last fortnight, but that he had assisted in its execution. This was a cruel blow to the favorite, who at once felt that his influence was

at an end if *Monsieur*, who had never been celebrated for his discretion, could so long withhold a matter of this importance from a man for whom he affected the most extreme regard.

During this time the queen, so soon as she was informed that the princes were at length within her grasp, dismissed Madame de Condé, on the plea of preparing to attend the council; upon which the princess, having kissed her hand, courtesied, and withdrew.

In the gallery, meanwhile, another and a more striking scene was enacting. While the Prince de Condé was talking with the Count d'Avaux, with his eyes fixed upon the door by which the queen was to enter, it opened, and Guitaut, the captain of the guard, appeared upon the threshold. As he was a great favorite with the prince, the latter immediately imagined that he had some favor to request; and in order to spare him as much embarrassment as possible, he left the count, and approaching the worthy soldier, asked what he could do to oblige him. Guitaut hung his head. He had nothing to ask, he said, his errand was of a different nature. He came with an order to arrest His Highness himself, the Prince de Conti, his brother, and M. de Longueville, his brother-in-law.

The thing appeared so impossible that it was with a smile, half doubt and half gayety, that the prince repeated his words.

Guitaut, however, persisted, though with evident chagrin, and extended his hand toward the sword which M. de Condé wore at his side. Still the prince would not yield: he felt convinced that there must be some misunderstanding, and he desired the captain of the guard to return to the queen, and entreat her to grant him an audience. He was obeyed; but his messenger cautioned him not to anticipate the acquiescence of the regent, asserting that he only complied with His Highness's directions in order to satisfy him of his respect and good-will. This warning

was well-timed; for on his return he announced that Her Majesty refused to see the prince, and that it was her positive pleasure that he should be arrested forthwith. M. de Condé merely bowed, in reply, and gave up his sword to the disconcerted Guitaut; while the Prince de Conti and M. de Longueville, following his example, simultaneously resigned theirs to Lieutenant Comminges, and Ensign Cressy.

As they were about to leave the gallery, M. de Condé inquired the place of their destination, alledging that he had contracted a violent rheumatism in the camp, and that the cold and damp were very prejudicial to him. He was informed that the order directed his transfer to Vincennes, to which arrangement he offered no objection, but calmly turned to take leave of the noblemen by whom he was surrounded, begging them to bear him in remembrance though he was about to become a prisoner, and desiring that the Count de Brienne would embrace him, as they were relatives.

M. de Condé and his brothers then descended by a private stair-case, and found a carriage awaiting them, surrounded by a troop of gendarmes, under the command of M. de Miossens,* who could not conceal his astonishment when he discovered who were to be his prisoners. The three princes entered the carriage, Guitaut transferred his charge to Comminges and Miossens, and they were driven off at a swift pace; but as they were conducted by a cross road which was at once bad and intricate, in order that they might not be recognized on their journey, in turning a sharp corner the carriage was upset. The prince, whose agility was incomparable, was in an instant upon his feet, and at a distance of twenty paces from his escort; when Miossens, who apprehended that he was about to attempt making his escape, hurriedly approached him, beseeching that he would not be his ruin; whereupon M. de Condé assured

* Afterward Marshal d'Albret.

him with a smile that he would not profit by the accident which had occurred; but remarked at the same time that Miossens would do well to remember that he was only a younger son, and that such an opportunity of making his fortune might never again occur throughout his life. The young soldier only shook his head, and replied that notwithstanding all the respect and admiration which he felt for His Highness, and all the repugnance which he experienced to the execution of his present task, no temptation should induce him to fail in the duty and obedience that he owed to both the king and the regent.

No one was more capable of appreciating such a principle than the conqueror of Rocroy; and it was consequently without any further effort to shake the loyalty of his guard that the Prince de Condé seated himself once more in the carriage, which had been restored to its original position; and his example had no sooner been followed by his brothers and Comminges, than the journey was resumed. On the road M. de Condé inquired of the count if he had any suspicion of the cause of his arrest.

"The crime of Your Highness," replied Comminges, "appears to me to be that of Germanicus, who fell under the suspicion of the Emperor Tiberius, because he was too valuable, too much loved, and had made himself too great."

When they arrived at the foot of the fortress, Miossens, approached to take leave of the prince, when, for the first time, the noble prisoner appeared somewhat affected. He thanked Miossens for the courtesy with which he had acted toward him; and bade him say to the queen, that, despite her injustice, he was still her humble servant. The count and his prisoners then entered the tower. As the authorities were not prepared to receive any new inmates, the garrison had no beds to offer them; and Comminges, who was to remain eight days as their guard, desired that cards might be brought, as the best expedient for getting

through the night, and that which was the most consonant to the general taste of the court-nobles. The party accordingly played till daybreak; at which time preparations were made for the comfort of the illustrious captives, in which Comminges was an active agent, for his attachment to the prince was beyond the reach of misfortune; and he afterward frequently declared that, thanks to the cheerful wisdom and experienced judgment of M. de Condé, the eight days which he passed with him as his fellow-prisoner at Vincennes were the happiest of his life.

When he at last took leave of the noble brothers, he inquired whether there were any books that they would wish to have; to which the Prince de Conti replied that he should be glad of the *Imitation of Jesus Christ.*

"And Your Highness?" inquired the count, addressing the prince.

"I, sir;" was the ready answer; "should be glad of the Imitation of the Duke de Beaufort." *

The escape of M. de Beaufort from the same fortress will be fresh in the memories of our readers.

The coadjutor was faithful to the promise which he had given to the queen; and, having made his own terms, kept the secret of the treble arrest, until at mid-day Madame de Chevreuse sent to request both himself and the Duke de Beaufort to visit her at her hôtel, when she revealed to them, as a profound secret, the intention of the regent, which was to be executed at six o'clock in the evening, and which she received the royal command to communicate to them only. The coadjutor carried off M. de Beaufort to dinner, and amused him the whole afternoon by playing chess, even preventing his waiting upon Madame de Montbazon, as he was anxious to do; in consequence of which circumstance the prince was arrested before she had an idea that such a project was in agitation, and her anger was excessive. She told the Duke de Beaufort that whatever explanation

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

he might see fit to offer, it was evident that he had been duped; when he, in his turn, accused the coadjutor, who at once, and in her presence, explained every thing, and drew from his pocket the patent of the admiralty. On sight of this talisman, M. de Beaufort embraced him ardently, and Madame de Montbazon threw herself on his neck, and rewarded him in the same way. The last difficulty was overcome.

Thus was accomplished a great event, which, in the course of a single day, changed the whole face of affairs.

M. de Bouteville* made an effort to excite the Parisians to revolt, by galloping to the Pont-Neuf immediately that the news reached him, and shouting to the people that the Duke de Beaufort had been arrested. The crowd sprang to their arms; but the coadjutor who had apprehended the possibility of an outbreak, put an end at once to this demonstration by walking through the streets of the city, preceded by five or six torch-bearers, while the duke followed his example; and from that moment all was joy and exultation. The Parisians forgot that the Great Condé, had, in all probability, not only preserved their beloved capital itself, but also their country, and remembered only that he had been in arms against the city; their delight accordingly amounted to intoxication; and while bonfires were blazing on all sides, they erected a new idol for popular worship,

* Francis Henry de Montmorency, Duke and Marshal de Luxembourg, was the posthumous son of Francis de Bouteville, whose name he originally bore. Born in 1628, he was a pupil of the great Condé, and served as a lieutenant-general at the conquest of Franche-Comté, in 1668. He was commander-in-chief during the celebrated campaign in Holland, at the conclusion of which he made the famous retreat so admired by the enemy, where he passed through a hostile army of 70,000 strong with 20,000 men. In 1675 he obtained the marshal's bâton; in 1690 he gained the battle of Fleurus; in 1691 that of Steinkerque; and in 1693 that of Nerwinde. He died in 1695, with the reputation of being the greatest general in France. He was both deformed and humpbacked.

and that idol was Mazarin! Only on the previous day the minister had been ridiculed, hated, and execrated; but suddenly he became the object of general admiration and regard; a fact which the mob somewhat wittily explained by declaring, with that sarcastic pleasantry peculiar to their order, that it could not be otherwise, as His Eminence had ceased to be a Mazarinite, and had joined the Fronde.

The epigram was a happy one.

Something was, however, yet left undone. The court had rid itself cleverly of the three princes; but the Duchess de Longueville was still at large, and she was no less dangerous an enemy than M. de Condé himself. When the news of the arrest of her husband and her two brothers reached her, she at once started for Normandy, where she antipated that her authority would be supreme. She was accompanied by her daughter, who did not, however, long share her wanderings: for, in consequence of a quarrel which occurred between them at Dieppe, Mademoiselle de Longueville refused to proceed; and having applied to the court for protection and safety, she was allowed to retire to an estate which belonged to her father. The Princesses de Condé had already received an order to retire to Chantilly; and the queen had no sooner learned the flight of Madame de Longueville to the government of her husband, than she announced her own departure for Rouen with the young princes. Only a year before Normandy had risen at the bidding of the duchess; but twelve long and eventful months had since elapsed, and now she spoke in vain; not a hand was outstretched to uphold her.

Disgusted and disappointed, she left Rouen, where the queen arrived shortly after her departure, and thence she proceeded to Havre. She felt sure of the Duke de Richelieu, for she had herself obtained for him his appointment; but the duke shut the gates against her, little anticipating that he should, ere long, see them closed against himself.

Neither as a protector, nor as a pretty woman, could the duchess prevail against his decision; and yet this was the same Duke de Richelieu who had ordered his servants to burn one of his carriages, in which Mademoiselle de Saint-Amaranthe, of whom he was enamored, had refused to allow him to drive her to her hôtel.

Finding that he was peremptory in his refusal to offer her an asylum, Madame de Longueville pursued her journey to Dieppe; but this resource signally failed; for the regent forthwith appointed the Count d'Harcourt to the government of Normandy, and sent some troops, under the command of Plessis-Bellièvre, against the fugitive. Madame de Longueville did not await the siege of the castle; but when she ascertained the advent of the soldiery, fearing that she might be given up by M. de Montigny, the governor, she escaped by a back door; and, followed by a few women who had possessed sufficient courage to share her fortunes, and a few gentlemen who would not forsake her, she traveled two leagues on foot to the little port of Pourville, where a vessel, which she had freighted in the event of necessity, was awaiting her. When she reached the sea-shore, the tide was so strong, and the wind so tempestuous, that the sailors entreated her not to embark in such unfavorable weather; but the duchess feared less to encounter the tempest than to see herself in the power of the regent, and she consequently persisted. The state of the tide rendering it impossible for a boat to approach close to the shore, one of the mariners lifted her in his arms to convey her on board; but he had scarcely advanced twenty paces, when an enormous wave carried him off his feet, and he fell. For an instant Madame de Longueville believed that she was lost, as in falling he had lost his hold and she sunk into deep water; but after some exertion she was dragged on board the boat. On recovering, she again expressed a wish to reach the vessel, but the sailors refused to make another attempt, declaring that it was only flying

in the face of Providence; and being consequently compelled to adopt some other expedient, she sent for horses to proceed along the coast. These procured, the party mounted, and rode all night and the following day, when a noble of Caux received her and her followers with great courtesy, and faithfully concealed them.

While under his roof she learned that the captain of the vessel which she had been anxious to reach was in the interest of the cardinal, and that had she once set her foot on board, she would have been arrested. At length she found herself once more in Havre; and having gained over the captain of an English ship, to whom she introduced herself in male attire as a nobleman who had just been engaged in a duel, and was obliged to leave France, she succeeded in obtaining a passage to Holland, where the Prince and Princess of Orange received her as though she had been a fugitive queen.*

The Duke de Bouillon, who had entered into a close alliance with the Prince de Condé since the peace, left in all haste for Turenne; the Marshal de Turenne, who had followed his example since his return to France, threw himself into Stenay, a strong place which M. de Condé had confided to La Moussaye; the Prince de Marsillac returned to his home at Poitou; and the Marshal de Brézé, the father of the princess, retired to Saumur, of which he was the governor.

The parliament published and registered a declaration against each and all of these individuals, by which they were commanded to present themselves within a fortnight to the king; or, in default, were declared from that time to be disturbers of the public peace, and guilty of lèse-majesté.

At the same period the court left Paris to make the tour of Normandy, where it was apprehended that Madame de Longueville, who had been received into the castle of

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

Dieppe might create some disaffection. All, however, gave way before the approach of royalty; and the duchess left Holland and proceeded to Arras, where she tampered with M. la Tour, who was a pensioner of her husband; but who, even while he proffered to her his personal services, refused either to give up his command, or to involve the city. She accordingly moved on to Stenay, where she was met by M. de Turenne with all the force he had been able to collect since his departure from Paris, among the friends and followers of the princes.

Not having encountered any opposition in Normandy, where all the military authorities and governors of fortresses hastened to convince him of their loyalty, the king and his mother proceeded to Burgundy, where they were similarly received, and having established the Count d'Harcourt as Governor of Normandy, the court returned to Paris.

CHAPTER XIV.

Arrest of the Duchess de Bouillon; her Escape with her Daughter; their Seizure; they are conveyed to the Bastille—Evasion of the Princess de Condé and the Duke d'Enghien—Appeal of the Princess-Dowager to the Parliament; her Banishment to Valery—Madame de Longueville and Turenne make a Treaty with Spain—Turenne at the Head of his Troops—The Court at Compiègne—Madame de Condé at Bordeaux—Danger of the royal Envoy—Mademoiselle and the Emperor of Germany—Court of Madame de Condé—The King's Troops march against the Princes—Journey of the Court to Bordeaux—Capture of Vayres—Execution of the Governor—Reprisals—Execution of the Baron de Canolles—Siege of Bordeaux—Submission of the City—Interview of the Queen-Regent and Madame de Condé—Levity of Mademoiselle—Coldness of the Bordeaulese toward the Regent—March of Turenne and the Archduke on Paris—Preparations for a Renewal of the Fronde—The Regent sick at Poitiers—Exasperation of the Coadjutor—Madame de Rhodes, the Princess-Palatine, and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Henry, Duke de Guise; his romantic Career—The double Divorce—Procrastination of the Duke d'Orleans; his Indignation at the proposed Removal of the Princes to Havre; his narrow Policy—The extorted Signature—Arrival of Charles II.—Coldness of the French Court—Retirement of the English King to Jersey.

Previously to leaving the capital the regent had given an order for the arrest of the Duchess de Bouillon in her own house, the duke having joined M. de Turenne, whom he knew to be the firm friend of the princes; but even after she was under strict surveillance, with a party of soldiers in her hôtel, as no mention had been made of her daughter, Mademoiselle de Bouillon was left free to come and go as she pleased. One evening she, as usual, entered her mother's apartment, and feigning to have found her asleep in bed, said that she would return to her own room, requesting the sentinel, who was in the antechamber, to light her to her door. She was obeyed without hesitation, and the man accordingly preceded her, carrying a lamp, without remarking that the duchess was walking close behind her daughter. When they reached the hall Mademoiselle de Bouillon pursued her way, but the duchess turned down a stair-case which led to the cellar, where she concealed herself until the sentinel had resumed his post, when she was again joined by her daughter. This done, with the help of some ropes thrown to them by friends without, they both escaped through the ventilator, and hid themselves in a private house until they could devise some method of quitting Paris. Unfortunately, however, on the very day which had been fixed for their final evasion, Mademoiselle de Bouillon sickened with the small-pox, and as her mother refused to leave her, the police discovered their retreat, and they were both seized, and conveyed to the Bastille.

The Princess de Condé, the wife of the prince, was more successful. An order had been given that while in arrest at Chantilly she was to be constantly kept within sight; but as she was aware of the fact, she took measures to deceive the vigilance of her guardians; and when about to be compelled to permit the visit of the officer appointed to watch her, on an occasion of alledged indisposition, she put one of her ladies into her bed, disguised by a headdress which almost concealed her features; and while this person con

versed with her jailer, the princess fled with her son, the Duke d'Enghien, and reached Montrond, a secondary town, of which the partisans of M. de Condé had possessed themselves.

Here, however, she did little more than halt, for the place was not capable of sustaining a siege, while negotiations were entered into with Bordeaux, where the inhabitants were extremely discontented with the administration of the Duke d'Epernon, its governor, who had fallen into disrepute both with the parliament and the magistrates; and when this intelligence reached them, the court ordered the Marshal de la Meilleraye to assume forthwith the command of the troops at Poitou. But they had still another female enemy to contend against, for the princess-dowager—the daughter of the old constable, the sister of that Montmorency who was decapitated at Toulouse, the last object of the love of Henry IV., the mother of the great Condé, with whom the regent was conversing affectionately while she was causing her son to be arrested under the same roof—resolved to do what none other had ventured even to contemplate, but which, in her maternal love appeared to her to be a holy duty from which she could not shrink: she resolved to demand justice from the parliament for the conqueror of Sens and Rocroy.

Until the departure of the queen from Paris, the princess-dowager had remained in concealment in the city; and while the court were still in Burgundy, she presented herself to the councilors of the upper chamber, as they were about to assemble, accompanied by the Duchess de Châtillon.* She urged that her sons should be put upon their trial, that they might be condemned if they were guilty, and set at liberty if they were innocent; and she was listened to with the respect which was her due, while it was decreed that she should remain in all safety in the house

* Sister of the Marshal de Luxembourg, and subsequently Duchess of Mecklenburg.

of the controller of accounts, and that a request should be made to the Duke d'Orleans, who, in the absence of the king, the queen, and the cardinal, was at the head of affairs, to come and assume his place at the palace.

The reply of Gaston intimated that the princess had received an order from the king to proceed to Bourges, and that, in his opinion, she should at least show herself willing to obey, by retiring to some place outside the capital, where she might await the return of the court, which was expected in a few days; and as this temporizing measure relieved the parliament from serious embarrassment, the princess was constrained to acquiesce in the suggestion. She consequently left Paris the same evening for Berny, from whence the king, who arrived shortly afterward, commanded her to remove to Valery. Heart-struck, hopeless, and broken-spirited, the princess endeavored to obey, but at Angerville she fell ill, and was unable to proceed.*

Meanwhile, Madame de Longueville and the Marshal Turenne—we place the name of the lady first advisedly, for this struggle was indeed destined to be, as it was afterward aptly denominated, "the women's war"—made a treaty with Spain, and the marshal joined their army, then in Picardy besieging Guise, which held out for eighteen days, when, from the failure of provisions, the archduke was compelled to raise the siege.

M. de Turenne had collected a few troops with the money which the Spaniards had accorded to him by treaty, and increased their strength by the remnants of the force which had garrisoned Bellegarde, upon which he was soon joined by a host of men of rank and mark, who enabled him to assume a threatening attitude.

The court, upon ascertaining this movement, forthwith departed for Compiègne; and the cardinal, once more disabused of the security with which he had so lately flattered himself, went forward to St. Quentin, to discuss with Mar-

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

shal Duplessis the means of effectively opposing M. de Turenne. While he was thus engaged, news arrived of serious disturbances in Guienne, where Madame de Condé had attracted to her interests the Prince de Marsillac, become Duke de la Rochefoucauld by the recent death of his father; and the Duke de Bouillon, who, after having secured Marshal Turenne, had made an appeal to the nobility of Auvergne, and Poitou, which had been answered by the formation of a little army of nearly two thousand five hundred men. A rendezvous was appointed at Mauriac, where the princess, with her son in her arms, was received with vehement acclamations, and by a general vow that the soldiers would not lay down their arms until justice had been done to the imprisoned princes. Madame de Condé and her son descended the Dordogne on board a boat, while the troops marched along the bank, drums beating, standards flying, and every thing in strictly warlike array; and, after sustaining a few skirmishes, the little army arrived at Coutras, where they learned that, as they had already anticipated, the city of Bordeaux was ready to receive the princess and the Duke d'Enghien, on condition that their escort, which appeared to the citizens to be too numerous for admittance within the walls, should remain outside the town. The concession was made, and the illustrious fugitives entered Bordeaux, amid cries of "Long live the Prince de Condé! Long live the Duke d'Enghien! Long live the Princess!" At this moment a courier from the court passed through an opposite gate, and also arrived in the city, when a messenger was dispatched in great haste to Madame de Condé, to inform her that the royal envoy was in danger of being torn to pieces by the populace if she did not exert herself to save him. For an instant her friends remained undecided whether it might not be politic to sacrifice this unhappy man, in order to give the court a just idea of the state of public feeling in Guienne; but the princess, who could not endure that the

first step which she took to liberate her husband should be in blood, overruled the momentary hesitation, and it was publicly declared that she requested the life of the messenger as a personal favor; upon which he was suffered to withdraw in safety from the city.

As regarded the princess herself, the parliament decided that she was welcome to Bordeaux, and free to remain there in all surety, provided she attempted nothing that was contrary to the service of the king.

About this time Mademoiselle, again deluded by her hope of becoming Empress of Germany, granted an interview to M. de Montergue, one of the confidential friends of the cardinal, who had just returned from that country, where he informed her that she was much wished for; and, although when she pressed him upon the subject, he replied vaguely enough that the ministers had not conferred with him upon the subject, nor made it a matter of conversation—a fact which he considered to arise simply from their knowledge that he was in the interests of His Eminence—she still accepted his unauthorized, and almost meaningless communication, as a symbol of success; and, with unexampled weakness, held a long conference with the cardinal on the strength of his friend's report, which terminated in his inducing her to send a dependent of her own to Germany, with full instructions to further her marriage; and the departure of this new messenger, she says, gave her great joy.*

The news received by the regent from the south became daily more alarming. The princess was enacting over again at Bordeaux the *rôle* which Madame de Longueville had played in Paris during the first act of the Fronde; and her little court, although confined in number, was brilliant in rank and renown. She received the Spanish ambassadors and treated with them; refused to recognize the letters of the Marshal de la Meilleraye; caused the parlia-

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

ment of Bordeaux to communicate in writing with that of the capital; and confided to the dukes De Bouillon and De la Rochefoucauld, whom it had at first been decided were to remain without the walls, the two most important commands in the city.

These circumstances determined the regent, immediately that she should be in a position to do so, to act vigorously against the Bordeaulese and their new idol; and, as a precautionary measure, *Monsieur* and all the ministers, most of whom were at that moment in Paris, were summoned to the king's presence. The chancellor had been exiled, and M. de Chateauneuf was keeper of the seals. At this meeting it was resolved that the court should proceed immediately to Bordeaux; that the Duke d'Orleans should remain in command of Paris, and that he should retain near him the secretary of state, Le Tellier,* to superintend the dispatches, M. de Chateauneuf,† and sundry

* Michel le Tellier, son of a councilor, was born at Paris in 1603. He was first councilor of the Grand Council, then (1631) King's Advocate at the châtelet of Paris, and Master of Requests. Appointed Steward of Piedmont (1640), he gained the favor of Mazarin, who appointed him Secretary of State and War-Secretary. Throughout the troubles he clung to the faction of the cardinal. He was intrusted with all the negotiations between the court and the princes, particularly those with Gaston d'Orleans and the Prince de Condé. He effected the conclusion of the treaty of Ruel. After having been minister of the regent, he retained the same office under Louis XIV. He worked with Colbert the overthrow of Fouquet; and obtained the reversion of his charge for his son, the Marquis de Louvois. In 1677 he was created chancellor and keeper of the seals; and in this capacity was one of the principal movers of the convocation of the Edict of Nantes. He died in 1685, and his funeral oration was delivered by Bossuet.

† This nobleman had been for ten years a prisoner at Angoulême, for the share which he had taken in the cabals of Anne of Austria and *Monsieur;* and it was expected that, upon the establishment of the regency, he would not only be restored to liberty, but that he would become a prominent member of the queen's court. Such was, however, far from being the case; he was liberated, it is true, but with the intimation that he was to retire to one of his estates; and as his emanci

other of the ministers. The Duke de la Meilleraye had accepted the command of the army, and had preceded the king. The Duke d'Epernon was recalled, and after having paid his respects to Their Majesties at Angoulême, proceeded to Larches.

"The Marshal de la Meilleraye," says MADEMOISELLE, "met Their Majesties at Coutras, a spot rendered very remarkable by the battle gained there by the king my grandfather, when he was sovereign of Navarre. The place belongs to the prince. The marshal returned to the army, and did not find it so efficient as he had anticipated; but he did not tell the queen the truth: he said that it was the finest in the world, although it was very weak; and there was no artillery, although cannon were indispensable for a siege."

The relief of Guise by the royalist army gave the court a slight respite; and when it was resolved that the king's forces should march against the Princess de Condé as they had done against the Duchess de Longueville, the Duke d'Orleans was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom within the Loire; and the king, the queen, and the cardinal commenced their journey, although not without certain misgivings which they were not able altogether to conceal. The reluctance with which they separated themselves from Paris was, in fact, so great, that while the journal of the court announced that they were advancing toward the seat of rebellion by forced marches, they actually wasted a month between the capital and Libourne; where, upon their arrival, the first act of the regent was one of such severity as to excite serious reprisals.

pation took place immediately after the victory of Rocroy, and that M. de Chateauneuf had presided at the commission which adjudged the death of Montmorency, the brother-in-law of M. de Condé, it is probable that the court dared not, at such a moment, make any other demonstration in his favor. The disgrace of the prince, and the troubles of the Fronde, having emancipated the regent from these considerations, M. de Chateauneuf was appointed chancellor.

About two leagues from Bordeaux there stood a building, half mansion, half fortress, which was commanded by a governor named Richon, an ancient valet-de-chambre of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, who, never anticipating that Vayres (for the little citadel was so called) would become an object of hostility, had settled his old domestic in the fort as in a comfortable sinecure. Vayres was, of course, very soon taken; and a council of war condemned the unlucky Richon to be hanged, as guilty of the audacity of endeavoring to hold his fortress against the king, when he was not even of gentle blood.

This ill-omened execution spread universal terror among the Bordeaulese, who began to feel that they could hope for no mercy at the hands of the court; and they already spoke of offering conditions, when the leaders of the Condé faction resolved, by an immediate display of rigor, to put the whole city within the pale of the law; and, in order to do this, they only required to hang one royalist officer. Several had been already made prisoners in the first sallies which the citizens had ventured beyond the walls; and, among the rest, the Baron de Canolles, who was a major of the Navailles regiment, and had been the commandant of St. George's Island. He was a handsome and courageous young man of about six-and-thirty; who, since his imprisonment at Bordeaux, had been received by the leading families, and had become an object of universal esteem. He was at the house of a lady to whom he was paying his addresses, quietly engaged at cards, when he was arrested, and informed that he was about to be tried by a council of war, presided by the princess and the Duke d'Enghien. The fact that his fate, in a great degree, depended upon a woman and a young child, was not calculated to excite much apprehension, either in himself or his friends; but their presumed security was bitterly terminated by his unanimous condemnation. He died like a brave man, the victim of policy rather than of crime

With the life of Canolles terminated, as a natural consequence, all idea of capitulation on the part of the Bordeaulese; for the deputies, the jurists, and the public companies, had alike given their assent to this act of retaliative cruelty. Bordeaux was accordingly besieged. The cardinal, who was present, witnessed the operations from the belfry of Saint Yvon in the suburb; and it was believed that M. de la Meilleraye had an understanding with the enemy. Be that as it may, however, and there is no authentic authority for the assertion, it is certain that this pigmy war was fated to terminate like all those of the same period. The queen wearied of the siege, and so did the city; and after a very respectable display of valor on both sides, propositions of reconciliation were received, ready drawn up from Paris, which were submitted, in the joint names of the Duke d'Orleans and the parliament, to the regent. They were submitted to the Bordeaulese, by whom they were accepted; and a treaty was concluded, by which a complete amnesty was granted to the inhabitants and citizens; the princess was permitted to retire to one of her estates; the dukes De la Rochefoucauld and Bouillon were restored to favor, with all surety both for their lives and properties; the Duke d'Epernon was recalled; and, moreover, the princess was compelled immediately to leave the city, in order to make room for the queen, who desired to command there in her turn, though it should only be for four-and-twenty hours.*

Conquered as she was, the spirit of Madame de Condé was, nevertheless, still unsubdued; she was struggling to obtain the liberty of her husband, and to secure the interests of her son; and she had, moreover, although only for a brief period, tasted the sweets of popularity and power, and was anxious to regain a portion of the advantages which she had lost. Nor was her hope altogether unfounded or extravagant, for she had seen the leaders of the

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

Fronde selling and not proffering their renewal of obedience: and she resolved to profit in so far at least by her own display of disaffection, as to make one bold effort to render it subservient to the restoration of her husband. She had received permission to remain for a few days at Coutras, and had already embarked in her little galley to gain that town, when she met the boat of M. de la Meilleraye, who approached her to offer his salutations, and to whom she stated, acting upon a sudden impulse engendered by the resolution we have named, that she was about to proceed to Bourges to pay her respects to the queen, as she could not consent to retire to Coutras till she had secured the honor of a personal interview with both the king and the regent.

The marshal, believing that such a step might tend to terminate the affair without further difficulty, did not seek to turn her from her purpose; but immediately hastened himself to Bourges, and publicly announced to Her Majjesty that the princess was awaiting her permission to throw herself at her feet. The queen instantly replied that she could not receive Madame de Condé, having no apartments to offer her; but M. de la Meilleraye having resolved, in consonance with his own views, that the meeting should take place, answered as promptly, that rather than be deprived of the honor which she solicited, the princess would have consented to sleep on board her galley, had it been requisite; but that such a necessity did not exist, as he was ready to offer his own residence for her reception.

The regent had, consequently, no alternative; and a messenger was accordingly sent to the water-side to bid her welcome, accompanied by Madame de la Meilleraye; and meanwhile the queen dispatched a gentleman of the court to summon the cardinal, who, as soon as he arrived, was closeted with her to arrange the manner in which the princess should be received. When they had decided upon their line of action, Madame de Condé was conducted to

the presence of the king, the queen, and Mazarin; and as soon as she had passed the threshold, holding her little son by the hand, she fell upon her knees, beseeching the liberty of the father of her child; appealing to the mother rather than to the queen, to the brother rather than to the sovereign; and expatiating upon the misery of a bereavement too terrible for her to sustain. Drowned in tears, and eloquent in all the dignity of a holy and womanly sorrow, she admitted the error into which she had been deluded by despair; but her humility and her submission were alike fruitless. The queen approached and raised her from the ground with a courteous and inflexible gentleness, which betrayed the firmness alike of her nerves and of her resolution; but, even while in the act of doing so, resolutely refused to grant her prayer, although she displayed great urbanity and forbearance toward herself.

The account given by Mademoiselle of this interview is, however, too characteristic of the trifling and egotistical character of the court to be omitted. "The princess entered," she says; "she had been bled the night before, which compelled her to wear a scarf, and this was put on in so ridiculous a manner, as well as all the rest of her dress, that the queen and myself had great difficulty in restraining our laughter. The Duke d'Enghien, the prettiest child in the world, was with her, as well as the dukes of Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld." *

Nor was the cardinal less demonstrative in his politeness; but hastened to invite the dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucauld to sup with him, and conveyed them to his residence in his own coach. Louis XIV., boy as he was, had looked on during the affecting scene which he had just witnessed, almost unmoved, for he already felt extraordinary resentment at the mock which had been made of the royal authority; and it is even asserted by the Count de Brienne, that he declared with tears in his eyes, during the siege of the

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

city, that he should not always be a child; and that he would one day chastise the rascally Bordeaulese as they deserved.

Two days after the departure of Madame de Condé, the court entered Bordeaux; but the queen was not fated, anxious as she had been to replace the princess in her temporary reign, to find the hearts of her citizens so accessible as their gates. During the ten days which she passed in the city, scarcely an individual attended her receptions; and when she traversed the streets no notice was taken of her presence; while the parliament, after having sent a deputation to the Duke d'Orleans, to testify their gratitude to him for having negotiated the peace, paid a similar mark of respect to MADEMOISELLE, which greatly annoyed the cardinal, who dispatched one of his friends to entreat her to induce them to pay him the same compliment; but it is probable that she did not testify much zeal on the occasion, as her request met with no success. During these movements in the rebel city, M. de Turenne had not been idle elsewhere. He had advanced to Dammartin (within eight leagues of Paris), while the archduke had arrived at Fîmes; intelligence which so alarmed the court that the princes were immediately removed from Vincennes to Marcoussy, an old fortress belonging to M. d'Entragues. The next difficulty was to raise money; and in order to effect this, it was, after long parliamentary debates, decided that all who held public property, of whatever description, should pay one year's income to the state, by which means a tolerable supply was immediately procured, as well as a great prospective resource. Among others, the Duke d'Orleans contributed sixty thousand livres to the public assessment.

Nevertheless, although they had consented to this impost, the parliament of Paris were by no means blind to the fact that it had been entailed upon them by the wrong-headedness of Mazarin, who had dragged the sovereign and the

court, as well as the troops, to the distance of a hundred and fifty leagues from the capital, merely to make war upon a provincial city; while, on their side, the parliament of Bordeaux had presented a petition for the liberation of the princes; and despite the earnest opposition of the Duke d'Orleans, who was terrified at the bare idea of seeing M. de Condé again free, the petition was received and deliberated upon.

A second edition of the Fronde was rapidly preparing, composed of the ancient malcontents, who had gained nothing, or, not sufficient to satisfy them, by their late submission, and Mazarinites, who had not, in their own estimation, been satisfactorily remunerated for their adhesion to his cause; and thus it will at once be seen that both parties were likely to make virulent and pertinacious adversaries. As a natural consequence, the coadjutor was the main-spring of this new movement, for he was not a man likely to forget the affronts offered to him on different occasions by the cardinal; while M. de Beaufort, intoxicated by his popularity, although reëstablished in court favor, preferred his mob-royalty to the glitter of a more legitimate circle, where he found himself only a subordinate.

If, indeed, the duke had entertained any suspicion of the decline of his popularity, it was soon removed, when, on a night-encounter with thieves in the streets of the city, his carriage was stopped, and one of the gentlemen of his suite killed by a pistol-shot; for although such adventures were common enough to pass almost without remark at that period, the people refused to believe that the circumstance was, in this case, accidental; and openly accused the cardinal of having instigated the assassination of their idol.

Three days afterward every street and corner was placarded with effigies of Mazarin suspended from a gibbet; and the walls were still covered with these manifestations of the popular feeling, when, on the 15th of November,

1650, the court again returned to Paris. On her arrival at Poitiers, while on her way to the capital, the queen was seized with fever, and was reluctantly compelled to lose blood; but the disease continuing, she was obliged to remain for eight days at Amboise, where the disease increased to an extent that excited considerable apprehensions for her life. This delay greatly annoyed the cardinal, who had serious reasons for wishing to find himself again in Paris, as he was anxious to persuade the Duke d'Orleans to consent to the removal of M. de Condé to Havre, a measure which he had hitherto refused to sanction; and to satisfy himself by personal observation, if it were true, as he had been informed, that His Royal Highness was deeply implicated with the new faction.

The partial reconciliation which had taken place at Bordeaux between the queen and Madame de Condé, as well as between the cardinal and the two rebel dukes, had in some degree alarmed the Frondeurs; who, by allying themselves with the court had sufficiently strengthened the hands of the regent to enable her to accomplish the arrest of the princes; and they accordingly awaited the advent of the minister with a petition, by the nature of whose reception they should be at once enabled to judge of his intentions and to regulate their own. This petition, which contained a demand for a seat in the conclave for the coadjutor, was presented to the queen by the Duchess de Chevreuse, but was instantly and haughtily rejected; and even on the expostulation of the Duke d'Orleans, who strongly advocated her compliance, she refused to concede more than that she would submit the demand to her council, and be guided by their decision; a reply which was merely a civil way of ridding herself of all further importunity, as she was aware that it was composed of three of the most implacable enemies of M. de Retz—the Count de Servien, Le Tellier, and the Marquis de Chateauneuf, the new chancellor.

This last offense sufficed to exasperate the coadjutor,

who thenceforward resolved to keep no further measures with Mazarin. His was no inactive hate, and in this case the weapon lay ready to his hand. He joined the faction of the princes, at the head of which were three women: for the singularity of this national struggle was to endure to the last.

These women were Madame de Rhodes, the Princess Anne de Gonzague, and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse.

As these ladies were destined to occupy so conspicuous a position as that of the leaders of a great national faction, we shall, without apology, delay for a brief space the current of the narrative, in order to introduce them to our readers.

Madame de Rhodes was the widow of a simple esquire, a natural son of the famous Louis, Cardinal de Lorraine, whose bigoted intolerance made him the terror of the Calvinists of his day; and who was himself the son of Claude de Lorraine, the first duke de Guise, and was born in 1525. As a specimen of the ecclesiastical pluralist he was probably never surpassed in any church or in any century. He was Archbishop of both Rheims and Narbonne; Bishop of Metz, Tour, Verdun, Thérouane, Luçon, and Valance; Abbé of Marmoutiers, Cluny, St. Denis, Fécamp, &c. He was admitted to a seat in the conclave in 1547, and in 1561 distinguished himself at the conference of Poissy, where his arguments are stated by his party to have triumphed over those of Théodore de Bèze.* He was also conspicuous at the Council of Trent. In 1573 he founded the University of Pont-à-Mousson; and in the following year he died.

* Théodore de Bèze was a celebrated minister of the Reformed religion, who was born at Vézelay, in Nivernois, in 1519, and died at Geneva in 1605. He took an active part in all the events of the civil and religious wars in France, and particularly at the colloquy of Poissy. He was, after Calvin, the head of the Genevese Church. He left a great number of works; elegies, epitaphs, and poems; some of them of a licentious character.

The Princess Anne de Gonzague, or, as she was commonly called, the Princess-Palatine, who now appeared politically for the first time, was a genuine heroine of romance. She was the second of the three daughters of Charles de Gonzague, Duke of Nevers and Mantua, of whom the elder (as we have already stated) married Uladislas VII., king of Poland; while the younger became Superior of the Abbey of Avenay, in Champagne, where the Duke Henry de Guise, archbishop of Rhiems, fell in love with her, but subsequently abandoned her after an accidental meeting with her sister Anne. Withdrawn from France by his father, Charles de Lorraine, the hare-brained young prelate, passed several years in Italy, and accomplished, as has been already shown, the conquest of Naples; but soon wearied by the monotony of his exile, he proceeded to Germany, where he joined the army of the emperor, and conducted himself with such marked and chivalrous courage, that the Knights of Malta, who had formed a project for conquering the island of St. Domingo, chose him as their leader. Exile as he was, however, the young prince declined to embark in such an expedition without the consent of the Cardinal Richelieu, which was refused; when, as both his elder brothers had died, he next solicited permission to return to court, in which application he was more successful; and being now the last representative of his family, he reappeared in France with a firm determination to conduct himself in a way which would compel the cardinal to deprive him of his archbishopric. Such a project offered little difficulty, for the reputation for gallantry which he had acquired before his departure was by no means consistent with his profession; while circumstances also appeared to second his design; for, although the poor young Abbess of Avenay had already been dead two years, he found on his return the Princess Anne, if possible, more beautiful than he had left her, and quite inclined to return his affection; upon which M. de Guise, archbishop as he

was, paid his addresses to her without scruple, and at length succeeded in convincing her, or, at least, in inducing her to appear convinced, that by virtue of some peculiar dispensation, he could legally become her husband; and this point gained, one of the canons of Rheims united them in the private chapel of the Hôtel de Nevers.

The conspiracy of the Count de Soissons,* which happened soon afterward, proved too great a temptation for the turbulent spirit of the married churchman to resist, and he was accordingly present at the battle of Marfée; but he subsequently withdrew to Sedan, and thence passed into Flanders, where he again entered into the service of the emperor. The Princess Anne on his departure also resolved to absent herself; and, adopting male costume, she proceeded to Besançon, in order to follow him into Flanders; where, as well as elsewhere, she caused herself to be called Madame de Guise, writing and speaking of her "husband," and defying the assurances which were constantly advanced of the illegality of her marriage. She did not, however, long pursue her journey; for while she was residing at Besançon, and the prince at Brussels, she learned that he had fallen in love with the Countess de Bossut,† whom he had, moreover, married; upon which the princess returned at once to Paris, and resumed her name of Anne de Gonzague, as though nothing had occurred; while her faithless lover, declared criminal of lèse-majesté, quietly awaited the death of Louis XIII. and his minister, to resume his court career.

* Louis de Bourbon, Count de Soissons, when compelled to fly from France for an abortive attempt to destroy Richelieu, took refuge in Sedan, where he entered into a treaty with the house of Austria against the French king, and defeated the Marshal de Châtillon at the battle of Marfée; but his victory availed him nothing; for, near the close of the fight, he was found dead upon the field, under a serious suspicion of having met his death by unfair means.

† Honoria de Glimes, daughter of Geoffry, Count de Grimberg, and widow of Albert Maximilian de Henrien, Count de Bossut.

Recalled by the queen, he required no second summons, but immediately quitted Brussels, leaving a letter for the countess, in which he stated that he had been anxious to spare her the pain of a last interview, but that when he had formed an establishment worthy of her in Paris, he would at once write to her to join him. He did in fact write again; but instead of appointing a period for their meeting, he informed her in the most courteous terms, that he had really believed himself to be her legal husband at the period of their marriage, but that since his return to France, so many of the most learned and competent authorities had assured him that she was not his wife, that he had at length been compelled to admit the fact. A few years subsequently, the Princess Anne, in her turn, contracted a second, and an equally secret marriage, with the Prince Léonor, one of the younger brothers of the Elector Palatine, by which she excited the displeasure of the court. She was, however, pardoned through the intervention of the Queen of England, and again returned to the capital; where, as her husband was extremely ugly, and violently jealous, she was obliged to represent to him that it was essential to his interest for her to appear in the gay world, before she could induce him to permit her to return to the life of pleasure and dissipation which was essential her happiness. As he was wretchedly poor, he yielded o this crowning argument; and during the Fronde, she attached herself warmly to Madame de Longueville and the Prince de Conti.

The identity of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse has been shown elsewhere; and the fact, that, after having assisted her mother in the arrest of the princes, she had now joined their faction, arose from circumstances which will be presently explained.

The other leading members of the cabal were the Duke de Nemours, the president Viole, and Isaac d'Arnaud, the colonel of the carabineers; while *Monsieur*, with his usual

cautious cowardice, had quietly insinuated himself into the interests of the party, in order to provide for himself a means of escape from the vengeance of the prince when he should recover his liberty; and the coadjutor was placed in correspondence with the Princess-Palatine by Madame de Rhodes, and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. Their plans were arranged in one meeting: Mazarin was to be overthrown, the princes released from prison, the coadjutor created cardinal, and the hand of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse given to the Prince de Conti. A treaty was signed to this effect; but it of course remained nugatory, until ratified by the additional signature of the Duke d'Orleans.*

The court did not find *Monsieur* at Orleans to meet them as they had anticipated, nor even M. le Tellier, whom, however, they afterward encountered on the road; but he brought them little consolation, for he could not even assure them that His Royal Highness would come as far as Fontainebleau, or that his views coincided with their own; and they had already been domesticated in that palace for four days before the arrival of M. de Chateauneuf, who brought an assurance that *Monsieur* would follow him, and who, as he was in the interests of the coadjutor (now rapidly becoming a favorite with the unstable prince), prided himself upon a knowledge of the movements of Gaston. Satisfied that he was in fact coming, although somewhat tardily, the cardinal went to meet him; and feeling how greatly the adhesion of the prince must affect the welfare of his party, Mazarin overwhelmed him with respect and attention; but *Monsieur* no sooner found himself in the presence of the queen, than he vehemently expressed his displeasure at the removal of M. de Condé from Vincennes; which had taken place without his sanction, and in express contradiction to the plighted word of the regent, who had, in his presence, commanded M. de Bar, to whose custody the princes had been committed, not either to liberate, or

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

to remove them without the joint authority of herself and His Royal Highness. Moreover the duke, whose distrustful nature often rendered him clear-sighted, readily understood that their projected transfer to Havre, which had just been mooted, was merely with a view of placing them where they would be in the absolute and undivided power of the cardinal, who could accordingly make them serviceable in a moment of necessity; a precaution which was, at least, a wise one; as in the very probable contingency of a new want of popularity, he would thus be enabled to secure the services of the prince by restoring him to liberty; and his previous career had rendered him too formidable an enemy for the city to contend against. MADEMOISELLE relates that, when she went to visit him in his private apartments at Fontainebleau, she found him in a state of great excitement and anger; so much so that he emptied his heart to her without reserve, and told her that whatever means were adopted to obtain his consent to such an arrangement, he would never give it; and that the suspicions which were entertained of the cardinal's motives for the proposition were calculated to augment the disaffection already existing; that the parliament would become more determined Frondeurs than ever; and that he was resolved henceforward never to interfere in any public measures. He also refused to visit the queen throughout the day; but, ultimately, after several messengers had been dispatched to urge his presence, he consented to wait upon her in the evening.

This interview, however, far from producing the effect which, from his known vacillation of character, had been anticipated by the regent, only tended to increase the bitterness on both sides; and they separated mutually dissatisfied.

The cardinal sent at daybreak to MADEMOISELLE to entreat her to see *Monsieur*, and to endeavor to detain him at court; but she failed in her mission, as, for once, he re-

mained firm to his purpose. At his parting interview with the queen, she informed him that she had dispatched Count d'Harcourt to escort the princes from Marcoussy to Havre; adding, that although he would not give his consent to the measure, the interest of the king exacted it, and it should be carried out. In reply, *Monsieur* coldly remarked, that the king had a right to act as he saw fit, but that such was not his own opinion; and in this spirit he departed for Paris, thoroughly out of temper with the court, which followed the next day.

Angry and irritated as he was, however, the duke by no means wished seriously to commit himself with the opposite faction; and, accordingly, when the treaty, to which we have alluded above, was placed in his hands, he endeavored to elude the necessity of rendering it valid by his own signature. But he had to deal with women who were well acquainted with the most salient points of his character; and who were well aware that, so long as he remained uncommitted, they and their friends were in peril from his vacillation and perpetual perfidy; and, at length, after watching, pursuing, and tracking him, they surprised him at a moment when he could not escape, and put a pen into his hand; when, finally, "Gaston signed," said Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, "as if he were ratifying the compact of a witch's sabbath, and was afraid of being detected by his good angel."

Charles II., who had just been compelled to retire from Holland, arrived about this time (13th Sept., 1650) at Paris, attended by one solitary nobleman, who acted at once as his chamberlain, valet-de-chambre, equerry of the kitchen, and cup-bearer; nor had he changed his linen since he commenced his journey. Lord Germain lent him a shirt on his arrival; but the queen, his mother, did not possess money enough to supply him with a second for the next day. *Monsieur* having paid him a visit, the coadjutor endeavored to induce him to supply the unhappy fugitive with

funds; but he was unable to wring a sous from him for such a purpose. A little, he said, would not suffice, as such an offering would be unworthy both of himself and the English monarch; while, if he gave a large sum it would compromise him for the future;* and thus disappointed and unaided, Charles, after spending a short time in France, where he received no assistance, and very little civility, again retired to Jersey, where his authority was still acknowledged.†

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz. † Ryder's *England.*

CHAPTER XV.

The Battle of Rethel—Death of the Dowager-Princess de Condé—Remonstrance of the Parliament on the Imprisonment of the Princes—Quarrel of the Duke d'Orleans and the Cardinal—Misgivings of Mademoiselle—Reconciliation between Mademoiselle and Condé—Mazarin offers the hand of Louis XIV. to Mademoiselle—The Cardinal foiled—The interpolated Factum—Energy of Gaston d'Orleans—Alarm of the Court—Evasion of the Cardinal—Riot in the Capital—Mademoiselle de Chevreuse and the Duchesse d'Orleans—Pusillanimity of Monsieur—Seizure of the City Gates by the Frondeurs—The Populace in the Palais-Royal—M. Desbuches in the royal Chamber—Mazarin at Havre—Emancipation of the Princes; their Arrival in Paris.

Mazarin, whom the war in Guienne had infected with a thirst for triumph, shortly afterward left Paris for Champagne, and was present at the retaking of Rethel, of which Marshal Turenne had rendered himself master; but, subsequently, M. du Plessis-Praslin,* who was in command of the troops, fought the battle of Somme-Puy, where he made a great number of prisoners; while Turenne himself escaped with considerable difficulty. Mazarin insisted that this encounter should be designated as the *Battle of Rethel;* because, as he was himself in the town, it might be believed that the victory had been obtained through his agency, although Rethel was, in fact, at the distance of two leagues from the field.

The warlike cardinal had, however, scarcely passed the gates of Paris, when fresh hostilities commenced against

* Cæsar de Choiseuil, du Plessis-Praslin, Duke and Peer of France, was created marshal in 1645, and gained, in 1648, the battle of Francheron; and in 1650, that of Rethel against Marshal Turenne, who at that period commanded the Spanish army. He died at Paris in 1673.

him; and a petition was presented to the parliament by the princess, praying that the princes might be set at liberty, or, at least, put upon their trial, and transferred for that purpose from Havre to the Louvre, where they might be guarded by an officer of the king's household. This was the precise moment in which the Duke d'Orleans could, with the greatest dignity, have declared himself, but his heart failed him; and he caused it to be reported that he was indisposed.

At the same period, news arrived of the death of the Princess-Dowager at Châtillon, after a long period of suffering. The report was general that she had died heart broken, and pining once more to embrace her children; but MADEMOISELLE, with the flippancy for which she was proverbial on all serious subjects, asserts, that "she died in the most beautiful and Christian sentiments imaginable; she had lived during her last years with great devotion, which even caused her to abandon the interest of her son, either because she was quite resigned, or that she cared less for him. The prince," she adds, "knew the real cause; and, as for me, I shall give no opinion." And this was all the regret expressed at court for the old, and tried, and affectionate friend of the regent, whom she had sent to her grave, solitary, childless, and heart-broken!

The deliberations on the petition of the younger princess had just commenced, notwithstanding the absence of *Monsieur* from the meeting; and the deputies were busy in attributing to the foreign minister all the troubles, both public and private by which the country was harassed, when a courier arrived in Paris, bringing tidings of the victory of Rethel, and the defeat of Turenne. *Monsieur*, so soon as they reached him, roused himself sufficiently from his sudden attack of illness to pay a visit of congratulation to the queen, whom he found rejoicing in the belief that the friends of M. de Condé would be terror-stricken on learning that his forces had been defeated; but she had miscalculated the

effect which the event really tended to produce, and this was a dread lest Mazarin should avail himself of the circumstance; an apprehension which strengthened them in their resolution to support the prince, in order to be relieved, through his agency, of their most obnoxious enemy.

On the 30th of December, a decree was passed that very humble remonstrances should be made to the king and the regent, on the subject of the imprisoned princes, and that their liberty should be demanded; but the cardinal, who had been warned by the queen that a new cabal was forming against him in his absence, returned with all speed to Paris, which he entered on the following day, full of triumph and exultation, and in the highest spirits. Anne of Austria was still suffering from the same illness which had attacked her at Poitiers, and could not leave her bed. Nevertheless, there was great gayety at court; and MADEMOISELLE expatiates with considerable complaisance upon the balls and galas, as well as on the renewed intention of *Monsieur* to accomplish her marriage at the first convenient opportunity. Meanwhile the parliament continued to urge the emancipation of the princes with such untiring energy, that the court was at length compelled to reply; and *Monsieur*, whose views had once more changed upon the subject, expostulated so pressingly with the queen upon the danger and impolicy of continuing their captivity, that the alarmed and exasperated cardinal made a speech in reply, which so enraged the duke, that he declared to the regent he would never again set foot in her council-chamber while that person was admitted there. The feud was now an overt one; the swords had been drawn, and nothing remained but to fling away the scabbards.

The following morning, Goulas, the secretary of *Monsieur*, who was about to accompany M. de Lionne to Havre, to treat with the prince on the subject of his liberation, waited upon MADEMOISELLE, and complained bitterly of he bad policy of his master in quarreling with the cardi-

nal at such a moment; a proceeding by which he had complicated the difficulties of the question, and compelled the ministers to liberate M. de Condé, who would feel no obligation to the court for a concession to which he must be aware that they had been forced. MADEMOISELLE hurried to her father to represent this fact; but the only reply which she could extort from him was to the effect that he would never again sit in council with Mazarin, be the consequences what they might. MADEMOISELLE confesses that she was by no means sorry he had come to such a resolution, although she was inimical to the prince personally; for she loved *Monsieur* so much that she was glad to see him undertake two such important matters as the release of M. de Condé, and the overthrow of a minister from whom he had received an affront. "But," she, says, as if still doubting whether this sudden belligerent impulse would stand the test of time and difficulty, "the fear that I felt lest he should grow tired of the trouble which such an affair must necessarily engender, and that he would not carry it through, gave me the greatest uneasiness."*

Resolved, however, to throw no extra impediment in his way, she made a resolution to overcome her puerile and causeless animosity toward the prince; and, in consequence, exerted all her courtesy in order to render herself agreeable to his friends, who, at this conjuncture, crowded to pay their respects to His Royal Highness; in this spirit, she also sought an interview with Guitaut, who was, as she knew, devoted to the interests of M. de Condé, and much in his confidence, and who had been of great service to him during his imprisonment; and to him she expressed her firm resolution to live upon more friendly terms in future, not only with the prince himself, but also with all his family, than she had hitherto done, regretting that she had not before decided on the same line of conduct. This

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

assurance was joyfully received; and Guitaut, in his turn, impressed upon her the respect and friendship with which the whole house of Condé had invariably regarded her person, and the grief which they had felt at her previous coldness and disinclination toward themselves.

The cardinal had not been many hours in Paris before he was quite conscious of the ground that he had lost during his absence, and of the defections which had taken place in his party, among which that of *Monsieur* was the most important; and he resolved in consequence to direct his first efforts toward a reconciliation with that prince; but *Monsieur* was always firm when his firmness involved neither danger nor exertion, and he was, therefore, thoroughly inaccessible to all his overtures. Either His Royal Highness was sick, or he was sulky, or he was dissatisfied; and these were not the moods in which he could be driven from his purpose. Mazarin, consequently, felt that he must strike a grand blow in order to overcome this unwonted persistence; and in the extremity of the moment he could think of nothing more likely to conduce to his object than that of reviving the everlasting subject of the marriage of MADEMOISELLE, in a manner which he believed could not fail to produce an immediate reconciliation.

With this view, therefore, Mademoiselle de Neuillant,* one of the maids of honor to the queen, was ordered to wait upon MADEMOISELLE, and to offer to her, on the part of His Eminence, the hand of the young king, on condition that she should prevent *Monsieur* from joining the faction of the princes. Whether MADEMOISELLE was really too keen-sighted to be duped, and suspected the sincerity of the proposal; or whether, as is extremely possible, she considered that the great difference of age between herself and Louis XIV. rendered such an alliance almost impossible, it is certain that the ambassadress could not induce her to

* Afterward Duchess de Navailles.

be serious upon the subject; but, after having exhausted all her eloquence, was answered only by a light laugh, and the remark that His Royal Highness and herself had pledged their word to M. de Condé, and were resolved to keep it. This "incredible levity," as Madame de Motteville designates it, produced from Mademoiselle de Neuillant the spirited retort of—"For heaven's sake, MADEMOISELLE, first make yourself a queen, and then you can release the princes."

But she urged in vain: MADEMOISELLE would vouchsafe no other reply; and thus once more, despite all her innate ambition, the princess suffered a crown to escape her.

The cardinal was foiled; and his uneasiness increased tenfold as he reflected that *Monsieur* must indeed be deeply compromised to resist such a proposition. For the first time in his life, Gaston d'Orleans remained faithful to the party he had adopted; and M. de Retz had all the credit of his inflexibility. Meanwhile the illustrious prisoners were made promptly acquainted with every event which occured in Paris, and themselves directed the measures which were progressing to effect their release. Their correspondence with their friends was carried on by means of double louis-d'ors hollowed out, in which the letters were concealed; but every requisition of the parliament for their release was met by subterfuge and evasion; until the regent finally referred the deputies to the keeper of the seals, who, chancing to have a severe cold which greatly impeded his articulation, handed his *factum* to the president to read, without remarking that it had been interpolated by the queen herself; and that, among other accusations against sundry individuals, there occurred a violent vituperation of the coadjutor, in which she had inserted the words, "he lied."

The reading of such a document in a public meeting naturally produced a formidable effect; it was oil flung

upon flame, and the struggle thenceforward became one of life and death between the cardinal and M. de Retz; who, at length goaded beyond his patience, sprang into the tribune, and made a violent speech against Mazarin; which he concluded by exhorting the parliament to offer their humble entreaties to the king, immediately to forward an order for the release of the princes, as well as a declaration of their innocence; and, moreover, to banish alike from his presence and his councils the Cardinal Mazarin. He also urged the propriety of holding a new meeting on the following Monday, to receive whatever reply it might please His Majesty to make to the deputies; a proposal which was welcomed with acclamation, and met with a unanimous assent.

In this emergency, the queen sent the Count de Brienne to *Monsieur*, to invite him to an interview; but the coadjutor, who for the moment had entirely subjugated the will of the unstable prince, caused him to reply that he would perform his habitual duty to the regent when the princes were liberated and the cardinal banished from her presence. Nor did he stop there; for he summoned the Marshal de Villeroy and the Secretary of State, declaring to the former that he should hold him responsible for the safe keeping of the king, and commanding him, by his authority as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to obey no orders but his own; while he imposed at the same time upon Le Tellier a stringent injunction not to forward any dispatch, of whatever description, until he had himself taken cognizance of its contents, and directed the civic officers to hold their arms in readiness for the king's service; absolutely forbidding them to obey any orders save those which they would receive from himself.

The queen had been totally unprepared for demonstrations such as these; and the whole palace was in consternation. Many of the courtiers advised Mazarin to retire to a fortress; while four of the marshals, who were in

debted to him for their dignity, and who would not desert him, proposed to march a strong body of troops into the city, to garrison the whole neighborhood of the Palais-Royal, and to hold out against the Duke d'Orleans; but all these violent measures were rejected both by the queen and the cardinal, as involving a risk far greater than the probability of success.

In the midst of this uncertainty the Duchess de Chevreuse arrived at the Palais-Royal. As the extent of her intrigue with the coadjutor was unknown; and as in their embarrassment the regent and her minister were asking advice of all around them, she was appealed to in her turn; and without an instant's hesitation she counseled the cardinal to absent himself from Paris until the danger with which he was then threatened should have passed by: adding that, during his temporary absence, she would exert all her influence with *Monsieur* to effect a reconciliation between them; and that she did not despair, when the release of the princes had once taken place, of rendering the duke much more favorably disposed toward His Eminence. This advice, perfidious as it was, appeared to be so much the most reasonable which they had yet received, that both the queen and Mazarin resolved to adopt it; and the latter, whose terror had rendered him almost imbecile at this conjuncture, and who had lost all power of self-reliance, was so delighted with the idea of escaping from the neighborhood of his enemies, that he declared his intention of starting that very night for Havre to effect the liberation of the princes; for which purpose he received a private order from the queen to M. de Bar, commanding that functionary punctually to credit and to obey all that the cardinal should declare to him touching her intention of releasing the prisoners; and enjoining him to attend to no other and subsequent order which he might receive, whether from the king her son, or from herself.

Furnished with this authority, the cardinal contrived to

recover at least external composure; and when he waited upon the queen in the evening, as was his custom, he conversed with her for a considerable time without betraying any extraordinary uneasiness; while the self-possession of the regent was less remarkable, as she, on every occasion, manifested considerable presence of mind. Nevertheless, the calm within the palace must have been more than once disturbed by the riot without, for the populace were swarming in the streets, and cries of no favorable omen reëchoed on all sides. Warned by these hostile demonstrations, and anxious to escape their threatened results, at ten o'clock the cardinal took leave of the queen and her circle; but still without any more apparent demonstration than he would have exhibited had he anticipated that he should rejoin them the next day; and this done, hastened to his apartments, where he exchanged his ecclesiastical costume for a scarlet vest and gray trunk hose, and taking in his hand a hat and plume, left the Palais-Royal on foot, followed only by two of his suite. At the Richelieu gate, another gentleman of his household was awaiting him with horses; and two hours afterward he was at St. Germain, where he halted for the night.*

The regent played her part admirably. Surprised and alarmed as she was, she never suffered these feelings to appear, but remained in conversation with those about her until the usual hour of their dismissal; while MADEMOISELLE, who was aware of the flight of the cardinal, but who had risen early on that day in order to have an interview with *Monsieur* before the meeting of parliament, at once proceeded to the Tuileries; and was about to retire to rest, when she was informed that there was a great disturbance in the city, and hurrying to one of the terraces which commanded a view in several directions, she saw (for the night was clear and the moon bright), that a gate by the water's side at the end of the street was crowded with horsemen,

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

posted there to protect the departure of the cardinal, who had decided to leave the city by the barrier of the Conference, and that these mounted guards had been attacked by the boatmen, her own band, and several of her valets. As the firing increased, she sent to withdraw her people; but as all her household believed that she had retired for the night, she had no means of enforcing obedience; and in the *mêlée* they made a prisoner of M. de Roncerolles, the governor of Bellegarde, a circumstance which much embarrassed the princess, who caused him to be supplied with a strong escort that he might leave the city without further molestation. Before his departure, he confided to her that the cardinal had originally arranged to escape from Paris by that route, but that he had induced him to adopt another direction. M. de Roncerolles was not, however, her only capture; "for the "irregular troops" had also possessed themselves of the person of M. d'Estrades, the governor of Dunkirk, who was the confidential friend of Mazarin, and whom MADEMOISELLE, on that account, resolved to detain a prisoner until she should learn the wishes of the Duke d'Orleans as to his disposal. She consequently consigned him to the large pavilion of the Tuileries, in order that should he be demanded of her in the king's name, she might be enabled to declare that he was no longer in her apartments. All her diplomacy, however, proved supererogatory, for *Monsieur*, who never desired to take the initiative in any hazardous affair, desired her forthwith to set him at liberty; which she did with considerable reluctance, being conscious that had he been detained, her father would have secured Dunkirk, as M. de St. Quentin, the king's lieutenant, had formerly been attached to his household, and would have embraced his interests.

The coadjutor was also apprised during the same night of the disparition of the minister, and hastened to communicate with *Monsieur*, whom he found surrounded by a crowd of courtiers. As M. de Retz did not appear so triumphant

as those about him, the duke observed, with a smile, that he would pledge himself the coadjutor was prepared to hear in the next place of the departure of the king. The truth of his suspicion was admitted; when he rallied the prelate upon his folly, and assured him that had the cardinal contemplated such a measure, he would have carried the sovereign away from Paris under his own charge. Above all things *Monsieur* protested against any warlike demonstration, and forbade every manifestation of suspicion or mistrust; he cared not though the evil should come, but he would not permit it to be said that it had originated with him; and thus, although above all things he trembled at the event of a civil war, which must become inevitable should the king be removed from the capital, he resolutely refused to authorize the measures by which such an attempt would have been rendered impracticable.

On the evening of the second day after the cardinal's flight, as the coadjutor, satisfied that the supineness of the duke would involve some new difficulty, had retired to bed, wearied and irritated, and was already half asleep, his curtain was suddenly drawn back by a gentleman of *Monsieur's* household, who announced that His Royal Highness desired to see him immediately. M. de Retz, anxious to ascertain the cause of this hasty summons, questioned the messenger as he prepared to rise; but he could learn nothing more than that Mademoiselle de Chevreuse had been to the palace, and had already awoke *Monsieur*. While he was dressing, a page brought him a note in the handwriting of that lady, containing only the words, "Come quickly to the Luxembourg, and take care of yourself by the way." His increased curiosity urged him to exert the utmost haste in order to reach the palace; and when he arrived there, he found her seated upon a chest in the antechamber; and she hurriedly informed him that her mother, who was indisposed, had sent her to the duke to confide to him the fact that the king was on the point of leaving Paris; for that although

he had gone to bed at his usual time, he had afterward risen, and had even drawn on his boots. This intelligence had reached Madame de Chevreuse through the Marshal d'Aumont, the captain of the guard, who had, in concert with the Marshal d'Albret, informed her secretly of the circumstance, in order that steps might be taken to prevent a measure which would once more plunge the kingdom into confusion and revolt; while the Marshal de Villeroy had at the same time given a similar intimation to the keeper of the seals. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse added, however, that she apprehended there would be considerable difficulty in inducing *Monsieur* to come to any resolution, as the first words which he had uttered after she awoke him with the news, were—"Send for the coadjutor. As for me, I do not see that any thing can be done in it."

They entered the chamber together, where they found the duke and duchess still in bed; and as they appeared, *Monsieur* exclaimed, "It is just as you said; what shall we do?" The coadjutor replied that there was no alternative but to take possession of the city gates. The duke objected that it could not be done at so late an hour; but both the duchess and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse persisted that nothing could be more wise or more possible; and at length *Monsieur* was so far shaken as to concede that he would send M. de Souches, the captain of the Swiss guard, to the queen, to beseech of Her Majesty to reflect on the consequences of such a proceeding; declaring that, in his opinion, nothing further was necessary, as when she found her resolution was discovered, she would not venture to persist in it.

The coadjutor still lingered, alarmed and almost angered by the weakness of the duke, who had exhausted all his energy in words; and now, when the time for action had arrived, had once more relapsed into weakness, and threatened by his inertness and egotism to sacrifice

the whole of his party; when *Madame* suddenly desired him to bring her a desk which stood upon the table in her cabinet; and taking a large sheet of paper, she wrote hastily,—

"The coadjutor is commanded to take up arms, and to prevent the creatures of the Cardinal Mazarin, now under condemnation of the parliament, from removing the king out of Paris. MARGUERITE DE LORRAINE."

As she was about to deliver this order to M. de Retz, the duke snatched it from her hand; but she contrived to whisper in the ear of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse that she authorized her to desire the coadjutor to act as he thought right, and that she would answer to him for the approbation of the duke the next day, whatever he might then say.

Reconciled by this assurance, M. de Retz at length prepared to leave the room, when the timid Gaston exclaimed hastily, "At least, Mr. Coadjutor, you must conciliate the parliament. I will on no account quarrel with them."*

M. de Retz instantly wrote to the Duke de Beaufort, entreating him to hasten to the Hôtel de Montbazon, while Mademoiselle de Chevreuse went to awaken the Marshal de la Motte; and in a very short space of time the whole city took the alarm. All the gates were seized; and so great was the popular enthusiasm, that the commandant of the Porte St. Honoré being absent from his post, his wife sprung from her bed, and without waiting to do more than fold a dressing-gown about her, made the drum beat to arms, and secured the barrier. The Duke de Beaufort and the Marshal de la Motte took command of the mounted patrols, and all egress from Paris became thenceforward impossible.

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

As the outbreak commenced, all the friends of the princes mounted their horses, and traversed the streets, urging the citizens to arms; and the call was at once answered by an immense mass of the populace, who rushed toward the Palais-Royal.

The queen was no sooner apprised by this tumult that her design had been discovered, than she caused the young king, whose traveling dress was already adjusted, immediately to take off his clothes and to retire to bed; which he had scarcely done ere one of the officers of the guards announced to her that the mob was threatening the palace, in its exasperation on learning that the king was again about to leave the city; and that they insisted upon seeing him in order to convince themselves that he was not actually already gone. While the officer was yet speaking, a messenger arrived from the palace sentinels to request new orders, the mob which had collected about the Palais-Royal having threatened to tear up the palisades; and before the regent had time to answer the appeal, the messenger of the Duke d'Orleans arrived in his turn, and was conducted to her presence; when he informed Her Majesty that he was deputed by *Monsieur* to request that she would terminate the popular commotion which had been excited by a report that she was about to remove the king from the city; a measure which he begged to assure her was impossible, for that the citizens were resolved not to permit it.

The queen replied with great haughtiness that it was the Duke d'Orleans himself who had occasioned the tumult, and that, consequently, it depended upon himself to allay it, should he see fit to do so; that she was well aware he had merely acted upon the advice of the coadjutor; while, as regarded the alarm excited by the supposed departure of the king, nothing could be more unfounded, both His Majesty and the Duke d'Anjou being then asleep in their beds, as she had herself been before the outcry compelled her to rise; and in order to convince him of the futility of

the report, she desired him to follow her to the chamber of the king. As she ceased speaking, she moved forward; and De Souches saw, as she had declared, the young sovereign apparently in a profound sleep.

He was about to retire, when suddenly the outcry of the populace became more violent; and shouts of "The king! the king! we must see the king!" penetrated even to the royal apartment. The regent reflected for an instant; and then, turning toward the envoy of *Monsieur*, she desired him to command in her name that all the doors of the palace should be flung open, and every one admitted to the chamber of the king who desired to enter it; directing, however, at the same time, that the citizens should be informed that His Majesty was sleeping, and requested to make as little noise as possible.

De Souches hastily obeyed; and having transmitted the order of the regent to the guard, afterward repeated her message to the people. All the doors were immediately opened, and the mob rushed into the Palais-Royal. Nevertheless, contrary to all expectation, they had no sooner reached the royal apartments, than the individuals who appeared to act as their leaders, remembering that the queen had assured them the king was sleeping, desired the untimely visitors to proceed in perfect quiet; and as the human tide moved onward, their very breathing was suppressed, and they trod as though they dreaded to awaken every echo with their footsteps. The same mighty mass that had howled, and yelled, and threatened without the gates, like some wild beast about to be bereft of its young, now, as the chamber of the sovereign gradually filled, had become calm, respectful, and cautious, and approached the royal bed with a feeling of affectionate deference, which restrained every intruder from drawing back the curtains.

It was the queen herself who performed this office. She had maintained her post near the pillow of her son; and

pale, but calm and dignified, as though she were merely going through some courtly ceremonial, she extended her hand, and gathering back the velvet folds which had intervened between the people and their sovereign, revealed him to their eager gaze in all the beauty of youth and apparent slumber.

By a simultaneous impulse, the whole assemblage dropped upon their knees, and put up a prayer for the preservation of the noble child, who lay sleeping before them; after which they retired through an opposite door, to give place to those who were waiting to succeed them.

This living stream continued to flow on until three o'clock in the morning; and still the queen never faltered. Like a marble statue she retained her position, firm and motionless, her majestic figure drawn haughtily to its full height, and her magnificent arm resting in broad relief upon the crimson draperies. And still the boy-king, emulating the example of his royal parent, remained immobile, with closed eyes, and steady breathing, as though his rest had remained unbroken by the incursion of his rebellious subjects. It was a singular and marked passage in the life of both mother and son.*

On the afternoon of the same day, the queen caused the household of the king, and the municipal magistrates, to be summoned to her presence, in order to assure them that she had never entertained an idea of removing His Majesty from Paris, and to command that the gates of the city should continue to be guarded as they then were, in order to efface so erroneous an impression from the minds of the people. Whatever credence her hearers were inclined to concede to her assurance, they at least readily obeyed her order. The gates were still strictly watched; and Louis was, in point of fact, a prisoner in his own capital.

According to the statement of MADEMOISELLE, however, the distrust of the popular faction was still so great, that

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

Monsieur, at the close of each day, dispatched one of his gentlemen, named Desbuches, to offer his nightly greeting to the queen; who was, moreover, ordered not to leave the Palais-Royal without seeing the young sovereign, upon the pretext that the duke would not, without this ceremony, be enabled to undeceive the citizens, who still persisted in putting faith in the reports which continued to be spread of his intended evasion. This proceeding was most obnoxious to the regent; but as she had no alternative, she was compelled to permit the nightly intrusion of M. Desbuches into the royal chamber, where he even occasionally repeated his visit a second time, drawing back the curtains of the bed, and arousing Louis from his sleep.

The cardinal traveled slowly toward Havre, each day anticipating that he should be joined by the queen and the princes, as it had been privately arranged before his departure; but, instead of the royal party, he was overtaken by a courier, who announced to him the events which had taken place in the capital, and the utter impossibility of their evasion. He therefore resumed his journey with more expedition, being anxious to secure the liberation of the princes through his own agency, before they were wrested from his authority by the forces of the Fronde. On his arrival at the fortress, he lost no time in personally announcing to them their release; and he did this amid salutations so humble, that M. de Condé declared he was prepared to see him even bend his knee; while, the meeting once over, he made a thousand protestations of his own innocence in the affair of their imprisonment, assuring them that it was effected by *Monsieur* and the Frondeurs; while, as regarded their release, it had only been accorded to his earnest entreaties by Their Majesties, which fact had induced him to be himself its herald.

The prince listened with courteous incredulity, and answered every civility with perfect self-possession; but

still the cardinal was baffled in the fond hope of deluding him either by his words or actions. Of the faith which might be placed in the former, M. de Condé had long been enabled to estimate the extent; while his constant correspondence with his friends in the capital had already made him aware, that far from acting upon his free will, the cardinal had been compelled to the step which he was now taking, by the very individuals whom he was accusing as the instigators of his own measures. After a considerable time had been consumed in this hollow and ineffectual discourse, Mazarin requested, as an honor, the company of M. de Condé, the prince de Conti, and M. de Longueville, at dinner, an invitation which they accepted; and during the repast the prince exerted all the fascination of his intellect, and by his high spirits and good-humor rendered the embarrassment and uneasiness of his host the more conspicuous. The dinner over, the princes took their departure; and having passed the gates of the fortress, and girded on their swords, they raised their hats with dignified courtesy to their discomfited entertainer, struck spurs into their horses, and galloped out of town.

Three days afterward they arrived in Paris; *Monsieur*, the Duke de Beaufort, and the coadjutor went in the same coach as far as St. Denis to meet them, followed by the whole of the court save the ladies and a few of the cardinal's private friends. The entire road from Paris to St. Denis was lined with carriages; the populace testified even more joy at the return of M. de Condé than they had exhibited at his imprisonment; and the king, the regent, and the Duke d'Anjou alone remained in the palace. When the two carriages containing *Monsieur* and his friends, and the prince and his brothers, at length met, M. de Condé alighted, and, with his party, entered that of the Duke d'Orleans; which arrangement had no sooner been made than the pressure of the crowd compelled them to proceed at a foot's pace. Their progress was consequently

slow; and it was already late in the day when the princes reached the Palais-Royal, where they immediately hastened to pay their respects to the king and queen. They were accompaniéd in their visit only by *Monsieur;* for the Duke de Beaufort and the coadjutor were aware that their own appearance at such a moment would only tend to exasperate the annoyance of the regent; a conviction which induced M. de Beaufort at once to return to his post at the Porte St. Honoré; and M. de Retz to attend the evening service at the Oratory.

CHAPTER XVI.

Reception of the Princes by the Court—Intrigue against the Coadjutor—Vanity of Mademoiselle—Projected Marriage of the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Proposition of Condé—Illness of Madame de Condé—Mademoiselle indulges in a new matrimonial Speculation—Retirement of the Coadjutor—An armed Neutrality—Pretensions of the Prince de Condé—The Queen makes Overtures to the Coadjutor—Fresh Intrigues—The Projected Assassination—Noble Resistance of the Coadjutor—Sentence against Mazarin—Private Meetings of the Queen and the Coadjutor—Retreat of the Princes to St. Maur—The royal Envoy—Rage of the Duke d'Orleans—Return of Condé to the Capital—Close of the Regency—Majority of Louis XIV.—The Bed of Justice—Renunciation of the Regency by Anne of Austria—The King and Madame de Frontenac

The poor queen had, meanwhile, passed a wretched day; and as the time of M. de Condé's arrival in the capital approached, she became greatly irritated by the presence of the crowd of courtiers who collected in her apartments to witness his presentation, and complained unceasingly of the extreme heat. She, nevertheless, made a powerful effort to appear cheerful, although not with sufficient success to conceal her real feelings. At length the prince reached the palace, and was no sooner announced than he entered, and was received, according to the statement of M. de la Rochefoucauld, rather like one who was in a position to grant forgiveness than to demand it.

His address to the queen was brief, and haughtily respectful; while those of his brothers were modeled upon his own; and, this ceremony performed, they fell back into the circle, jesting, not only with those about them, but even with the regent herself, like men wholly without care or fear of any sort. The queen supported the trial

bravely; and after a few moments passed in this reckless triumph on the one hand, and concealed torture on the other, the princes took their leave, and proceeded to the Luxembourg to sup with the Duke d'Orleans; where MADEMOISELLE had an explanation with M. de Condé, and they vowed a friendship for the future as sincere as their past aversion.

The day succeeding that on which the cardinal left Paris, the parliament had passed a decree, in which they presented their acknowledgments to the regent for his absence, and requested from her a declaration that she would henceforward exclude from her council all foreigners, or persons who had taken the oath *to any other princes than the king himself;* and she lost no time in publishing this declaration, which deprived the coadjutor forever both of a seat in the council, and of the cardinal's hat, since, should he be admitted into the conclave, he must necessarily take an oath to the Pope.

Just at this period, M. de Saujon, the envoy whom MADEMOISELLE had dispatched to Germany, reappeared in Paris; but she did not make the slightest allusion to his journey or its object. She was already aware that the negotiation had failed, the emperor being about to form an alliance with the Princess of Mantua. "I thought no more about it," she says, with a charming self-complacency quite unapproachable, "save to feel great regret that I had ever taken it so much to heart; and it is, as I have already said, the least beautiful passage of my life; while I may add, without vanity, that GOD, who is just, would not bestow a woman like me upon a man who is not worthy of her.*

The projected marriage of the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse created a great sensation in Paris. Couriers were dispatched to Rome for a dispensation; and the prince lived entirely at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, where he was frequently joined by M. de Condé. At the same time, a second dispensation was requested of

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

the Pope, which would enable the Duke d'Enghien to hold the ecclesiastical livings about to be resigned by his uncle and which were very considerable.

Only a month subsequently, however, the president Viole disengaged M. de Conti from his promise; which, so far from exciting his displeasure, appeared to afford him infinite satisfaction; but the failure of the marriage originated, in fact, with the Duchess de Longueville, who exerted all her influence ever the prince to prevent its completion, from a dread that when once she had become his wife, Mademoiselle de Chevreuse would deliver over M. de Conti without mercy to the coadjutor, her lover.

The seals were at the same time withdrawn from the Marquis de Chateauneuf, and given to M. de Molé, the first president, who was a declared enemy of the coadjutor; but this arrangement was not made without involving considerable disaffection in the opposite party. On arriving at the Palais-Royal, *Monsieur* learned that the Count de Chavigny, who was the intimate friend of M. de Condé, had been recalled by the queen from Touraine; and, as "he hated him mortally," he complained to the regent of her having adopted such a measure without previously consulting him; and the rather as it was reported that she was about to make him a member of the council; to which remonstrance Anne of Austria haughtily replied that he had, on his side taken many and more serious steps without requesting her own sanction; a reply which so irritated *Monsieur*, that he immediately left the palace and the prince followed him.

At the close of the council, the queen sent M. de la Vaillière to demand the seals from M. de Chateauneuf; and at ten o'clock at night she transferred them to M. Molé, and dispatched M. de Sully in search of his father-in-law, in order that he might assume the seat of the chancellor in the council. These proceedings were instantly reported to *Monsieur*, and at the same time, Madame de Chev-

reuse and her daughter impressed strongly upon him the consequences which must result from such a display of independence on the part of Anne of Austria; nor was their eloquence wasted, for as lieutenant-general of the state, he deeply felt the affront which had been offered to him; and in the first paroxysm of his annoyance, assembled the chiefs of the faction, and, having laid the circumstances before them, requested their opinion.

It was proposed by M. de Montrésor, that His Royal Highness should send and demand the restoration of the seals by the president; and this suggestion was seconded by the coadjutor; with the amendment, however, that, instead of making their restoration a popular question, he should claim them through the captain of his guard; adding that, meanwhile, the Duke de Beaufort and himself could remain on the quays at the two extremities of Paris, to keep the people in good humor, whom, fortunately, the name of *Monsieur* would suffice to pacify. At this point he was, however, interrupted by the duke, who remarked that he would speak for himself when he considered it necessary, but that he did not wish to be quoted, and by no means felt prepared to say that the populace could be restrained, or prevented from throwing the president into the river; in which declaration he was joined by M. de Condé, who, moreover, asserted that he did not understand how to conduct a conflict of this nature, and that he always felt like a coward on occasions of popular sedition; but that, if *Monsieur* considered himself to be sufficiently aggrieved to commence a civil war, he was quite ready to mount, and start for Burgundy, and levy troops for his assistance. M. de Beaufort followed in the same spirit; and *Monsieur* became alarmed, lest on seeing that the duke was so thoroughly in the interests of the prince, the people should be divided between the two parties; and, in consequence, the proposition fell to the ground.*

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

MADEMOISELLE adverts slightly to these facts; and the remainder of the paragraph in which she alludes to the matrimonial dissolution, is occupied by the record of an attack of erysipelas, during which the Princess de Condé was confined to her bed; and which, having struck inwardly, placed her life in such danger, that "many persons thought," says MADEMOISELLE, in her usual style, "that if she died I might very well marry the prince. The report reached my own ears, and I began to reflect. In the evening, when I was walking up and down my room with Préfontaine,* I conversed with him upon the subject. I considered that the thing was very feasible, from the excellent terms upon which he lived with *Monsieur;* while the aversion of the queen toward His Royal Highness rendered my marriage with the king impossible. Moreover, I argued that the noble qualities of the prince, and the reputation which he had acquired by his great deeds, supplied all that might have been wanting on his side; as, with regard to birth, we were both of the same blood. I reflected also, that the court would not consent to the union of our two families (or rather, I should say, of our two branches, since we are of the same name), because *Monsieur*, in addition to his own position in the state, if supported and rendered more prominent by the prince, would be extremely formidable. During the three days that Madame de Condé remained in danger, this was my constant theme of conversation with Préfontaine, although I mentioned it to no one else. We agitated every question which could arise upon the subject; and what gave me reason to do this, in addition to the reports which perpetually reached me, was the fact that the prince visited me daily. The recovery of the princess, however, ended the chapter; and from that moment no one thought any more about the matter." †

Meanwhile the coadjutor, who had brooded over the affront offered to him by the Duke de Beaufort, and who

* Her Secretary. † Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

was not a man likely to remain supinely in a false position, while fully conscious of his power, resolved to make a cover of his ecclesiastical duties, and to render the court better aware of his value by withdrawing into retirement. He consequently waited upon *Monsieur*, to whom he said that having had the honor of being of service to him in the two things which he had the most at heart—the banishment of the cardinal, and the release of the princes, his cousins—he now requested the permission of His Royal Highness to return calmly and quietly to the duties of his profession; and the rather, that as the Holy Week was approaching, he was anxious to withdraw himself entirely from worldly affairs, which he could do with the greater tranquillity, as his assistance was no longer necessary to the duke, whom his presence rather tended on the contrary to embarrass; and of whom he therefore entreated the consent that he should retire to his cloister of Nôtre-Dame. Despite his remonstrances with M. de Retz, and the arguments which he used to detain him, the joy of *Monsieur* at this appeal was too great even for his extraordinary powers of dissimulation; his eye sparkled, and his cheek flushed with gratification. The struggle was over, and the coadjutor was an inconvenient ally.

After quitting *Monsieur*, who embraced him at parting, M. de Retz proceeded to take leave of the princes, whom he found at the Hôtel de Condé, in company with the duchess and the Princess-Palatine. M. de Conti only laughed at the extraordinary resolution of the prelate, and called him a reverend hermit; Madame de Longueville made no comment whatever; the Princess-Palatine looked disconcerted and disappointed; but the prince, who foresaw all the consequences of the step meditated by the coadjutor, made no attempt to conceal his surprise. Nevertheless, M. de Retz persisted in his design, and retired to Nôtre-Dame; "where, however," he himself says, "I did not abandon myself so entirely to Providence as to neglect

numan means of defending myself from the insults of my enemies."

It is certain that these were far from contemptible; for M. d'Annery, with the nobles of Vexin, shared his retreat; and MM. de Chateaubriant and De Chateau-Regnaut, the Viscount de Lamet, M. Argenteuil, and the Chevalier d'Humières, also took up their abode in the cloister; while M. de Balau and the Count d'Orafort, with fifty Scottish officers who had served under Montrose, were distributed among the houses of the rue Neuve; and the colonels and captains of the different stations, who were in the interests of the ambitious and restless prelate, had each their signal and their watchword; and thus protected, the coadjutor abandoned himself entirely, at least to all appearance, to the exercise of his religious duties, receiving no one publicly save the canons and curates of the diocese; and only leaving his retreat at night to visit the Hôtel de Chevreuse. All was raillery and witticism upon this subject, both at the Palais-Royal and the Hôtel de Condé; and as M. de Retz had established an aviary in one of his windows, Nogent, the court-jester, remarked that no one need longer be anxious with regard to the coadjutor, as he had now only two occupations on earth—those of securing his salvation, and of whistling to his linnets.

Once rid of the importunate prelate, M. de Condé began resolutely to assert himself, and to urge his claims upon the court. He had been promised the government of Guienne, which had been wrenched from the Duke d'Epernon; and M. de la Rouchefoucauld, the rank of lieutenant-general, as well as the command of the citadel of Blaye. Moreover, he demanded the government of Provence for the Prince de Conti; which, as he already held in the interior Clermont, Stenay, Bellegarde, Dijon, and Montrond, and that M. de Longueville still kept in view his old government of Normandy, would, shou'd his claim be conceded, create for him almost the position of a sovereign prince; and afford

the means of sustaining, should his ambition tempt him to the trial, a struggle in which royalty itself might chance to fail.

Mazarin, meanwhile, who in his exile maintained a constant correspondence with the regent upon state affairs, became terrified at the exactions of the prince, who, in his eagerness to secure himself individually, had not on every occasion been equally zealous in the cause of his friends; and who, when reminded of his omission upon this point, was wont to say that M. de Beaufort had been very fortunate to require only a ladder to escape from his confinement —Mazarin, we say, alarmed at his increasing demands, resolved to check the assumption of M. de Condé by any means, however desperate; and, in pursuance of this determination, he caused the Viscount d'Autel to wait upon the coadjutor, in the middle of the night, accompanied by his brother, the Marshal Duplessis, who, however, remained at the door in his carriage.

As the viscount entered the apartment of M. de Retz, he flung his arms about his neck, saying that he was anxious to be the first to salute the new minister; but such a salutation, however it might astonish the coadjutor, did not on that account startle him out of his self-possession, and he merely smiled as he returned the embrace. M. d'Autel, perceiving his incredulity, only the more earnestly persisted in his assertion; and added, that he had received the commands of the queen to inform him that she placed in his hands not only her own person, but also the life and crown of her son. He then recapitulated to his attentive listener all the decisions of the regent and His Eminence relatively to the claims of M. de Condé; and he was still expatiating upon the self-immolation of the cardinal at so critical a moment for the kingdom, when the marshal entered in his turn; and, drawing a letter from his breast, placed it in the hands of M. de Retz, who instantly recognized the handwriting of Mazarin. It terminated with these words:—

"You know, madam, that the greatest enemy I have in the world is the coadjutor: nevertheless make use of him, madam, rather than enter into any treaty with the prince on the conditions he demands. Make him a cardinal, give him my appointment, and lodge him in my apartments. He will perhaps be more in the interests of *Monsieur* than in those of Your Majesty; but *Monsieur* does not seek the ruin of the state, and his intentions at bottom are not bad. In short, do any thing, madam, rather than grant the demands of the prince. Should he obtain them, there would be nothing left to do save to conduct him to Rheims."

The coadjutor had, however, no desire to become prime minister; his ambition tended rather to a seat in the conclave; and he did not, moreover, altogether trust to the perfect sincerity of the court. He accordingly replied to the marshal, that he was deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon him by such a proof of Her Majesty's confidence, and that in order to prove his gratitude for so signal a mark of favor, he begged of her to permit him to serve her without any view to his own personal interests; adding, that he was altogether incapable of fulfilling the duties of her minister for many reasons; nor would it be consistent with her dignity to elevate to such an office, a man who was, so to say, still "warm and smoking" from the opposite faction—a fact which would of itself render him useless to her service as regarded *Monsieur*, and still more so as regarded the people, while these were the two most important points to secure at such a crisis. As the marshal still persisted, without effecting any change in the determination of the coadjutor, he at length exclaimed that the prelate ought to see the queen. M. de Retz affected not to have heard the remark; upon which M. Duplessis repeated his declaration with still greater earnestness, as he threw a paper upon the table desiring him to read it, and saying he would perhaps place faith in that at least. It was a document signed by the regent, in which she promised all surety to

the coadjutor, if he would present himself at the Palais Royal. M. de Retz raised the paper to his lips; and then approaching the fire, threw it into the flames, as he asked when the marshal would conduct him to the queen's presence.

It was agreed that M. de Retz should meet him the following midnight in the cloisters of St. Honoré, where he was accordingly punctually waiting at the stipulated hour; and they at once proceeded together to the private oratory of the regent by a back stair-case. A quarter of an hour afterward the queen entered; upon which the marshal retired, and M. de Retz remained alone with Her Majesty.

Although Anne of Austria used all her powers of persuasion to induce the coadjutor to assume the office, and to install himself in the apartments of the absent minister, she succeeded no better than her envoy; for M. de Retz easily perceived that, even while she urged him to this step, her heart and mind were still full of the cardinal; and although she declared that, much as she esteemed and loved His Eminence, she would not peril the safety of the state upon his account, he detected symptoms in her manner which convinced him that she was by no means unwilling to do so, despite her assertion to the contrary. In consequence of this conviction he steadily maintained his position; and the queen ultimately became so much exasperated by his refusal, that she told him to act as he saw fitting, for that God and the innocence of her son would protect her, since she was abandoned by the whole world; and for a time she continued to exhibit considerable resentment. Gradually, however, she became more calm, and again consented to hear the propositions of the coadjutor; who promised, should he have her sanction for such a measure, that he would withdraw *Monsieur* from the interest of the prince in the course of the following day, and compel M. de Condé himself to leave Paris within a week.

The queen, overcome with delight, extended her hand to her late antagonist, declaring that if he could effect this measure, he should be a cardinal in eight-and-forty hours, and moreover, one of the dearest of her friends. She then endeavored to induce M. de Retz to become reconciled to Mazarin; but upon this point he once more excused himself, affirming that were he to appear in the character of a partisan of His Eminence he should no longer be able to serve Her Majesty. As he was about to retire from the oratory, she recalled him, and desired him to remember that it was the cardinal who had suggested his nomination to the ministry; to which he replied that he felt all the extent of his obligation, and that he would testify his gratitude by every means consistent with his honor; but that he would not deceive Her Majesty by leading her to believe that he should take any steps tending to the reëstablishment of His Eminence in the ministry.

Anne of Austria remained for an instant buried in thought, and then said, cheerfully, "Well, get you gone; you are a real demon. Good-night. Let me know the day before you attend parliament."

In the course of the following night the coadjutor visited *Monsieur*, who expressed the most lively joy at the recital of his interview with the queen, but blamed him very seriously for his refusal of the office and the lodging of the absent cardinal; remarking that the regent was a creature of habit, into whose good graces he might possibly have insinuated himself. From the Luxembourg M. de Retz proceeded to the residence of the Princess-Palatine, the queen having assured him, during their conversation, that Her Highness was more interested in his favor than he had imagined; and that she was also exasperated against the prince for reasons that she would herself explain.

He was warmly welcomed by the princess, with whom he remained, in fact, until dawn; when, at the close of a

long and confidential conversation, he pledged himself to forward the marriage between the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse; and she, on her side, to second his views of obtaining the cardinalate, for which he was eventually mainly indebted to her exertions.

The interview already narrated between the queen and M. de Retz was followed by several others; and meanwhile the latter resumed his seat in parliament, as well as his negotiations with the papal court; and the sensation which he created on his reappearance at the assembly so delighted the regent that she wrote the same day to the Princess-Palatine to desire that he would again await her messenger in the middle of the following night in the cloisters of St. Honoré. When he arrived at the palace he found her transported with joy upon ascertaining that a party had been ostensibly organized against the prince, an event which she had not conceived to be possible in so short a time, and which M. de Tellier could not, she said, yet bring himself to believe; while Servien maintained that the coadjutor must have had some secret understanding with M. de Condé. Nevertheless, in this conference, which lasted until two hours after midnight, the queen evinced great alarm at the idea of a reconciliation with the prince, under whatever circumstances it might be attempted; and admitted that the shortest method to deliver the court from his pertinacity would be to arrest him; but when M. de Retz proposed that this should be accomplished by *Monsieur* at the Luxembourg, she decidedly negatived the suggestion, declaring that the Duke d'Orleans did not possess sufficient resolution to undertake such a measure, and that it would be too hazardous to communicate it to him; and, finally, she said that the Marshal d'Hocquincourt would confer with him upon the subject; and would prove to him that he knew a safer method of accomplishing the end in view than that which he had himself proposed.

On the morrow he accordingly had an interview with the

marshal, who informed him that he had proposed to the queen to effect the assassination of M. de Condé, by attacking him in the streets; a suggestion which had apparently struck Her Majesty as the most ready and decisive method of ridding herself of a dangerous enemy. To such an expedient the coadjutor, however, instantly refused to lend himself; and it is a remarkable fact, that Anne of Austria, whose diplomacy in this instance was more conspicuous than her right feeling, only upon the following night, when in conversation with M. de Retz and the Duchess de Chevreuse (although upon the previous evening she had referred the marshal to the former, as a man who had put forth a rational proposition), declared that she highly approved the scruples of the prelate, which she felt sure would be excited by an attempt of such a nature; and, moreover, absolutely denied that M. d'Hocquincourt had so explained himself to her. It however transpired, within half an hour afterward, that Madame de Chevreuse had declared to the queen that the coadjutor would never consent to such an expedient: upon which the regent had remarked in her turn to M. de Senneterre, that if that were the case, M. de Retz was not so bold as she had believed him to be.

Whatever were the disclaimers of the queen, her mind was, beyond all doubt, strongly biassed in favor of the assassination; while just at that moment every thing appeared to conspire in bringing all her sterner feelings into play. Backed by the prince, the parliament pursued its measures against the cardinal unrelentingly; and in the course of the criminal proceedings which it had instituted against him, found him guilty, according to the registers of Cantarini, of having embezzled nine millions of the public money.

Deeply mortified by such a decision against her minister, Anne of Austria could only fly for refuge to the more promising prospects held out by the coadjutor; but her patience

was not proof against the difficulties by which she was surrounded; and alarmed by the continued popularity and increasing influence of M. de Condé—who had, despite the resistance of the president, compelled an assembly of the chambers, for the purpose of promulgating a new decree, by which all persons in and about the court were forbidden to maintain any intercourse with the exiled cardinal—she fastened more eagerly than ever upon the prospect of escape held out by the project of M. d'Hocquincourt; but as she could not consistently recur to the subject herself with the coadjutor, it was M. de Lyonne who a second time brought it forward, asserting that, sooner or later, if his life were spared, the prince would remain master of the field. Again and again he reminded the prelate of his promise to rid the court of the obnoxious conqueror; and on each occasion M. de Retz, while he steadily maintained his resolution never to recognize the treacherous act to which he had been urged, still repeated his former offer to arrest the prince at the Orleans palace; or, should the regent retain her objection to that arrangement, to leave him at large; while the coadjutor himself should, so strongly attended as to secure him from personal violence, meet M. de Condé on every public occasion, and oppose all such of his measures as might be contrary to the interests of the queen.

It was precisely at this period that the prince himself arrested, near Chantilly, a valet-de-chambre of the cardinal, who was intrusted with a large packet of letters for the court. These he immediately forwarded to the parliament, while the messenger was imprisoned; but the letters were not read, the assembly having forthwith decided that the respect due to the persons to whom they were addressed must prevent them from investigating their contents. A few days subsequently the messenger was set at liberty; but this new offense still rankled at the heart of the queen; and her indignation was increased by a suspicion that

M. de Lyonne was unfaithful to her cause, and was giving private information to M. de Condé of all the proceedings at court.

At this conjuncture the regent again summoned the coadjutor to a nightly conference; but as it had become necessary to avoid the observation of Lyonne, the meeting between Gabouri (who was intrusted with his introduction) and himself took place in front of the Jacobin convent; whence, instead of proceeding as before to the private oratory of the queen, they passed into a small gallery, where M. de Retz found Her Majesty in a state of extreme excitement against both M. de Lyonne and the prince. She reverted cautiously to the proposition of Marshal d'Hocquincourt, and endeavored to justify it; but the coadjutor replied that, however desirable such a proposal might appear, its execution could never be considered justifiable. Ultimately she became provoked by his pertinacity, and in the excess of her anger threw out doubts of his sincerity; to which M. de Retz listened in respectful silence until the storm had spent itself, when he said, gravely, "Madam, Your Majesty can not wish the blood of the prince; and I take the liberty of asserting that you will one day thank me for having opposed its being shed against your inclination, which it would be, madam, ere two days are over, if the proposal of M. d'Hocquincourt were entertained."

It is probable that more blood than that of M. de Condé would have been spilled, if the second project of the marshal had indeed been carried into execution; for it was no less than to take possession, at daylight, of the Hôtel de Condé, and to seize the prince in his bed; and when it was remembered that his house was filled by his most faithful adherents, who were all distrustful of the court, and whose suspicions were perpetually alimented by the intelligence which they secretly obtained of the nightly audiences given by the regent, while he was himself one of the

bravest men who ever existed, it will at once be perceived that the attempt must have entailed a fearful amount of bloodshed.*

Conscious of the intrigues which were fomenting against him, M. de Condé shortly afterward retired to St. Maur, about three leagues from Paris. The court were greatly startled by this unexpected proceeding, and negotiations were immediately put on foot to induce his return. He was perhaps a more inconvenient adversary within the walls of the capital than without, but still he was incomparably less dangerous; and *Monsieur*, with whom he had continued to live on friendly terms since his liberation, undertook to negotiate his reappearance. The sensation created by this retreat was an ill omen for the court party, in the event of his refusing to compromise; for the Duchess de Longueville, although seriously indisposed, immediately followed him; and she was accompanied by the Prince de Conti, the dukes de Nemours, Bouillon, La Rochefoucauld, and Richelieu, and the marshals Turenne and La Motte. Thus surrounded by his friends, he dispatched the Duke de la Rochefoucauld to inform *Monsieur* of his reasons for leaving the capital; at which Gaston did not conceal his surprise, even while he expressed great regret at the intelligence; and when he found that the regent had decided to send the Marshal de Grammont to St. Maur to assure the prince that she had never contemplated any design against his person, he highly approved her intention; at the same time that, never believing for an instant Monsieur de Condé would be induced by any representations to return to Paris, he compromised himself unwittingly by instructing the marshal to give the prince every assurance of his own regard and support in this and every other emergency which might occur.

M. de Condé had no sooner received the royal envoy than he requested the Prince de Conti to wait upon the

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

parliament, and clearly to explain so them his reasons for the step that he had taken, which were moreover the same already given to *Monsieur*, declaring that his brother could not consider himself safe at court until the regent had dismissed Le Tellier, Servien, and Lyonne. He also complained bitterly of an attempt which had been made by the cardinal to possess himself of Brisach and Sedan; and he concluded by announcing to the assembly that the prince had dispatched one of his household to their body with a letter to the same effect. The queen had been equally provident; and at five o'clock in the morning had forwarded a letter to the president, commanding that the meeting should not come to any division without awaiting her sanction; upon which the Duke d'Orleans, anxious, according to his usual policy, to maintain his position with both parties, declared that his conscience compelled him to testify that Her Majesty had never conceived an idea of arresting the prince, nor had she taken any part whatever in the proceedings at Brisach. He spoke, in short, as though he had only the interest of the regent at heart.

It was decided that the letter of M. de Condé should be referred to her Majesty; and, as the meeting broke up, the coadjutor ventured to inquire of *Monsieur* if he had not felt some apprehension that the assembly would demand from him a guaranty for the safety of the prince, after the positive assurances to that effect which he had given; but Gaston, like the lion who had braved his own shadow in a mirror, and became scared by the reflection, had already began to repent his own energy, and merely desired M. de Retz to follow him, when he declared that he would explain his reasons.

He accordingly led the way to his library, drew the bolts, and throwing his hat violently upon a table, exclaimed, with an oath, that either the coadjutor was a great dupe, or that he was himself a great fool; demanding if the prelate believed that the queen really wished the prince to return to

court? M. de Retz replied that he had no doubt upon the subject, provided he returned in a position to admit of his arrest or of his destruction. The duke laughed bitterly, declaring he felt convinced that the regent desired him back upon any terms; for that, only two days previously, she had told him that either M. de Condé or herself must give way; and that now she required him to procure his return at any price, and even to engage his own honor to the parliament for his surety; that the prince had left Paris on the previous morning to secure himself against arrest; and that he would make a heavy bet in favor of his being back again in two days, from the turn which affairs were taking; while, as for himself, he should start for Blois, and leave both parties do as they pleased.*

The prince fulfilled the prophecy, but without abating one particle of his dignity. He insisted on the dismissal of the three individuals already named, whom he designated as "the creatures of Mazarin;" and his demand was supported by the prayer of the parliament, who sent a deputation to the king to entreat him to recall M. de Condé; and, for that purpose, to remove all impediments to his return. The queen was, however, a considerable time before she could bring herself to such a resolution; and meanwhile vehemently declared that she would not dismiss the three persons who had been named. Nevertheless, she eventually conceded the point, and the prince returned to Paris; but for some time he refused to present himself at court, to the great surprise of every one. On one occasion, as the king was returning from his bath, they accidentally met, which extremely displeased the regent, who declared that she considered M. de Condé to have committed a great indiscretion in frequenting the same localities as the king before he had presented himself at the palace; and, finally, on one solitary occasion, overruled by the advice of his friends, he went there accompanied by *Monsieur*.

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

This ceremony was no sooner over than the Duke d'Orleans took offense at some trifling annoyance to which he was subjected, and in his turn left Paris, and withdrew to Limours; which so alarmed the queen, who could not afford at such a juncture to lose any support, however weak, that she forthwith commanded MADEMOISELLE to follow him, and to induce him to return; while so great was her anxiety upon the subject, that she even lent her own coach and her cream-colored horses, in order to expedite the departure of her niece. The prince followed shortly afterward, and, more successful than herself (for *Monsieur* had refused to listen to her in her character as envoy of the queen), he brought him back in triumph to the capital. The next schism was that of the Princess-Palatine and M. de Condé, of which the pretext was that he had absented himself from the courts on the occasion of a trial in which her interests were involved; and she forthwith attached herself to the interests of the queen and Mazarin.

The regency was drawing to its close amid all these proceedings; and the queen forwarded two declarations to the parliament, one of which declared that Mazarin was banished *forever* from the kingdom, and the other that the innocence of M. de Condé was fully recognized, and that he was acquitted of all which had been imputed to him against the authority of the king. Her last act of exclusive sovereign authority was worthy of her previous tergiversations and double policy.* The declarations above recorded were registered on the 5th of September (1651), and on the following day the minority of the king ceased. During the evening, the Sieur de Rhodez, grand master of the ceremonies, apprised the parliament that the king would repair to the palace on the 7th, to hold his *Bed of Justice*,† as

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

† A name given to the throne, or seat, upon which the king took his place during the extraordinary meetings of parliament. The bed was furnished with five cushions, and stood under a canopy. Upon one of

the declaration of his majority; and, upon the same night, the Marquis de Gesvres, captain of the body-guards, the grand-masters, and masters of the ceremonies, and the Sieur de Réaux, lieutenant of the guards, having made the tour of the whole palace, took possession of the keys, and remained within the gates to make the necessary preparations for the next day's ceremonial.

On the morning of the 7th, the whole court left the Palais-Royal, with the royal trumpeters in the van. Then came a troop of light-horse, succeeded by that of the grand-provost, closely followed by two hundred individuals, representing the nobility of France. These were succeeded in their turn by the governors of provinces, the knights of the several orders, the first gentlemen of the chamber, and the great officers of the king's household; in whose wake rode six of the king's trumpeters dressed in blue velvet, preceding six mounted heralds in complete armor, with accoutrements of crimson velvet, powdered with *fleurs-de-lis* in gold, bearing their staves; and behind these advanced the marshals, two abreast, all richly attired, and mounted upon tall war-horses, whose housings were overlaid with gold and silver embroidery.

Behind them rode the Count d'Harcourt alone, as Grand-Equerry of France, wearing in a scarf the sword of the sovereign attached to his shoulder-belt, and resting upon his arm in its scabbard of blue velvet, studded with golden *fleur-de-lis*. He was attired in a doublet of cloth of gold and silver, and and wore similar embroidery wrought all over the remainder of his dress. He rode a mottled-gray charger, whose housings were of crimson velvet, laced with Spanish point in gold; and instead of reins he guided his horse by two

these cushions the king seated himself, extending his arms and legs upon three others, and using the fifth to lean against. The word gave its name to the meeting at which it was used. The *Beds of Justice* were originated by Philip the Tall, in 1318. On these occasions all the great officers of parliament appeared in crimson robes.

scarfs of black taffetas. An immense crowd of pages and footmen, succeeded in new liveries, and covered with white, blue, and red feathers, and bare-headed, who followed immediately behind the count, and separated him from the foot-guards, as well as his train-bearer, the door-keepers, and the mace-bearers.

After these came the king himself, calm, dignified, and grave, to a degree astonishing for his years; and securing by the premature majesty of his deportment, say cotemporaneous writers, the admiration of all ranks, who loaded him with prayers and blessings as he passed along. His dress was so entirely overlaid with gold embroidery that neither the color nor the material could be distinguished; and he was already so tall that it was difficult to believe that he had only just attained his fourteenth year. This circumstance acted greatly upon the feelings of the crowd, who seeing one of the young nobility riding near him, who was of the same age as himself, but considerably smaller in stature, began with increased enthusiasm to peal forth their cry of "Long live the king!" a demonstration which so startled the cream-colored charger upon which he was mounted that it reared and plunged violently; but the boy-king managed it with so much ease and self-possession that the incident only tended to give the populace a still higher idea of their young monarch.

Having been received at the door of the holy chapel, where he was harangued by the Bishop of Bayeux in full episcopal costume, Louis XIV. alighted to hear mass, after which he proceeded to take his seat in the parliament; where, covering himself, he addressed the meeting in these terms:

"Gentlemen, I have attended my parliament in order to inform you that, according to the law of my kingdom, I shall myself assume its government; and I trust that, by the goodness of God, it will be with piety and justice. My chancellor will inform you more particularly of my intentions."

On receiving this command, the chancellor, who had hitherto remained standing, took his seat, and spoke at considerable length, expatiating with much detail upon the declaration of the sovereign. When he had concluded, the queen made a slight inclination; and addressing the king, said, in a firm and clear voice,

"Sir, this is the ninth year in which, by the last will of the deceased king, my much honored lord, I have been intrusted with the care of your education and the government of the state. God having, by his will, blessed my endeavors, and preserved your person, which is so dear and precious to all your subjects, now that the law of the kingdom calls you to the rule of this monarchy, I transfer to you, with great satisfaction, the power which had been granted me to govern; and I trust that God will bestow on you the grace to assist your measures with his strength and prudence, in order that your reign may be rendered fortunate."

To which the king replied, "I thank you, madam, for the care which it has pleased you to take of my education, and the administration of my kingdom; I pray you to continue to me your good counsels; and I desire that, after myself, you should be the head of my council."

As His Majesty ceased speaking, the queen rose from her seat, and approached to salute the new monarch; but he, descending at the same instant from his Bed of Justice, walked toward her, and embraced her; after which they both returned to their places.

The Duke d'Anjou next rose, approached his royal brother, and sinking upon his knee, kissed his hand, and made declaration of his fidelity. He was followed by the Duke d'Orleans, the Prince de Conti, and all the other princes save M. de Condé, who had, as was soon ascertained, absented himself from Paris. The chancellor, the dukes and peers, the ecclesiastical dignitaries, the marshals of France, the officers of the crown, and all who were present

at the meeting in like manner rose, and tendered their allegiance to the king; and although the absence of the Prince de Condé had created a vague feeling of apprehension among the court party, the populace fully compensated for this partial gloom by the unanimous acclamations which accompanied the royal procession to the gates of the Palais-Royal; where the stripling who had left it a few hours before in subjection to more than one authority, as well indefinite as defined, threw off his gorgeous mantle as the sovereign of one of the proudest thrones in Europe. MADEMOISELLE, attended by the Queen of England, who was *incognita*, witnessed the march of the procession from the Hôtel de Schomberg, and afterward attended the meeting of the parliament, where she occupied the sky-light.

We must not, however, conclude this chapter without remarking that the young king, only a short time before his majority, had, boy as he was, given a proof of that fondness for female society, and that passion for female beauty, which was to be his leading characteristic throughout the greater part of his life. MADEMOISELLE accompanied him several times on horseback, on all which occasions she was attended by Madame de Frontenac; and Louis derived so much pleasure from these excursions, "that the queen," says MADEMOISELLE, whose vanity easily misled her upon subjects of this nature, "imagined that the king was in love with Madame de Frotenac; and in consequence, put an end to these parties which greatly annoyed him. As no reason was given for the interference, he offered the queen a hundred pistoles for the poor, every time that he should go out on horseback; for he imagined that a motive of charity would overcome her indolence, which he believed to be the cause of the prohibition; and as she refused the offer he said angrily, 'When once I become my own master, I will go where I please; and I shall soon be so.' After which he turned on his heel, and walked away. The queen wept bitterly, and so did Louis himself, but they were soon reconciled;

and Her Majesty forbade him to speak to Madame de Frontenac, telling him that she was the relative of M. de Chavigny, who was a friend of the prince. I believe," adds MADEMOISELLE sententiously, "that the true reason of this prohibition existed in a fear that the king would accustom himself too much to my society; and that in time, either through the arguments of Madame de Frontenac or by the force of habit, he would end by loving me; and that when once he did so, he would understand that I was the best match he could find in Europe with the exception of the Infanta of Spain. Madame de Choisy informed me of all that had passed between the king and queen; she had been told of it in order that I should not again propose to ride, for fear of displeasing the queen. Nevertheless, one more riding party was formed, but the king did not come near either Madame de Frontenac or myself, and cast down his eyes whenever he passed near us. I confess that I was greatly annoyed; for I placed more dependence upon the manner in which the king conducted himself toward me, and the pleasure which he took in my society, than on all the negotiations; and this way of becoming a queen was more agreeable to me than any other." *

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

CHAPTER XVII.

Youth of Louis XIV. and Philip d'Anjou—Early Associations—Ignorance of the young King—Armand de Guiche—Subjection of the King to the Cardinal—State of the Kingdom—Discontent of Monsieur—Courage of Mademoiselle—Revolt of Condé—March of the Court against Bordeaux—Return of Mazarin—Paris in Arms—Submission of Turenne—Declaration against the Princes—Sale of the Cardinal's Library—Charles II. after the battle of Worcester—The Duke de Nemours—Madame de Châtillon—Diplomacy of Mademoiselle—The City of Orleans declares for the Fronde—Cowardice of Monsieur—The Countess de Fiesque—Mademoiselle declares herself, and takes Orleans.

Having now traced the stream of events which flowed so rapidly from the birth of Louis XIV. to his majority, and which it was incumbent upon us to define, in order to render intelligible the position and identity of the persons by whom he was immediately surrounded, and the peculiar circumstances amid which he succeeded to the throne, we must be permitted to occupy ourselves more exclusively than we have yet done with the young sovereign himself.

We have already made some slight allusions to the principles upon which both his own so-called education, and that of his brother, Philip, were conducted; and nothing could have been more melancholy in the result to both. Naturally egotistical, haughty, and overbearing, Louis was encouraged in these very qualities; and he, as a matter of course, revenged the submission which he was compelled to assume rather than to feel at the court of the regent, upon those who composed his own; while the Duke d'Anjou, who required a stimulant to self-assertion

and manly tastes, was applauded for puerile habits and conceits, which were discordant both to his sex and his high station.

From his earliest youth Louis XIV. exhibited great discernment, and gave evidences of that correct judgment which led him in after years to show favor to men who were distinguished for high and noble qualities; but even while he lauded and appreciated the courage or the intellect which must hereafter tend to illustrate his reign, he began, even while yet a boy, to show himself jealous of those social qualifications in which he believed himself capable of excelling, and wherein he was aware that he could not brook any rivalry. Reared in the conviction that he would be the handsomest man of his court, and without dispute the most idolized, he, as a natural consequence, soon learned to distrust and dislike all those who by their personal beauty, their wit, or their intellect, threatened him with even a far-off competition. Nor was this weakness combated by Anne of Austria, who, far from seeking to teach him contempt for so ignoble a feeling, shared it with him to its fullest extent; and soon looked chillingly upon such of the young nobles about her son as appeared likely to become his rivals.

The greatest misfortune attached to a regency is the effort made by those in authority to prolong to its utmost extent the infancy and helplessness of the royal minor. The least guilty of these exalted guardians content themselves by maintaining their charge in a perfect state of ignorance concerning those duties whose knowledge is imperative to individuals hereafter to be intrusted with the government of a state, and the welfare of a people; and in order to carry this point they are not only careful to avoid every opportunity of mooting questions likely to lead to such a knowledge, but also to remove from about the persons of their royal pupils all such companions as are likely to inspire a taste for study and inquiry.

This was precisely the position of Louis XIV. With the exception of his devotional exercises, sufficient military skill to review his troops, and a perfect familiarity with court etiquet, the young monarch, when he took possession of the throne of France, was utterly ignorant; and could not have competed with the most shallow schoolboy of his age. This effect the regent and her minister had been anxious to accomplish. Louis, as we have elsewhere said, "enacted the king" to perfection; his personal grace entranced the populace; his polished self-possession was the proverb of the court; and his innate pride prevented all assumption of equality on the part of his customary associates; while in every question of state he was a cipher, helpless and dependent upon the intellect and energy of others; and, although possessed of a strong will, which under other circumstances might have enabled him to throw off with a bound the shackles that had been wound about him, so conscious of his own deficiencies that he could not command sufficient courage to trust in his mental resources, such as they were.

Of all the young nobles who had been placed about his person, none caused so much uneasiness to the regent as the Count de Guiche. Independently of his great physical beauty, his frank fearlessness led him to speak without reserve both of persons and occurrences; and the queen and her minister soon discovered that by this very inconvenient quality, he was teaching the king to think, the most dangerous habit which he could acquire under the circumstances, as regarded their particular interests.

Armand de Guiche had been the first friend of Louis, and as he grew to boyhood, the king exhibited more partiality toward himself, the Prince de Marsillac, and the Marquis de Vardes, than to any other of his young courtiers; and this increased so greatly as time wore on, that Anne of Austria determined, if possible, to diminish so inconvenient a regard; and for this purpose expatiated

before him on the good qualities of the Prince de Marsillac, who, being plain in his person and dull in his intellect, appeared to her to be a safer associate for the young king; whose determined character and somewhat romantic temperament were not likely to be influenced by a nature at once so gentle and so insignificant as that of the prince.*

It is probable that had no attempt been made to alienate the regard of Louis from Armand de Guiche it would, like his other partialities, have worn itself out before the dreaded consequences had been accomplished; but this opposition rather tended to make the young monarch overlook the discrepancies of their respective characters, and to increase his estimation of his friend's companionable qualities. We have, moreover, already shown that the will of Louis was peremptory where he could exercise it; and the society of De Guiche was consequently no sooner interdicted than he found the favorite indispensable in all his amusements; and his resolution not to submit to the required estrangement assumed so determined an air of affection, that the queen became more alarmed than ever. The father of the young count was in the field fighting the battles of the state, and this fact rendered her position still more embarrassing; while the friendship, for which she was herself deeply indebted to the Duchess de Grammont, prevented her from taking any step which might imply an affront to his family.

This apparent regard consequently continued, but it was not destined to last. The rivalry was too close and too dangerous; and the young count soon learned to estimate at their just value the demonstrations of which he was the object.

It was with the qualities and the defects which we have endeavored to describe, that Louis XIV. attained his majority; but, conscious of the intellectual inferiority, to

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

which allusion has been already made, he did not attempt to assert himself, save on particular occasions when his temper gave way before opposition, but suffered himself still to be guided by the will of his mother and the counsels of Mazarin, whose influence over the mind of Anne of Austria proved more powerful during his exile than it had been at the period of his sojourn in the capital. The king had, on his Bed of Justice (described in the last chapter), published three declarations. The first against blasphemy; the second against duelling; and the third to recognize the innocence of the Prince de Condé, who had not, however, awaited this royal exoneration in order to become guilty, at least in design, of a second crime of the same nature with that of which he had been formerly accused. At the same time the council was reorganized. The Marquis de Chateauneuf assumed the principal direction of affairs, which he had so long awaited; the seals lately withdrawn from the president Molé, were restored to him; and, finally, M. de Lavieuville, who twenty-seven years previously had opened the door of the council-chamber to Richelieu, then a young man, and by whom he was afterward himself excluded, was created superintendent of finance, through the interest of his son with the Princess-Palatine. He ably seconded the influence which had been exerted in his behalf; for his first ministerial measure was that of advancing four hundred thousand crowns as a loan to the queen. If this were, as it was generally considered, an error in judgment, and a solecism in economy, it could not in any case be designated as a youthful act of folly, for the president Molé, who was the younger of the three ministers, had already attained his sixty-seventh year.

Meanwhile France was apparently tranquil, but it was easy to judge that the calm was a mere breathing-space, a transient rest between two civil wars. The first, save as regarded individuals, had been of little import in its

results; the issue of that which was to succeed was yet to be computed. The king could not be said to possess an army; while the two bodies of troops on the frontiers of the Low Countries were doing infinitely more injury to their own countrymen than to the Spaniards. The force commanded by the Marshal d'Aumont* was his own; and the other belonged to the Prince de Condé, and was commanded by Saulx-Tavannes; the first made a few demonstrations which led to no result, while the latter remained passive, and menacing from its very neutrality. The Marshal de la Ferté-Senectére† was in Lorraine with another corps, where he gained several slight advantages, which served to keep the court in spirits, although their result was unimportant. In Italy the troops were inactive, as the King of Spain was occupied for the moment with Catalonia, where the Count de Marchain‡ had shut himself up in Barcelona, which the Marquis de Mortare was besieging on the land side, while Don Juan of Austria blockaded it by sea. In the south, where the

* Anthony d'Aumont, de Rochebaron, Marquis d'Isle et du Villequier, Marshal of France, in whose favor Louis XIV. raised the estate of Aumont to the dignity of a duchy-peerage.

† Henry de Senectére, called the Marshal de la Ferté, was of a very ancient family of Auvergne, and was the son of Henry de Senectére, the king's lieutenant in Champagne, and ambassador in England. He displayed his courage at the siege of Rochelle (1626), at the capture of Mayenne, and Trèves, and at the battle of Avesnes. Appointed adjutant-general, he distinguished himself at Rocroy and Sens, and defeated the Duke of Lorraine in 1650. Made Marshal of France in 1651, he saved Nancy, and took Chasté, Mirecourt, Vaudrevange, Montmedi, and Gravelines (1651-58). He died in 1681, at the age of eighty-two years.

‡ The Count de Marchain was liberated from a long imprisonment at the same period as the princes, and was immediately elevated not only to the rank of a general officer, but also to that of a vice-roy. Such a sudden revolution of fortune would, at any other period, have excited unbounded astonishment; but during the early years of Louis XIV. it occurred so frequently, that it occasioned little comment.

disbanded corps which had served under the Duke d'Epernon and the Marshal de la Meilleraye during the last campaign, were scattered over the country, there still existed considerable excitement; and a great desire to resume a war by which many had profited, while few had suffered.

Navy there was none. England, Spain, and Holland were the three great maritime forces of Europe.*

Monsieur was as discontented and as helpless as ever; while, as time wore on, he became more conscious of the moral defects which had rendered him powerless at a moment when he should have occupied a prominent position on the national canvas. Always occupied with trifles, and greedy of securing every personal advantage, he so thoroughly embarrassed his private affairs, that he only succeeded in alienating the very persons whom he was anxious to attach. Thus he contrived nearly to break with the coadjutor without remaining upon terms with M. de Condé; and he distrusted the parliament, which repaid him by a like compliment. He exhibited sulkiness towards MADEMOISELLE, who expressed, with considerable vivacity, her regret at the insignificance to which he was reduced by his own weakness; and in order to give himself some appearance of movement, he set on foot twenty different negotiations to bring about an alliance between the king and herself, always retiring a pace as any advance was made toward him. There can be no doubt, however, that he contemplated the possibility of this marriage with at least as much repugnance as pride; for if, on the one hand, it was destined to make his eldest daughter a queen, on the other it deprived the younger children of every hope of her immense inheritance; which would, as a natural consequence, be entirely absorbed by so august an alliance. His great dependence, when he dwelt upon this phase of the subject, was based on the

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

coolness of the queen toward MADEMOISELLE, whose assiduity in paying her court to her royal aunt, did not remove from the mind of Anne of Austria a certain feeling of avoidance, which she only contrived to conceal when she could render the agency of her niece profitable to her own projects; while that niece, wearied in her turn with constantly awaiting a husband who never came, and of being made the puppet of state expediency, lost no opportunity of seconding the endeavor of *Madame* to rouse the Duke d'Orleans from his apathy; and to induce him to assume an attitude which would enable him to compel the terms he appeared to be inclined only to solicit.

Despite her persevering and futile weakness on the article of her marriage, and the paltry and puerile attention which she bestowed upon petty observance and empty etiquet, MADEMOISELLE possessed a fund of courage both mental and physical, which betrayed the descendant of Henry IV. more than the daughter of Gaston of Orleans; and this she exerted in favor of her darling ambition, by prompting her father to some serious act of rebellion which might tend to establish him in a more suitable position, and enable her to secure an alliance commensurate with her wishes. The Prince of Wales, the archduke, and even the emperor, had less attraction in her eyes than the boy-king, who was only just emerging into manhood; but whom, from the period of his majority, she began to regard with other views than she had previously been willing to admit even to herself. The emergencies of the state rendered her enormous revenue a matter of extreme importance; and as she was accustomed to magnify all her advantages, she had no difficulty in estimating this fact at its full value; wearied, however, as we have shown, by the delays, subterfuges, and intrigues which presented themselves as obstacles to the marriage, she boldly determined to extort from fear what she had been unable to command from a milder feeling; and

thence her continual attempt to awaken the stagnant spirit of *Monsieur*.

The Prince de Condé had, as we have shown, left Paris on the evening preceding the declaration of the king's majority, and immediately proceeded to Trie, where the Duke de Longueville was then residing, in the hope of inducing him once more to share his fortunes. In this attempt he however failed; for the duke was no longer young, and his imprisonment had augmented his infirmities. Finding that he had no prospect of success with M. de Longueville, the prince accordingly hastened to Essonnes, where he was joined by the Dukes de la Rochefoucauld and Nemours; halted for a day to await a letter from *Monsieur* which never arrived; and then pushed on to Bourges;* where he was overtaken by a delegate from the parliament, who came with a proposal that he should remain quietly in his government of Guienne until the assembly of the states-general. Tranquillity was not, however, the project of the prince, and he consequently rejected the proposition with contempt; moved on to Montrond, where he left the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Nemours in command of the town; and attended only by his councilor, M. de Lenet, continued his route to Bordeaux. He was received with enthusiasm, and the city instantly became the nucleus of rebellion. The princess, and her son the Duke d'Enghien, immediately joined him; and they were quickly followed by Madame de Longueville, who probably anticipated a second civic throne.

The Count Foucaut du Doignon, governor of Brouage, declared in his favor, which was the more important as

* A town of Central France, in the Department of the Cher. It was in old times the capital of Aquitaine, and afterward that of Berry; and was moreover the birthplace of Louis XI. and of Jacques Cœur. The distance from Paris to Bourges is fifty-seven leagues. The cathedral and the town-hall are both very fine buildings.

he held the whole line of coast from Rochelle to Royau. The veteran Marshal de la Force and his friends in Guienne, offered him their services; the Duke de Richelieu joined him with the levies that he had made in Saintonge and the neighborhood of Annis: the Prince of Tarento, who held Taillebourg on the Charente, forwarded his pledge of allegiance; and M. de Condé finally awaited only the arrival of the Count de Marchain, who had promised to abandon his vice-royalty, and to join him with such of the regiments as he should be able to attach to his cause; while Lenet had already departed for Madrid to negotiate with the court of Spain; a task of which he acquitted himself so satisfactorily, that he concluded not only a treaty with the most Catholic king, but also with the archduke, who commanded in the Low Countries, and who had just taken Bergua. Other propositions were made and accepted, which ultimately cost France both Dunkirk and Gravelines; and, moreover, compelled the court to maintain a body of troops on the frontier at a time when they were very essential in Guienne.

Nevertheless, the progress of the prince was not such as from his personal bravery, his past services, and the professions of his friends, he had been encouraged to anticipate. His adherents were lukewarm; and even the old Marshal de la Force did not act in a manner consistent with his antecedents. But we must not anticipate events

The cardinal, on his side, had not been idle; and as he well knew that one common feeling animated all ranks and all parties in France, whatever might be their other discrepancies of opinion, and that this one was nothing less than an inveterate hatred of himself; he employed his exile in raising a body of troops from the neighborhood of Liège and on the borders of the Rhine, in order to be ready to return into France despite all the decrees then or thereafter to be promulgated against him.

A few days after he attained his majority, the king had sent for the coadjutor, and publicly delivered to him the authentic act by which the nation pointed him out as the chosen candidate for the cardinalate; but as M. de Retz was not apt to place the strongest reliance upon these royal recommendations, he personally dispatched a courier to Rome, to solicit the hat which had so long been the object of his ambition.

The court were soon apprised of the arrival of the prince at Bordeaux, and of the reception which he had met with, both from the nobility and the parliament; when a resolution was made that the king should undertake against the husband a similar expedition to that which, a few months previously, had been organized against the wife. It was, moreover, resolved that the sovereign should march upon the capital of Guienne by the same road which M. de Condé had followed, in order to neutralize the impression which he had produced; and the king forthwith left Fontainebleau, where he had taken up his residence, and proceeded to Berry. MADEMOISELLE was not commanded to accompany the court, for her father had recently had a new misunderstanding with the queen, who, when the princess attended her reception on the evening before the departure, expressed her regret that, in her then position of affairs, it was impossible for Her Majesty to claim her company.

Nothing could be more promising than the commencement of this journey. On arriving before Bourges, the fortress scarcely made a show of resistance; while Montrond opened its gates, after having afforded time to M. de Longueville (who had repaired thither after the departure of the princess for Bordeaux), the Prince de Conti, M. de Nemours, and several other persons of rank who were assembled within the walls, to secure their escape.

When the court had possessed themselves of Bourges, the fortress was immediately destroyed; and after a sojourn of seventeen days in the town, they proceeded to

Poitiers; while the army, under the command of Count d'Harcourt, and composed of the best troops that the king possessed, was opposed to a handful of raw militia, headed by the prince in person. They had several engagements, and took and retook the bridges over the Charente; the military genius of M. de Condé enabling him to sustain himself even against a regularly disciplined force, which, had it contended with a less experienced leader, must have crushed so unequal and half-trained a body of men in the first struggle; and it was during these opening hostilities the news arrived that Mazarin had reëntered France with an army of six thousand men.

He had progressed cautiously; commencing by Huy, thence advancing to Dinant, then to Bouillon, then to Sedan, where he had been well received upon displaying a passport from the queen; and thence, followed by his troops, all wearing the green scarf which was the badge of his house, he had passed the Meuse, reached Rethel, and was advancing through Champagne, escorted by two French marshals, the Marquis d'Hocquincourt, and the Marshal de la Ferté-Senectére.

Paris was shaken to its center; but the emotion was not one of fear. All was forgotten save vengeance; the parliament hastily assembled: and although a letter from the king was read, in which he desired them not to encourage any anxiety with regard to the movements of His Eminence, whose intentions were well known to the queen, they nevertheless hastened to proceed against him as a rebel. It was declared that the cardinal and his adherents had alike infringed the prohibitions contained in the declaration of the sovereign, and were, in consequence, from that moment to be considered as disturbers of the public peace, and, as such, to be pursued by the corporations; while it was, moreover, ordained that the library and movable property of the cardinal were to be sold, from the proceeds of which sale the sum of one hundred

and fifty thousand livres should be set apart as the reward of whomsoever should deliver him up, dead or alive. The coadjutor attempted, without success, to render the decree less severe; but as he ran considerable risk of losing his popularity by such an endeavor, all that he could do was to retire from the assembly, asserting that, in his ecclesiastical character, he could not assist at a deliberation in which a question of life and death had been mooted.

Some days previously a similar declaration had been made against the prince, the Prince de Conti, Madame de Longueville, and the Dukes de Nemours and de la Rochefoucauld; but this was soon forgotten in the excitement created by the outlawry of the cardinal. Each of the other culprits had some personal regard, or some individual interest to link them with the community; but Mazarin was a common enemy, for whom M. de Retz alone had ventured to raise his voice; and his magnificent library was mercilessly submitted to public auction, sold and dispersed, despite the offer of a bibliopolist of the period, who volunteered to purchase it, as it stood, for forty-five thousand livres.

Fate appeared to favor MADEMOISELLE amid all these embarrassing events. While M. de Gaucour was busied in endeavoring to induce *Monsieur* to declare himself openly for the prince, the King of England arrived in France, on his way to Scotland; and his mother hastened to Beauvais to meet him. He had just fought the battle of Worcester; and, for some time previously, she had been in a state of wretched anxiety, not having received any assurance of his safety. Despite the fact that he had, in order to effect his escape, cut his hair close, and assumed a dress which was not consistent either with his rank or the fashion of the time, MADEMOISELLE was delighted to find him greatly improved in appearance, as well as in his knowledge of the French language. He gave her a detail of all his sufferings; and what she found

of still greater interest, he expatiated to her, while traversing the gallery which connected the Louvre with the Tuileries, as he reconducted her to her apartments, upon the miserable existence which he had led in Scotland, where there was not a woman of quality; and the people were so uncivilized, as to consider it a sin to listen to music; adding, that he had felt less regret at the loss of the battle, from the hope which he entertained of returning to France, and to persons who were so dear to him. In short, the unthroned king had become at once a lover, and affected to hold lightly his reverses at home, in order to play the courtier to the great heiress of the Tuileries.

As MADEMOISELLE was never ungrateful for such demonstrations, and was glad of any incident which tended to relieve the monotony of her existence, she met his advances in the most amiable spirit; putting her violin-band into requisition, and amusing the fugitive monarch with impromptu balls, in which he acquitted himself with as much grace, in a *courante* or a *bas de basque*, as though his kingdom were not at stake, and his very existence a matter of marvel. But, above all, the princess was deeply touched by the fact that it was only in her society that Charles thus threw off his natural reserve and taciturnity, and assumed the manner of a man sincerely enamored; keeping his eyes constantly fixed upon her, and conversing with her, in such a manner, as to convince her that "love was rather a native of France than the product of any other nation; and, that while he spoke her language, he forgot his own, of which he lost the habit only with herself."*

Nevertheless, the idea of becoming Queen of France had so thoroughly taken possession of the mind of MADEMOISELLE, that she merely treated the advances of Charles as an agreeable interlude, and by no means desired to commit herself. The Princess-Palatine, whose husband

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

was the cousin-german of the English king, used all her eloquence upon the subject; and she was succeeded by Madame de Choisy, who remarked that the princess ought not to be seen so constantly in the society of the King of England, as the circumstance produced a bad effect at court; to which the Princess-Palatine replied, that nothing could be more absurd than such a restriction; and that MADEMOISELLE had nothing to do but to live on in her usual manner. Madame de Châtillon, who was then in Paris, but who had always been estranged from the princess, in consequence of the great attachment which she had felt for the late Princess-Dowager de Condé, sent to request that she might be permitted to pay her respects to Her Royal Highness; while the Queen of England, on one occasion, renewed the subject of her son's marriage, and observed to MADEMOISELLE that she wished him to owe her hand to her own generosity, and not to the authority of *Monsieur;* to which assurance the princess answered, that she was so happy in her present position, she never thought of marriage; although she received this proposition with all the respect to which it was entitled; and requested that time might be allowed her to reflect. The queen said she would wait a week for her decision; only begging her to remember that she would remain the sole mistress of her property, even after her marriage.

Charles skillfully seconded the advances of his mother; and the unfortunate princess, who, with the most ardent and persevering desire to obtain a husband, always contrived to be occupied by one alliance, when she had another within her grasp; finding that she was probably foregoing the substance to clutch the shadow, and amusing herself with a head which had not yet fitted on the crown that was its birthright, when she might be, by these means, lessening her chance of sharing a diadem already secured; considered it necessary to modify her extreme courtesy to the fugitive monarch; and, consequently, when urged anew

by the English queen to pledge her hand to Charles, in the event of her marriage with Louis not taking place, she affected to consider the latter a mere chimera, and consented that Henrietta should confer with *Monsieur*. The queen thus authorized, at once proceeded to the Luxembourg, and was shortly afterward followed by MADEMOISELLE, who was anxious, although by no means alarmed at the anticipation of her father's reply; for she was too well aware of his weak and wavering nature to apprehend, for a moment, that he would venture upon a definitive answer.

She had argued justly; His Royal Highness had contented himself by declaring to the English queen that he could not move in such a matter without the order of the sovereign; a reply which delighted MADEMOISELLE, who thus saw the ungracious responsibility of a refusal removed from herself individually; and who had no inclination to share the misfortunes of a dethroned monarch, or to reign over a country in the convulsed and unhappy state in which England still remained.

On her return home she found Charles II. awaiting her, who believed that the affair was already concluded, as he did not anticipate any obstacle from the court. As she entered he expressed his delight at the favorable answer which had been given to the queen his mother; and added that he should now hope to be enabled, ere long, to recover his throne, in order to share his prosperity with MADEMOISELLE, which would render it doubly valuable. To this gallantry the princess coolly replied by the remark, that if he did not return to England to support his own cause, it was highly improbable that he would ever attain to the dignity which was his due; but, nevertheless, the weak and trifling temperament of Charles was sufficiently callous to the rebuke to induce him to exclaim, "How! madam; after having married me, should you wish me to take my leave?" The reply was fully as

characteristic as the inquiry. "Yes, sire," answered the princess, proudly, "should such an event occur, I shall be compelled to make your interests my own; and I should be grieved to see you dancing triplets here, and amusing yourself, when you ought to be upon the spot where you might either get your head broken, or place a crown upon it."*

After this conversation, which did not tend to the satisfaction of either party, MADEMOISELLE desired Lord Germain to request the King of England not to visit her so constantly, as his marked attention excited comments which were calculated to injure her in the world; and, despite his solicitations, she refused to withdraw her entreaty; at which Charles took such serious offense that he remained for three weeks without seeing her; but, naturally inclined to gayety, he could ill brook the privation entailed upon him by this exile from a circle so gay as that of the princess; who, during his absence, rather increased than diminished the number of her fêtes; a circumstance which so excited the anger of Lord Germain, that he was incautious enough to remark, in public, that when she had once become the wife of Charles, they would diminish her outlay, and dispose of her estates; a liberty which MADEMOISELLE resented so deeply, that she immediately resolved never to contract an alliance which appeared to be so securely anticipated by the interested parties.

Meanwhile, the cardinal continued his journey without any obstacle; and ultimately, at the end of January, one month after he again entered France, he arrived at Poitiers, in the carriage of the king, who had gone himself to meet him; and was received by the whole court with the greatest demonstrations of delight.

The Duke de Nemours about the same time arrived in Paris, on his way from Guienne to Flanders, where he was

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

about to place himself at the head of his troops, and to receive those which had been sent to him by the King of Spain, and which were then at Marles, whence they could, without difficulty, pass into Flanders. He remained some days in the capital; and as *Monsieur* was at that period in the full flush of his hatred toward Mazarin, the rebel duke was a constant visitor at the Luxembourg, where his personal beauty and engaging manners rendered him the idol of the circle.

"This duke," says Bussy-Rabutin, "had very light hair, a well-shaped nose, and a small and finely-colored mouth. He had also the neatest figure in the world; and displayed in his slightest movements a grace which could not be sufficiently admired, combined with a disposition at once joyous and playful."*

It was at the first of these assemblies at the Luxembourg after the arrival of M. de Nemours, that "Madame de Châtillon arrived," writes MADEMOISELLE; "dressed most magnificently, and as beautiful as an angel; which was the more remarked, as during the whole winter she had not appeared in full dress."* Madame de Châtillon was the daughter of the Lord de Bouteville, who lost his head for having fought a duel in opposition to the edicts of Louis XIII. We supply her portrait from the same gallery which afforded that of the Duke de Nemours. "Madame de Châtillon had bright black eyes, a low forehead, a handsome nose, a small, fresh, and arched mouth; the complexion which it pleased her to adopt, generally it was white and red; and a charming laugh which went to the hearts of her hearers. Her hair was jet black, her figure tall, her bearing graceful, her hands thin, dry, and dark; her arms of the same color and long; she was mild, courteous, and flattering in manner; faithless, interested, and incapable of friendship in disposition; never

* Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules.

† Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

theless, however you might be forewarned of her bad qualities, when she resolved to please it was not possible to defend yourself: she had some habits which were charming, and others which drew down upon her the contempt of all the world. For money or ambition she would have dishonored herself, and sacrificed father, mother, and lover."*

We have devoted a certain space to the mention of this lady, as we shall have occasion to recur to her ere long. She had married M. de Châtillon, with the assistance of the Prince de Condé, while he was yet a boy, and despite the decrees of the senate; when the prince, after escorting them to Stenai, which he had lent to them as a residence, made the bridegroom a loan of twenty thousand livres. After the lapse of a few days, however, M. de Châtillon left his wife, and joined the army (1643); while she withdrew to a convent of nuns two leagues from Paris, where several of her friends, aware that she was penniless, advanced her loans which, in her after prosperity, she omitted to return. Her moral conduct was still more questionable than her gratitude.

Exiled from the court after the arrest of the princes, she retired to her estate of Châtillon, where she was followed by the dowager Madame de Condé, who ultimately died beneath her roof; bequeathing to her, through the agency of a priest, whom the fascinations of the duchess had enthralled, the value of a hundred thousand crowns in precious stones, and a life tenure of the lordship of Marlou, which was computed at twenty thousand annual livres. According to her usual custom, she had no sooner secured the bequest than she dismissed the unfortunate priest to whom she was indebted for its possession; while the prince, who had become enamored of her in his turn, only succeeded in his pursuit by changing the life tenure of Marlou into an actual gift.

* Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules.

While these festivities were taking place at the Luxembourg, and the beautiful widow was putting forth all her fascinations in order to retain the young duke in her chains, the intelligence of Mazarin's triumphant return and reception at court created great commotion in the capital; but the individual who most keenly felt the blow was the Duke d'Orleans; who, on this occasion, at least, appeared resolved not to forego the vow of vengeance which he had taken against the cardinal. MADEMOISELLE triumphed in his unhoped-for resistance; for, although she had been careful to maintain her own connection with the court, by sustaining a correspondence with the queen, and even occasionally writing to her uncle, the Duke de Guise, and expressing great interest in the success of the royal cause (because, as she admits, with her usual somewhat tardy frankness, she believed that her letters would be opened by the way, as they had been during the journey to Bordeaux, and that thus the court would give her credit for her good intentions);* she had, nevertheless, not lost sight of her darling project; and became daily more convinced that her marriage with Louis XIV. could only be accomplished through fear.

M. de Condé profited by the intelligence which soon reached him of the anger of *Monsieur*, to dispatch to him the Count de Fiesque, with the proposition of a treaty, by which the Duke d'Orleans was to pledge himself to unite the troops over whom he had authority, to those which M. de Nemours was about to bring from Flanders; and from that moment to assist, even ostensibly, should it become requisite, the interests of the prince against those of the cardinal. *Madame* entreated and expostulated in vain; his hatred to Mazarin was more powerful than her influence, and *Monsieur* signed the treaty.

He had no sooner succeeded with the father, than M. de Fiesque asked and obtained an audience of the

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

daughter, whom he entertained with lengthy assurances of the great regard in which she was held by the prince, who was, as he declared, anxious that she should feel their interests to be in common, and understand how much he desired to see her Queen of France; which would be an immense advantage to himself, should she be kind enough to place more confidence in him than she had hitherto done. This assurance having been graciously received and answered, he next delivered to her a letter from M. de Condé, which contained a ratification of the words of his envoy, but couched in a style of devoted attachment to which few persons were more susceptible than MADEMOISELLE.

An opportunity soon occurred which enabled *Monsieur* and his daughter to prove their good faith in this new engagement; for after the unimportant encounters to which we have already made allusion between the Count d'Harcourt and the lieutenants of the prince, as well as with the prince himself, the king had in person besieged Poitiers, which was defended by M. de Rohan; but at the moment when succor arrived M. de Rohan had surrendered. This was consequently a valid advantage to the royal cause, especially at a time when the court ascertained the constantly-increasing animosity of the capital toward the cardinal, and the treaty into which *Monsieur* had entered with the prince. Both these circumstances created uneasiness; but the greatest evil existed in the fact that Paris was abandoned to the united influence of the parliament and the Duke d'Orleans; and, desperate as was the measure, it was soon decided that the royal family must return to the capital without delay. It is probable that this courageous resolution would not, however, have been formed, had not the Marshal Turenne, at that precise moment, finding himself unable to come to a satisfactory understanding with M. de Condé, offered his own services and those of his troops to the cardinal; an

example which was followed by the Duke de Bouillon. On their arrival in Paris, the princes lived in great seclusion, and saw scarcely any one save their particular friends, among whom was the coadjutor; who, well aware of the importance of their partisanship, made the most strenuous endeavors to induce *Monsieur* to comprehend it; and to compel the two brothers to enter into his interests. The aversion of the Duke d'Orleans toward the elder (M. de Bouillon), for which he could give no rational reason, prevented him, however, from acting as he should have done on such an occasion; while the contempt which the younger did not conceal for himself, and of which he was by no means embarrassed to explain the motive, rendered the negotiation one of great difficulty. As has already been shown, it was unsuccessful; while their own endeavor to attach M. de Retz to the court party proved equally abortive.

The king commenced his march; but when he reached Blois, where he remained for a couple of days, and was concentrating his troops at Beaugency, he learned the approach of the Duke de Nemours at the head of a Spanish force; and that he was about to operate a junction with the Duke de Beaufort, in order to march against the royal army. At such a crisis it became imperative to ascertain the temper of Orleans; for although Louis XIV. was King of France, it was no less certain that *Monsieur* was the suzerain of Orleans; while it was also publicly known that His Royal Highness had signed a treaty with the the princes. A demand was in consequence made to the authorities of the city, that they should declare for which party they intended to pronounce; when, without hesitation, they decided for the Duke d'Orleans; while the court had a more formidable enemy than ever in the coadjutor, who at this period obtained his seat in the conclave.

The Marquis de Sourdis, who was governor of both the

province and the city, was very unpopular, and consequently anxious that *Monsieur* should arrive and assume the command in his own person; and to expedite this measure the Count de Fiesque returned in great haste to Paris, to explain to His Royal Highness how essential his presence had become at Orleans, which was an important post during a period of civil war. A free communication with Guienne was so imperatively necessary to the party and interests of the prince, that he had been careful to direct that every exertion should be made to secure the city from loss or damage—a piece of intelligence which in all probability served even better than the arguments of his friends to wring a promise from *Monsieur* that he would set out for Orleans on the evening of Palm Sunday, to request the dukes of Beaufort and Nemours to furnish an escort to accompany him from Etampes to the end of his journey.

MADEMOISELLE, who had arranged to retire during the Holy Week to the Carmelite convent at St. Denis, and who went to take leave of her father in consequence, deferred her intention until the following day, in consequence of the arrival of the Duke de Beaufort, who had followed M. de Fiesque, in order to second him in his endeavor to decide *Monsieur* upon an immediate appearance in Orleans; and who, during a visit which he made to the princess, remarked, in the spirit of a prophet, that if His Royal Highness should eventually decline the journey, she must replace him.

No proposal could have been more congenial to her temperament; and the ambition of MADEMOISELLE fired at the first word. She immediately went to the Capuchin convent in the Rue St. Honoré, where Father Georges, a declared Frondeur, was to preach before *Monsieur;* and, at the close of the service, informed him that she had delayed her own journey in consequence of his departure. She then followed him to the Luxembourg, where she found him in one of those irritable humors which were sure to

result from his adopting any important resolution. He spared neither friends nor enemies, declaring that he was persecuted on all sides; and that if he listened to the partisans of M. de Condé, and left Paris, all would be lost; and, finally, he exclaimed angrily that he would not go, murmuring against the violence which was exerted to turn him from his own quiet and retired tastes and habits, and envying the happiness of those who had no connection with public affairs.

MADEMOISELLE listened with more annoyance than surprise to all these puerile complaints, which led her to dread a renewed exile from the court, and the utter destruction of her own prospects, as their result; and wept bitterly over the unconquerable pusillanimity of her father. Her only consolation existed in the belief that those about His Royal Highness would induce him, in the event of his adherence to this last unworthy resolution, to permit that she should become his representative; and she was not deceived in her hopes; for, after having left the Luxembourg, and returned home to supper, she was visited by the Count de Tavannes, one of the lieutenant-generals of the prince, who informed her, in a low voice, that he was delighted to be able to assure her that it had been arranged for Her Royal Highness to proceed to Orleans in the name of *Monsieur;* bidding her, at the same time, to be silent upon the subject until the news should be officially announced to her by the Count de Rohan.

The latter shortly afterward appeared; and MADEMOISELLE, with a beating heart, hastened to signify her obedience to the orders of *Monsieur;* requesting the Count and Countess de Fiesque,* and Madame de Frontenac to accompany her, an invitation which was at once accepted. The princess could not have selected two more fascinating

* Gillona d'Harcourt, widow of the Marquis de Piennes, who remarried with Charles Lionel, Count de Fiesque, was commonly known in the world as "the Countess."

companions for her somewhat chivalrous expedition than the two ladies above named. We have already shown that the latter had been able to captivate the affections of a mere stripling; while of the former, even the cynical Bussy says, with enthusiasm, "The Countess de Fiesque was an admirable woman. Her eyes were brown and brilliant, her nose well made, her mouth agreeable and ruddy, her complexion fair and smooth, and the shape of her face long; she was the only person in the world who was ever rendered more beautiful by a pointed chin. Her hair was light; she was always consistently and elegantly attired; but she derived more grace from her personal deportment than from the magnificence of her apparel. Her manner was cheerful and unaffected: her disposition can not be described; for, with all the modesty of her sex, she accommodated herself to the mood of all about her. By dint of reflection, people generally think more justly upon a subject in the end than they did at the commencement: it was just the contrary with Madame de Fiesque—her reflections injured her impulses."*

This social arrangement made, MADEMOISELLE next gave the necessary orders in her household; and, on the following day, dined at the Luxembourg, where she found *Monsieur* in high spirits at the able manner in which he had emancipated himself from a disagreeable responsibility by fastening it upon her; nor was she by any means inclined to diminish his self-gratulation. During the repast he informed Her Royal Highness that he had already dispatched a messenger to announce her early arrival, by whom he had also forwarded an order to the authorities, desiring them to show the same obedience to her wishes as they would have done to his own—an assurance which seated MADEMOISELLE on velvet, for she was fond of power, and did not readily brook opposition. When she took her leave, *Monsieur* embraced her tenderly; and then said that the Bishop of

* Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules.

Orleans would give her every information as to the condition of the city; and that he wished her to ask advice of the Counts de Fiesque and de Grammont, who had been long enough upon the spot to know what had best be done; but, above all, to prevent, at any price, the passage of the army across the Loire, which was the only order that he should himself give her.

She then entered her carriage, followed by Madame de Frontenac, and the Countess de Fiesque and her daughter; while *Monsieur*, hugging himself in his recovered insignificance and safety, watched her departure from a window, and listened very complacently to the blessings which were showered upon her by the people as she passed along, under the escort of a lieutenant of his guards, two exempts, six guardsmen, and six Swiss.*

As the party did not quit Paris until a late hour, MADEMOISELLE halted the first night at Chartres; and just as she had resumed her journey on the following morning she was met by the Duke de Beaufort, who thenceforward always rode beside her carriage. A few leagues farther on she encountered a mounted escort of five men, commanded by M. de Valon, the adjutant-general of *Monsieur*. The escort was composed of gens-d'armes and light horse; the latter moved to the van, and the former surrounded the carriage, both rear and flank; but even this military demonstration did not satisfy the ambition of the princess, who, anxious to prove herself worthy of the dignity of her rank as chief of the expedition, no sooner reached the plains of La Beauce than she alighted from her carriage, mounted a horse, and placed herself at the head of the troops, who expressed the greatest delight on seeing her thus promptly assume her command, which she commenced by the arrest of three couriers, one of whom was the bearer of a letter from the authorities of Orleans to *Monsieur*, announcing that the king had sent to inform them that

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

he should sleep that night at Cléry, and then proceed direct to their city, preceded by his council.

The little army of MADEMOISELLE had consequently no time to lose in order to prevent this danger; and they continued their march with increased celerity until they arrived at Toury, where they found M. de Nemours, who welcomed the princess most warmly, and declared that thenceforward she must preside over the war councils—an announcement which only excited her amusement; but as the duke still persisted, alledging that she should accustom herself to such topics, as nothing could be done without her authority, the council was accordingly assembled, at which MADEMOISELLE insisted upon the desire of her father that the enemy should not be allowed to cross the Loire: and measures were immediately taken to oppose their passage.

The next morning they again started, shortly after daybreak, and at Artenay were joined by the Marquis de Flamarens, who had come to meet the princess, having important business to transact with her. MADEMOISELLE alighted at an inn; where she was informed, to her great mortification, that the authorities of Orleans had refused to give her ingress to the city, from the fact that her own approach in one direction, and that of His Majesty in another, placed them in an embarrassing position; and that they in consequence besought her, in order to prevent their becoming rebels either to the will of the king or to the orders of the suzerain, to affect indisposition until the court had passed by, promising not to open their gates until such was the case, after which they would receive her with all the honors which were her due. But MADEMOISELLE was not constituted like her father: she remembered that she was the grandchild of Henry IV., and she was resolved that they should also be reminded of the fact. She declared, therefore, that she entirely disregarded such a declaration, and rejected the advice, as unworthy alike of her rank her mission, and the blood which filled her veins; and

that she should forthwith march upon Orleans. Nor did she lose any time in verifying her words, for she ordered her equipage to be instantly brought to the door; and leaving behind her the escort, which would have impeded her progress, she only consented to be accompanied by the guards of *Monsieur*, on condition that they should travel at her own pace. As the little party proceeded, the most discouraging rumors reached them at every stage: some said that the authorities were resolved not to permit the princess to pass the gates of the city, and others that the king was already in Orleans, which had declared in his favor. But MADEMOISELLE had not quitted Paris to start at shadows, and she persisted in pursuing her journey with a *sang-froid* and composure which in the opposite sex would have been designated as heroism; and which her father, who had been striving at such a demonstration throughout a long life, died without emulating. She had sent forward to Orleans the lieutenant of *Monsieur's* guards, whom she met on his return. He bore a second entreaty from the authorities that the princess would not continue her journey, as they should be compelled to refuse her entrance; and he had traveled rapidly to communicate this information, leaving the parliament assembled, in consequence of the fact that the keeper of the seals, and the king's counselors, were already at the gate opposite to that by which MADEMOISELLE was approaching, and had demanded admission.

The princess saw that she had no time to lose, and paid little attention to the other particulars of the message. She therefore proceeded by a forced march, and at eleven o'clock in the morning reached the Bannière gate, which was not only closed, but barricaded. This point gained, she sent to inform the municipal magistrates that she had arrived, and then waited patiently for the space of three hours, in an inn outside the walls, during which time the governor of the city, who was totally powerless, sent her

a present of sweetmeats, which she received graciously, but with a resolve that so puerile a politeness should not affect her resolution. Worn out at length by a delay which accorded ill with her natural energy, she decided upon leaving the inn; and despite the entreaties of those about her, she directed her steps toward the city moat. She had scarcely arrived there, when the citizens and the mob who were collected on the ramparts recognized her, and pointing her out to each other, raised a shout of "Long live the king! Long live the princess! No Mazarin!" MADEMOISELLE had no sooner witnessed these demonstrations than she advanced to the extreme edge of the ditch; and, raising her voice, exclaimed, "Hasten to the Town-Hall, good people; and, if you wish to see me among you, open the city gates."

This address produced considerable commotion, but the only reply was a repetition of the same cry; and when she had ascertained that she was merely answered by words, MADEMOISELLE continued her way, until she arrived at a gate where the guard sprung to their arms, and arranged themselves in file along the rampart. Anxious to profit by this movement, the princess shouted to the commanding officer to open the barrier, but he replied by signifying that he was not in possession of the keys. Wearied by the inutility of her entreaties, the princess next proceeded to threats, for she could not condescend to entreat for what she considered to be her right; and her suite, who regarded this measure as dangerous, expostulated in vain—asking her what she could anticipate from menacing people upon whose good feeling toward her she was utterly dependent for success; but she laughed at their terrors, declaring that it was good policy to ascertain if she could not do more by threats than gentleness.

MADEMOISELLE, as she confessed to the Countess de Fiesque, was emboldened in this attempt by a declaration of the Marquis de Vilène who was esteemed one of the

most accomplished astrologers of the time, that whatever she undertook between mid-day on Wednesday the 27th of March, and the following Friday, was certain to succeed; and that, confiding in the science of the marquis, whose perdiction was then in her pocket, she felt confident that she should either force the gates of Orleans or escalade its walls. Terrified as they were by this display of resolution, the two countesses could not suppress their merriment at the menacing attitude assumed by their female commander-in-chief; who, nothing daunted by this display of their incredulity, calmly pursued her way along the ramparts, until she arrived at the river-bank; where the boatmen, who at Orleans form a considerable body, approached her, and offered their services, which she immediately accepted, haranguing them in a style which excited them to such enthusiasm that she saw her point was gained; and accordingly proposed that they should row her as far as the Porte de la Faux, which opened upon the river: they, however, proposed a gate upon the quay, which they said would be more easily forced, as well as much nearer; and that, should she desire it, they would instantly go to work. MADEMOISELLE bade them lose no time; showered money among them; and in order to superintend the progress of their attempt, and to animate them by her presence, ascended a hillock whence she could command the gate, to effect which she was compelled to climb upon her hands and knees, defying alike flints and brambles; nor could the expostulations of those about her induce her to abandon her position.

Careless as she was of her personal safety, the princess was, nevertheless, a sufficiently able diplomatist to forbid all her own people from assisting in the violence that she had authorized, in order, as she confesses, that should the enterprise have proved unsuccessful, she might deny that it was undertaken by her order; one light-horseman only, who was a native of the city, disregarded her injunction

and during the operations was slightly wounded by a stone. The princess had left the troops who formed her escort at the distance of a mile from the walls, that she might not alarm the citizens by a military force; and they were ordered to await and conduct her to Gergeau, in the event of her being unable to make good her entrance into Orleans.

Ere long, however, MADEMOISLLE was informed that the work was getting on well; and upon this assurance she at once approached the scene of action, attended by an equerry and an exempt; as the quay was invested, and that between the princess and the gate the river washed the walls, a bridge was formed by a couple of boats; and, as the opposite bank was extremely steep, a ladder was placed in the second boat, by which MADEMOISELLE, with some difficulty, mounted to the assault; for it unfortunately chanced that, in addition to its somewhat unstable tenure on its floating foundation, one of the steps was broken. By these means she reached the quay, and had no sooner arrived there than she ordered her guards to return to the carriages, that she might prove to the authorities of Orleans the confidence with which she entered their city, unaccompanied by a single armed man.

Her appearance among them tended, as a natural consequence, to animate the boatmen to increased exertion, while a party of the citizens assisted them from within; and the guard, which was under arms, stood by in perfect neutrality, neither aiding nor preventing the aggression which threatened the destruction of their post.

At length two of the center planks of the gate were forced, and it was soon discovered that it could not be opened more effectually, being traversed by two weighty bars of iron; upon which the princess desired one of her attendants to take her in his arms, and to push her through the aperture, whence her head had no sooner emerged than the drums beat, and the captain of the guard drew her into the city. In an instant she was on her feet, and extending her hand to

him, exclaimed, with perfect composure, "You shall have reason to rejoice that it was you who effected my entrance." Cries of "Long live the king and the princess, and down with Mazarin!" resounded on all sides; and as on many great occasions the sublime and the ridiculous overpass the one pace by which they are said to be separated, so it proved upon this also; for while the princess was radiant with the triumph of her successful exploit, two men approached her with a wooden chair, upon which they almost compelled her to seat herself, and thus bore her exultingly toward the Town-Hall, where the municipal authorities had congregated to discuss their measures at so difficult a crisis, not having yet been able to decide whether the gates should be opened to the king or to herself; and as bold actions always involve the sympathies of the million, she was escorted by the whole of the populace, who pressed about her in order to obtain a look, or to kiss the folds of her dress.

Mademoiselle submitted to this somewhat equivocal honor, and advanced five or six hundred paces in her improvised equipage; but the ovation became at length unendurable, and she requested her bearers to permit her to alight, as she preferred finishing her walk on foot in the midst of her faithful citizens. The procession accordingly halted, and the ladies of her suite profited by the circumstance to rejoin her. One of the city companies arrived at the moment, and preceded her, with its drums beating and all the customary military honors, to the palace, which was the ordinary residence of *Monsieur* when in the city. Midway the princess was met by the governor, who was greatly embarrassed, being aware that his presents of sweetmeats had been but an inefficient proof of his devotion to her cause. To him succeeded the municipal authorities, equally ill at ease, who began to stammer forth an harangue, which Mademoiselle, with admirable tact, cut short by addressing them, and remarking that they were,

no doubt, surprised to see her enter their city otherwise than by the usual gate; but that, being naturally impatient, and having found the Porte de la Bannière closed, and another open, she had passed through that; at which they had every reason to congratulate themselves, since the court, who were at Clèry, could not accuse them of her admission; and that all responsibility being thus removed from themselves, they were consequently exonerated from whatever results might ensue, since she herself became answerable for every thing; for where persons of her rank entered a city, they became its masters, as was their right, and as she had an especial privilege to be considered in a town which belonged to *Monsieur*.

They replied by an abundance of compliments, to which they found the princess ready with the rejoinder, that she was quite convinced they were about, as they stated, to open their gates; but that, for the reasons which she had already advanced, she was unwilling to leave them time to do so; after which she turned the conversation to other subjects, and continued to converse with them as though nothing remarkable had occurred—merely stating that she wished to proceed at once to the Town-Hall, to attend the meeting which was to deliberate upon the entrance of the royal counselors into the city. She then sent an exempt to desire that her equipages might immediately join her; and from that moment she assumed the command of Orleans, without comment or opposition.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Royal Progress through Orleans—Harangue at the Town-Hall—Defeat of the Duke de Beaufort—Ludicrous Struggle between the Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Beaufort—Arrival of M. de Condé at the rebel Army; his Letter to Mademoiselle—State of the royal Army—Singular Quarrel between the King and his Brother—Anecdotes of the young King—The female Generals—Return of Mademoiselle to Paris; she heads the Faction—Defeat of the Fronde at Etampes—Courage of Louis XIV.—Sufferings of the royal Troops—Monsieur refuses to act—Accredits Mademoiselle—Mademoiselle at the Town-Hall.

On the following morning Mademoiselle was awakened at the early hour of seven, and advised to show herself as soon as possible in public, in order to rally around her all such of the citizens as yet remained undecided whether to adopt her interests or those of the royal counselors, who were still awaiting entrance into the city. The princess, who instantly perceived the value of this advice, lost no

time in making her toilet; and, while this was proceeding, sent to summon the governor and the mayor to accompany her in her progress. The chains which had been stretched across the streets, as was, at that period, usual in all cities threatened with siege, were still in their places: and when it was suggested that they should be removed, MADEMOISELLE objected, observing that she would make the tour of the streets on foot.

She did so accordingly; commencing her pilgrimage by attending mass at the church of St. Catherine, near the bridge; after which, she ascended one of the towers commanding the faubourg, whence she saw M. de Champlâtreux walking in front of the Augustine convent, in company with a number of the court lords; and, as she was anxious that the royal party should be made aware that she was in possession of the city, she rallied all her officers about her, whose blue scarfs were necessarily sufficiently conspicuous at once to arrest the attention of the Mazarinites, and to reveal to them the hopelessness of their errand, even without the shouts of the populace who were collected upon the bridge, and who rent the air with cries of "Long live the king and the princess!" and "Down with Mazarin!"

These shouts were echoed by the inhabitants of the faubourg; the guard upon the bridge fired a volley; and then the exclamations became so vehement and so persevering, that the princess, delighted with the effect produced by her presence, and, at last, perfectly in her element, ordered the guards to be doubled, in order to prove to the council that they had nothing to hope; and, in consequence, the king left Cléry the same day, and passed the night at Sully.

From the church, MADEMOISELLE, after traversing the principal streets, proceeded to the palace of the bishop, with whom she dined; and thence to the Town-Hall, where she was considerably less at her ease than when surrounded by the troops and the mob. When she found herself

seated in a great chair, in the midst of the most profound silence, she confesses that she was extremely embarrassed, never having spoken in public, and being, moreover, very ignorant; but the exigency of her position gave her courage; and she made a long speech, in which she dilated upon the great interest taken by her royal father in his good city of Orleans; which he had felt that he could not better testify than by sending, as his representative, the person who was most dear to him, when prevented by important business in Paris from hastening himself to protect it from the evil designs of the cardinal; and that she had, consequently, accepted the mission in the same spirit; and had come, either to assist the citizens to defend themselves, or, should this unfortunately become impossible, to perish with them.

At the conclusion of her harangue, the princess received the thanks of the meeting; and, on leaving the Town-Hall, she saw the windows of the prison crowded with soldiers, who entreated her to grant their release. She inquired of the authorities the nature of their crime, and was informed that there were several accusations against them; upon which she offered to hang them all in the public squares of the city; but the magistrates refused to profit by her proposal, and left them entirely to her mercy. Mademoiselle had calculated upon this concession, and instantly releasing the whole number, desired that their horses and arms should be restored to them, and that they should forthwith join the army, to which, by this circumstance, she added a body of between forty and fifty horsemen.

It was late in the evening before she returned to the palace; and, shortly afterward, a letter was delivered to her from the Duke de Beaufort, in which he announced that he had been unable to meet Her Royal Highness according to his promise, having been anxious to capture the king, who had ascended the opposite bank of the river; in which view he had attempted to pass the Loire by the

bridge of Gergau. He had, however, signally failed in his object, Marshal Turenne having checked his advance by a magnificent defense; and, without having accomplished one object of usefulness or advantage, he had sacrificed a great number of brave men, and among the rest, Sirot, Baron de Vitaux, who was one of the lieutenant-generals of the prince at Rocroy—a man of birth, merit, and great military reputation, who was mortally wounded in the lower jaw, and whom MADEMOISELLE caused to be transported to Orleans, in order that no exertion might be spared to save him. All her care was, however, unfortunately of no avail, as he only survived his hurt a few days.

The Baron de Vitaux was a serious loss to the party of the princess, being a soldier of great experience, who had been reared in the army of the Emperor of Germany; where he had, by a singular fatality, exchanged pistol-shots with three kings—those of Bohemia, Poland, and Sweden—and had even perforated the hat of the latter. He had served the king faithfully for years, and was covered with wounds; but his claims having been overlooked, he abandoned the court, and retired to his estates in Burgundy, whence *Monsieur* had induced him to emerge in order to join the Fronde. The annoyance of MADEMOISELLE was, consequently, great when she learned the ill-advised Quixotism of M. de Beaufort, with its fatal results; and she wrote to both himself and the Duke de Nemours to desire them to attend her at a hotel in the faubourg, in order that no future step might be taken without the general concurrence of herself and her council. They met accordingly; but as the two noble brothers-in-law were at variance, they profited by this opportunity, greatly to the terror of the princess, to quarrel as to the direction in which the army was to march, and disregarding the presence of MADEMOISELLE, proceeded from words to blows, M. de Beaufort striking the Duke de Nemours on the face.

and the duke replying by pulling off the wig of his opponent. Each then drew his sword; but the princess caused them to be instantly separated, exacting, as some reparation for the disrespect which they had exhibited toward herself, that they should instantly become reconciled. It was, however, much more easy to will such a reconciliation than to compel it; and it was not without extreme difficulty and long expostulation, that MADEMOISLLE succeeded in inducing the two princes to embrace in her presence; when she says that M. de Beaufort advanced toward his brother-in-law, with open arms, and his eyes filled with tears, while that brother received and returned his embrace as he would have done that of a footman.

Nothing was, consequently, decided at this interview; which had, nevertheless, absorbed so much time, that the inhabitants of Orleans were becoming uneasy at the long absence of the princess; and she considered it expedient to explain to the principal authorities the cause of the delay; after which she retired to her apartments, and wrote to the two belligerents, beseeching them to live more amicably for the future, not only for their own sakes, but also for that of the common cause; and to order the army to march immediately upon Montargis.*

On the following Saturday the princess received the reply of *Monsieur* to a letter which she had written to him, announcing her entrance into Orleans; and she declares that her delight was great at the tenderness which it exhibited,

* Montargis, situate seventeen leagues from Orleans, is the capital of the department of the Loiret, and commands both the Loire and the Yonne. The town stretches along the base of a lofty eminence, near a fine forest which bears its name. In its immediate neighborhood still exists the ruins of a castle, where, on one of the chimney-pieces of the great hall, is sculptured the history of the celebrated Aubry de Mont-Didier, whose dog is asserted to have attacked and overcome the assassin of his master, in the presence of Charles VIII. The town was founded in the reign of Clovis; and in the twelfth century belonged to the Courtenay family.

although our readers will probably attribute a very different feeling to the writer. Thus it ran :—

"My Daughter,

"You may believe the joy which I felt at the action you have just accomplished: you have saved Orleans for me, and insured Paris. It is a general subject of congratulation; and every one says that your exploit is worthy of the granddaughter of Henry the Great. I never doubted your daring; but, on this occasion, I have learned that you have even more prudence than courage. I must tell you, moreover, that I am delighted at what you have done, as much for your sake as for mine. Henceforward write to me through your secretary, for the reason you wot of.

"Gaston."

This reason, as Mademoiselle herself asserts, was the extreme difficulty experienced by every one in deciphering her writing, which was unusually illegible.

At the commencement of the following month (April) the princess received the welcome intelligence that M. de Condé had assumed the command of the army—news which was on the morrow confirmed by a letter to herself, in which he complimented her upon the heroism of her conduct, and assured her of his irrevocable attachment to the interests of *Monsieur*, and his devotion to her own person. He brought, however, no reinforcement to the troops, being accompanied by only seven individuals; and having left Agen almost in a state of revolt against him in the rear, and his whole family divided into parties. He had made the whole journey from Bordeaux to Orleans in the short space of seven days, and had narrowly escaped being taken at Cosne by a captain of the royal army, who only missed him by a quarter of an hour. He was also in great danger of discovery at an inn by the roadside; where, being disguised as a groom, he was ordered to

saddle and bridle a horse, a task which he could not accomplish.

Despite all these drawbacks, however, the sole presence of M. de Condé was an incalculable advantage to the army, who relied upon his reputation as confidently as they would have done upon an augmentation of their force. When he reached the advanced guard he had been stopped by the sentinel, to whom his person was unknown; and, irritated by the circumstance, he refused to declare his identity; when, fortunately, a German colonel who commanded the guard, impressed with the conviction that it was the prince, alighted from his horse, and approaching that of M. de Condé, suddenly embraced his knees, pronouncing his name at the same time. In an instant it was echoed on every side, and a wild spirit of enthusiasm pervaded all ranks.

Only seven days subsequently, the princess received a second letter from the great general, couched in these terms:—

"MADEMOISELLE,

"I receive so many new proofs of your goodness, that words fail me to thank you; I will merely assure you that there is nothing which I would not undertake for your service; do me the honor to be convinced of this, and to rely upon it. I yesterday obtained information that the Mazarin army had crossed the river, and had separated to different stations. I resolved instantly to attack them in these places; and this measure succeeded so well, that I fell upon their first quarters before they had any warning. I first overcame three regiments of dragoons; and then I marched to the head-quarters of Hocquincourt, which I also carried. There was some little resistance, but finally all were routed. We followed them for three hours, after which we moved toward M. de Turenne; but we found him posted so advantageously, and our own troops were sc

weary with the long march, and so loaded with the booty which they had made, that we did not consider it right to attack him at a disadvantage; all, therefore, passed in a cannonade; and, finally, he retreated. All the troops of Hocquincourt were routed; all the baggage taken; and the booty amounted to between two and three thousand horses, a number of prisoners, and their store of ammunition. M. de Nemours did wonders; and was wounded in the hip by a pistol-bullet, but not dangerously. M. de Beaufort had his horse killed, and behaved very well; M. de la Rochefoucauld very well; Clinchamp, Tovannes, and Valon, the same; as did all the other adjutant-generals. Maré was struck by a cannon-ball; but, beside these, we have not lost thirty men. I think that you will be glad to hear this news; and will not doubt that I am, MADEMOISELLE, your very humble and very obedient servant,

"LOUIS DE BOURBON."

This intelligence was, indeed, most welcome to the princess, although she was deeply grieved on ascertaining that so many of her personal friends had suffered in the conflict. The count de Maré did not survive his wound; and although the result of the engagement strengthened the faction at Paris, great uneasiness existed as to the ultimate fate of M. de Nemours, whose hurt did not, however, prove fatal.

In the royal army all was consternation. The court was at Gien,* suffering every species of deprivation. The defeat of the Marshal d'Hocquincourt had occasioned great alarm; and the queen no sooner ascertained that the two armies had met, than she issued an order that all the

* Gien is situated on the right bank of the Loire, at fifteen and a half leagues from Orleans. It possesses a fine castle, built, it is believed, by Charlemagne, and which has been inhabited by several of the French kings, among others, by Charles VII., Francis I., and Louis XIV.

equipages and baggage should be transported to the opposite bank of the river, in order that an immediate flight might be rendered easy, and the bridge destroyed after the passage of the king's suite. At dawn on the following morning, all the carriages, filled with the ladies of the court, were accordingly collected on the other side the Loire; but the operation was so ill-conducted, that had M. de Condé pursued his advantage, he might have forced M. de Turenne, whose command was very inconsiderable, and captured the whole party, who ultimately arrived in such a state of bewilderment at St. Fargeau, that they neither knew what they were doing, nor what they ought to do.*

M. de Senneterre asserts that this was the only occasion upon which he had seen the queen thoroughly hopeless and depressed, for she scarcely could decide in what direction to turn her steps; and told him that she felt convinced, had M. de Turenne shown less firmness and ability, and suffered himself to be defeated like the Marshal d'Hocquincourt, every city in the province would have followed the example of Orleans, and closed its gates against the king.†

As the royal fugitives pursued their retreat to Montereau they were exposed, not only to privation, but to absolute robbery from each other; nor was the young sovereign himself exempted from this pillage, but lost several of his best horses. From Montereau they next proceeded to Corbeil,‡ where an adventure occurred which is too laughable to be omitted, and which we will give in the words of Laporte, who was an eye-witness to the quarrel.

"The king," he says, "insisted that *Monsieur*§ should

* Laporte. † Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

‡ Corbeil stands upon the right bank of the Seine, twelve and a half leagues from Versailles, and three from Melun.

§ The Duke d'Anjou.

sleep in his room, which was so small that only one person could pass. In the morning, as they lay awake, the king inadvertently spat upon the bed of *Monsieur*, who immediately spat upon the king's bed; thereupon Louis, getting angry, spat in his brother's face; and when they could spit no longer, they proceeded to drag each other's sheets on to the floor: after which they prepared to fight. During this quarrel I did what I could to restrain the king; but as I could not succeed, I sent for M. de Villeroy, who reëstablished peace. *Monsieur* lost his temper sooner than the king; but the king was much more difficult to appease than *Monsieur*."

The court diverged from its proper road, leaving Paris on the left; and pursued its way to St. Germain, where it was ascertained that the Parisians had destroyed the bridges, a circumstance which shed gloom over every countenance; as, after all their sufferings, the courtiers had looked forward to a compensation from the stores of the capital. No one possessed any ready money save the cardinal, who was suspected of having made a good provision in case of need, although he declared that he was as poor as the meanest soldier in the ranks.

Laporte gives several anecdotes of the young king at this period, which are eminently characteristic of the after man.

The news of the battle at Etampes* reached the court

* Etampes is distant thirteen and three quarter leagues from Versailles, in the department of Seine and Oise. It is a very ancient town, and is mentioned during the first race of Frankish kings, under the name of *Stampæ*. Sacked by Rollo in 911, it was rebuilt by King Robert, who founded there several religious houses. It shared in the events of the 14th and 15th centuries, which plunged all France into consternation, and was ravaged by the Orleans faction. Francis I. raised the county of Etampes into a duchy, in favor of John de Brosses. Etampes was several times taken and retaken during the religious wars; and became, in 1589, the rendezvous of the forces of the League. Henry IV. took possession of it in 1590, and razed the fortifications of the castle built by King Robert, of which the ruins still remain.

during the night, accompanied by the intelligence that the princess had been worsted; and M. de Villeroy, to whom it was first communicated, hastened to inform the king and the Duke d'Anjou of the propitious event. They, as well as Laporte, instantly sprang from their beds, and rushed in their slippers, nightcaps, and dressing-gowns to the chamber of the cardinal, whom they awakened with the joyful tidings; and who hurried, in his turn, and in the same unsophisticated costume, to announce them to the queen. This anecdote explains better than any labored description the uneasiness of the court at that period, and the natural energy of Louis.

About the same time another circumstance occurred, which, trivial as it was, serves to prove the perfect helplessness of the king, although he had attained his majority, and was supposed to be the sovereign of a powerful nation. Birragues, the first valet of the king's wardrobe, had a cousin who was an ensign in the regiment of Picardy, and who, having been wounded at Etampes, petitioned for his promotion to the rank of lieutenant, his superior officer having been killed in the same engagement; and requested M. de Créquy, the first gentleman of the chamber on duty, to use his interest with the young monarch in behalf of his kinsman. Louis considered the request to be a just one, and readily promised to speak to the queen and the cardinal in his behalf; but as, after a lapse of several days, the king had not adverted to the circumstance, M. de Créquy, during his toilet, ventured to ask him if he had been good enough to remember the solicitations of M. de Birragues. Louis made no reply, and endeavored to appear as though he had not heard the question; upon which, Laporte, who was arranging his dress, remarked that those who had the honor to serve His Majesty were very unfortunate, since they could not hope even to obtain justice. As he ceased speaking, Louis whispered in his ear:

"It is not my fault, my dear Laporte, I spoke to *him* about it, but it was of no use."

As the young king never mentioned the cardinal in any other manner, from the hatred which he bore toward him, the friends of the applicant were thus informed whence the obstacle arose.

On a subsequent occasion, Laporte was summoned during his breakfast; and on entering the chamber of Louis, the king drew out a handful of gold, saying that the superintendent of finance had sent him a hundred louis as pocket-money, to enable him to be liberal to the soldiers; and that he wished him to take care of them for him. Laporte respectfully remonstrated, suggesting that they were better in the keeping of His Majesty. Louis, however, persisted, saying that with his high boots the money would be troublesome. This objection was happily overruled, by the attendant recommending that instead of carrying it in his haut-de-chausses, the king should deposit it in the pocket of his vest; and Louis, delighted with any any arrangement which enabled him to enjoy the novelty of bearing a sum of money upon his person, at once adopted the expedient. He was not, however, destined to be long burdened with the unaccustomed freight; and the manner in which he became dispossessed of it, is quite as characteristic as his embarrassment on its receipt.

During the sojourn of the court at St. Germain, Moreau, the first valet of the wardrobe, had advanced eleven pistoles for the royal gloves; and as, like all those about him, he was distressed for funds, the want of this hundred and ten livres had inconvenienced him considerably; and he accordingly no sooner ascertained that the young king had come into possession of a hundred louis, than he entreated Laporte to obtain for him the sum that he had advanced.

As he was assisting the young sovereign in his arrangements for the night, Laporte accordingly reminded him of

the debt, and informed him that he had promised to mention it to His Majesty; but the worthy functionary was too late in his application. Mazarin had ascertained that Louis was in possession of the money, and by some means or other had obtained it from him.*

Meanwhile, MADEMOISELLE began to weary of her inactive life at Orleans, whence the tide of war had rolled away, and decided upon returning to Paris. She consequently dispatched a trumpeter to M. de Turenne, and to the Marshal d'Hocquincourt, who were encamped at Châtres, on the high road between Paris and Etampes, to request passports, as she was anxious to visit the capital without delay; and, after leaving Orleans, she found at Angerville the escort which had been sent to meet her; when, the weather being remarkably fine, she mounted on horseback, accompanied by the countesses of Fiesque and Frontenac, who still remained with her, and to whom, on that account, *Monsieur* had written shortly after their entrance into Orleans, complimenting them upon their courage, and addressing the letter to *The Countesses, Adjutant-Generals, in the Army of my Daughter against Mazarin.*

De Retz states that *Monsieur* felt so little confidence in the prudence of the princess, that when she offered to act as his representative at Orleans, he consented with great reluctance; and on the very day when she took leave of him, and commenced her journey, he remarked that this exhibition of chivalry would have been very absurd if it had not been sustained by the good sense of the two ladies who were her companions. It is, however, extremely probable that the Quixotism of the adventure, so long as it ensured his own safety, would have been equally welcome to the Duke d'Orleans, even had MADEMOISELLE undertaken it without any extraneous support.

Be this as it may, it is certain that from the arrival of the duke's letter, so superscribed, all the commanding

* Laporte.

officers of the army of the Fronde paid the two countesses the honor due to the rank which *Monsieur*, in a moment of unusual hilarity, had assigned to them; and, in accordance with this arrangement, as they passed along the line of one of the German regiments, which was marching in front of MADEMOISELLE, M. de Chavagnac, who commanded her escort, halted corps, and desired the Count de Quinski, its colonel, to pay them the honors due to their military rank, which he did without hesitation; entering into the jest, says MADEMOISELLE, as though he had been a Frenchman; first causing the troops to draw their swords and salute them according to the German fashion, and then detaching a whole squadron in order to render the honor more complete: a homage the more flattering as the gallant count was the nephew of Wallenstein.

The princess remained a day at Etampes, awaiting her passports, for which M. de Turenne had dispatched a messenger to St. Germain, where the court were then residing; and she employed it by holding a levee, where all the officers appeared in full costume. In the evening she received not only the required passports, but also an intimation that the two royalist marshals would meet her on the morrow outside their quarters with their army in battle array. Clinchamp, however, whose veteran experience led him to doubt this fact, asserted that they would do nothing of the kind; but, knowing that she had not seen their own troops collected, and believing that they would leave their position on the same occasion, they were anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity to offer battle. The event proved the correctness of his judgment, for it was shortly afterward ascertained that the king's forces were marching toward them. In consequence, MADEMOISELLE ordered the whole of the troops to enter the town, a movement which was hastily accomplished; and she then got into her carriage, and pursued her way toward Paris.

At Châtres she found the Baron d'Aprémont, who ex

pressed to her the great regret felt by the two marshals that they could not await her arrival as they had proposed to do, having been compelled to march upon Etampes. He then gave her a cornet and twenty men as her escort, and himself accompanied her for a quarter of a league on her journey. At Bourg-la-Reine the princess was met by M. de Condé, the Duke de Beaufort, the Prince de Tarente, M. de Rohan, and all the men of rank then sojourning at Paris. As her carriage approached, the prince alighted, saluted her, and took his seat in her coach; she next encountered the duchesses of Epernon and Sully, who also joined her party; and they beguiled the remainder of the journey by listening to a detail of all her proceedings at Orleans. As MADEMOISELLE drew near the capital, she found half the population outside the gates to welcome her; and the road, to the extent of a league, bordered with carriages of every description; nor was she by any means insensible to this popular demonstration, amid which she forgot the intelligence of M. de Condé, that *Monsieur* was seriously displeased by her departure from Orleans without his permission.

She alighted at the Orleans palace, where a great crowd had assembled; and whatever might be the real feelings of His Royal Highness, whom she found in his bed, he received her with tolerable graciousness; for which she was, without doubt, indebted to M. de Condé, who requested permission to be present at the interview, lest the Duke d'Orleans should reproach her with her unauthorized return to Paris. Having given him an account of the leading circumstances of her journey, and informed him of the projected attack on Etampes, she next proceeded to pay her respects to *Madame*, who greeted her with considerable coldness; and as the princess was still accompanied by M. de Condé, whom the duchess had never liked, she expended the annoyance which she felt at the advantage obtained over her by MADEMOISELLE on this occasion, when the popularity of

the one contrasted so painfully with the enforced insignificance of the other, by exclaiming that the boots of the prince smelled so strongly of leather that she could not support it; and M. de Condé was consequently obliged to leave the room.

After a very brief visit, the princess retired in her turn, and hastened to receive the congratulations of the courtiers who were assembled in the cabinet. Here she again found the prince surrounded by all the pretty women of the court; and after an exchange of compliments, she proceeded to the *Cours** in the coach of Madame de Nemours, accompanied also by the duchesses of Epernon, Sully, and Châtillon, and the two attendant countesses; the prince, the Duke de Beaufort, and other nobles following in a second cerriage.

On the morrow, a courier reached the princess with the news of the defeat of the forces of the Fronde at Etampes; which, as we have already stated, the court had ascertained during the night. Many prisoners had been taken, but few officers of rank had fallen. The event was, however, most unfortunate for the faction; and MADEMOISELLE felt it the more keenly as it contrasted very disadvantageously with the ovation of which she was even then the object. All Paris, as she declares, visited her during the day; and her apartments were so crowded that there was great difficulty in moving. The King of England was among her guests, although he by no means sympathized in her interests, having sent the Duke of York to serve as a volunteer under Marshal Turenne; and he was, consequently, careful to avoid all allusion to the encounter at Etampes. The Queen of England on the contrary, spoke freely of passing events; and when she learned the forced entrance of the princess into Orleans, remarked with somewhat bitter

* The fashionable promenade and drive of the court, which extended in a straight line from the gardens of the Tuileries to the extremity of the Champs Elysées

pleasantry, that she was not astonished to find that MADEMOISELLE had saved the city from the hands of her enemies, as Joan of Arc had done before her; or that, like her, she had commenced by repelling the English—alluding to the objection which had been made by the princess to the visits of her son. As this caustic observation was necessarily repeated to MADEMOISELLE, it engendered a coolness that induced Queen Henrietta to offer an apology; which was, however, tendered rather upon the occasion of some impertinent remarks in which one of her personal friends had indulged on the subject of the Fronde, than supposed to be necessitated by her own words; and this done, the princess, continued to pay her respects to her royal aunt as usual.

But while MADEMOISELLE thus found herself the idol of the capital, the court had proceeded to besiege Etampes, and this expedition may in truth be considered as the first serious campaign of Louis XIV. He acquitted himself well for so mere a youth, several bullets having passed close beside him without his evincing the slightest fear; and as every one was congratulating him upon his courage, when he was retiring for the night he turned toward his favorite valet-de-chambre, and inquired if he had been frightened? Laporte replied in the negative.

"You are a brave man, then;" said the king.

"Sire;" was the clever rejoinder; "one is always brave when one is pennyless." Louis laughed; the epigram was as intelligible to both himself and Mazarin as to the utterer.*

The young sovereign could scarcely have commenced the career of arms under more painful circumstances. On every side he was surrounded by sick and wounded soldiers, who implored the help which he was unable to afford. Not possessing a louis d'or which he could call his own, he was compelled to look on with a bleeding heart,

* Laporte.

perhaps, but certainly with a closed hand; nor did the aspect of the captured town afford any relief from the dreary picture presented by its captors. Wherever the court had passed, the peasants, believing that they must be safe under the protection of royalty, from the depredations of the army which was laying waste the neighborhood, had driven in their cattle, which soon died for want of food, as the owners dared not trust them beyond the walls to graze; and their animals once dead, they began to die off in their turn; for, having neither bread nor wine, and finding no shelter save a few sheds, and the wagons and carts which encumbered the streets, they were attacked by malignant fever, and expired by hundreds. Thus the king was exposed to the most frightful spectacles; and on one occasion, as he was passing over the bridge of Melun, he came upon a group not readily to be forgotten. It was that of a woman and her three children huddled closely together; the mother and two of the children dead, and stiffening in the morning air, and an infant still living, and straining vainly at the exhausted breast which could no longer afford it sustenance. The queen, who was greatly affected by the misery which she was condemned to witness, had perpetually upon her lips the account which would be required from God against the authors of so far-spreading and terrible an evil; never appearing to remember that it principally originated with herself; but, by a delicate sophistry more congenial to her sensibility, transferring the crime and the responsibility to those who had thwarted her projects and curbed her ambition.

The royal forces suffered more than those of the Fronde during this siege, from the fact of their not being enabled to surround the town, owing to the paucity of their numbers, but merely to open the trenches on the Orleans side. To attack Etampes in circumvallation would have required considerably more than the eight thousand men who were brought against it; and the king's army suffered severely

from the vigorous sorties made by the enemy. Among those who fell was the Chevalier de la Vieuville, a brave man, and a court favorite.

The young sovereign was present during the whole of the operations; and the cardinal sent an order to the besieged not to fire in the direction of the royal equipage; an injunction which was disregarded as a matter of course, under the pretext that the officer to whom it had been communicated was a foreigner, and had not comprehended the command.

A few days after her return to Paris, MADEMOISELLE was informed that the prince had proceeded to St. Cloud, in order to quarter some of his troops there, and to make himself master of that post as he had already done of Neuilly; but not satisfied with this step, he advanced to St. Denis, which he took after a slight resistance, the garrison being weak, and the town ill-defended. He possessed himself of this place at daylight, but it was retaken by the royal forces at dusk, despite the reinforcement furnished by the Duke de Beaufort, who narrowly escaped being made a prisoner on his retreat toward Paris. Five hundred citizens who went to his rescue, were cut to pieces in the faubourg St. Denis, and it was only the advent of the darkness that prevented still greater loss. A movement upon Paris was forthwith determined by the king's generals, their strength having been greatly augmented by a body of troops which the Marshal La Ferté Senectère had brought up from Lorraine; and the intention was to attack the forces of the Fronde which were scattered along the bank of the Seine, between Suresne and St. Cloud. M. de Condé did not, however, consider the position tenable; and he accordingly raised his camp during the night, and retired upon Charenton.

From this period the war of the Fronde may really be said to have commenced in earnest. The army of the prince, shut up in Paris, diminished day by day; and his

power became weakened in an equal proportion. M. de Turenne, who was aware of this circumstance, detained the king and the court in the neighborhood of the capital, which he attacked with his forces, insufficient as they were.

About half-past ten on the night of the 1st of July, MADEMOISELLE heard the drums beating, and the trumpets, sounding; and as her apartments were only separated by the moat from the Tuileries, she had no sooner opened a window than she could hear the troops of the prince filing off, and even distinguish the different airs to which they marched. She remained listening to these ominous sounds until midnight, in deep thought and with a vague presentiment that the following day would prove an eventful one to herself.

During this time several persons came to pay their respects to her, and among others M. de Flamarin, of whom she inquired if he could guess the subject of her reflections. On his replying in the negative, she said she felt a conviction that on the morrow she should be called upon to take as active a part in Paris as she had played at Orleans. The idea amused De Flamarin, who remarked that Her Royal Highness would display great ingenuity in discovering such an opportunity, because nothing remarkable was likely to occur, negotiations having taken place, which would only render it necessary for the armies to embrace when they met.

To this conclusion the princess, however, calmly and firmly objected to concede any trust; affirming that she was aware of the negotiations to which he alluded, and believed that they were all great dupes to suffer themselves to be amused by empty words, instead of rendering their forces more effective; as, during the period of their own inaction, it was well known that the cardinal had collected his own troops, and had so strengthened his position, that any encounter must prove most disastrous to

the army of the Fronde. M. de Flamarin still, however, remaining incredulous, MADEMOISELLE followed up her prophecy by remarking, that it was not impossible that he who had been one of the negotiators, upon whose interference he placed such reliance, might, ere another sun set, boast a limb the less; but her interlocutor saw only new cause for merriment in this second specimen of the princess's spirit of divination; and left her with a jest upon his lips, asserting that it had already been predicted that he would die with a rope about his neck.

At one o'clock MADEMOISELLE retired, but it was scarcely six when she heard some one knock at her door; and springing up, she called her women, who introduced into her chamber the Count de Fiesque. He had been dispatched by M. de Condé to *Monsieur*, to inform him that His Highness had been attacked between Montmarte and La Chapelle; and that, as regarded himself, he had been refused entrance at the Porte St. Denis, which led him to fear that the prince would meet with the same impediment should he be compelled to retreat. His errand accomplished, he had entreated *Monsieur* to mount his horse, and to satisfy himself, by personal observation, of the actual state of things; but there was positive danger abroad; and, whenever decision was required, Gaston was always indisposed; it was, therefore, not surprising that, on this occasion, especially, the prince had refused to leave his bed, asserting that he was seriously ill; and finding that he could make no impression either upon the pride or the self-respect of *Monsieur*, the count had now come to MADEMOISELLE, to implore her, in the name of M. de Condé, not to abandon his cause. The princess had no such intention; and, from a mingled motive which it would be scarcely fair to analyze, when we remember how nobly it prompted her after-actions, she dismissed M. de Fiesque, with a solemn promise that she would serve the prince to the whole extent of her

power; dressed herself in haste, and hurried to the Luxembourg, where she encountered *Monsieur* upon the steps.

Delighted by such an apparition, MADEMOISELLE did not seek to conceal her joy, but expressed how truly glad she was to find that the fears of M. de Fiesque had misled him as regarded the health of His Royal Highness. It was, however, no part of *Monsieur's* intention to resuscitate so inopportunely; and he consequently hastened to moderate the self-gratulation of the princess by declaring that the count was quite correct in his report, for that, although not ill enough to keep his bed, he was utterly unable to take any part in public business.

Urged by the emergency of the moment, and exasperated by the contemptible inaction of her father, MADEMOISELLE, despite this assertion, ventured to expostulate, bidding him remember that all Paris had their eyes upon him at such a conjuncture; and that he would do well to mount his horse, and to take the lead in proceedings in which his honor was so deeply involved. This burst of generous indignation was, however, without effect upon the dastardly spirit of Gaston, who could find no better reply than that the thing was impossible, that he was too weak, and that he did not believe he could walk a hundred yards. "Then, sir," said the princess, urged beyond her patience; "you will do well at once to go to bed out of sight, for the world had better believe that you can not, than that you will not, leave it."

There can be no doubt that the advice was good, but the duke was too egotistical to profit by it; and he still continued calmly to move about the palace, in the midst of his household, who all appeared to be perfectly unaffected by the threatened danger from without; and to treat it with a contemptuous disregard, which at length extorted from the princess the impatient remark, that

she could in no other way account for so ill-timed and ill-omened an indifference, than by supposing that His Royal Highness had a treaty in his pocket for him and his, bearing the signature of Mazarin.

Monsieur made no comment upon this covert accusation, and MADEMOISELLE was beginning to despair of her mission, when Messieurs de Rohan and de Chavigny were announced; who, instantly detecting her discomfiture, used their influence, which was considerable with the supine prince, to permit his daughter to represent him at the the Town-Hall, as she had done at Orleans; to which he acceded with more feigned than actual reluctance; and ultimately gave M. de Rohan a letter, in which he empowered MADEMOISELLE to act as his substitute with the mayors and magistrates.

Once possessed of this document the princess hastened to quit the Luxembourg with the Countess de Fiesque, who was her constant companion; and in the Rue Dauphine she encountered M. de Jarzé, who was at that time in the interest of the prince, by whom he had been dispatched to request the Duke d'Orleans to give an order for the troops which had been left at Poissy to traverse the capital, as he was in great need of a reinforcement, being furiously attacked, and finding that the royalist force was three times greater than his own. The troops were already awaiting this order at the Porte St. Honoré; while the marquis had left the field during the hottest of the fight, and had received a ball in his arm, which having grazed the bone near the elbow, subjected him to extreme pain. Nevertheless, MADEMOISELLE desired him to attend her to the Town-Hall, telling him that it was not to *Monsieur* that he must address himself, but to the governor of Paris, for whom she had a letter; and on receiving this assurance M. de Jarzé did not hesitate to obey.

The streets were full of tumultuous groups: nearly all

the citizens were armed; and they had no sooner recognized the princess, whose exploit at Orleans was still fresh in their minds, than they shouted to her as she passed, telling her that they were ready to undertake whatever she might command.

MADEMOISELLE replied with dignified affability to their eager greeting, and informed them that, for the moment, she was simply about to request the opinion of the governor; but that she entreated them, should their services become necessary, not to withdraw from her the confidence which they now exhibited in her zeal and prudence; and she asked it earnestly, for she was quite aware, should the authorities refuse the demand which she was about to make, that she should possess a powerful resource in the good-will of the populace, so long as they remained faithful to her interests. When she reached the Town-Hall the Marshal de l'Hôpital, the governor of Paris, and the councilor Lefevre, provost of the merchants, advanced to the top of the steps to meet her, apologizing for any failure in etiquet, not having been apprised in time of her approach. MADEMOISELLE thanked them for their courtesy, and told them that *Monsieur*, being indisposed, had sent her to them as his representative; requesting them to follow her to the council-chamber, to which they assented without difficulty. There M. de Rohan presented to them the letter of His Royal Highness; and when it had been read by the registrar, and they had ascertained that it invested the princess with unlimited powers, they asked what she wished from them.

"I desire three things," replied MADEMOISELLE firmly; "the first is, that all the citizens shall be called upon to take up arms."

"That is already done," replied the marshal.

"Secondly, that two thousand of these citizens shall be detached, and marched to join the forces of M. de Condé."

"That will be more difficult," observed the marshal once more; "citizens can not be detached like regular troops; but be under no uneasiness, we will send two thousand men to the prince from the forces of His Royal Highness."

"Thirdly," pursued MADEMOISELLE, who had judiciously reserved her most important demand to the last, "that the army shall be allowed free passage through the capital, from the gate of St. Honoré to that of St. Denis, or St. Antoine."

This requisition produced precisely the effect for which the princess had prepared herself. The marshal, the provost, and the other members of the council looked at each other in silence; but MADEMOISELLE, aware that during all this delay M. de Condé was engaged with a superior force, and that every thing depended upon the measure she had urged, unhesitatingly returned to the charge.

"Gentlemen," she said, in a calm and authoritative tone, "it appears to me that this is no subject for your deliberation. His Royal Highness has always been so firm a friend to the city of Paris, that it is merely just, on an occasion when his preservation and that of M. de Condé depend upon your decision, that you should testify some gratitude for all his benefits. Moreover, you may be convinced, gentlemen, that the cardinal has returned to France with the most hostile intentions; and that should the prince be defeated, there will be no quarter for those who have proscribed the minister, and set a price upon his head; nor even for Paris itself, which will, without doubt, be put to fire and sword. It therefore remains for us to evade so terrible a misfortune; and we can not render a greater service to the king, than by preserving for him the most magnificent city of his kingdom, the capital of his country, and a population which has ever exhibited the greatest loyalty and devotion to its monarchs."

"But, MADEMOISELLE;" objected the marshal, "remember, that if our own troops had not approached the capital, neither would those of the crown have done so."

"I only remember, sir," replied the princess, in an accent of proud rebuke, "that while we amuse ourselves by idle argument, M. de Condé is in danger in your very faubourgs; and that it will be an eternal grief and disgrace for Paris, if he should perish there for want of assistance. You can help him, gentlemen; do so, therefore, and forthwith."

Her spirited remonstrance produced its effect: the council rose, and retired to deliberate; while MADEMOISELLE, agitated by exertion and anxiety, knelt down in the bay of a window, to pray for the success of her undertaking. Before the close of the deliberations she, however, became impatient, for she knew the value of the time which was so weakly lost in inaction; when, as she was rapidly pacing to and fro the hall, inventing and rejecting a score of expedients in the event of a failure with the council, the members at length reappeared; and the Marshal de l'Hôpital announced to her that himself and his colleagues were prepared to obey whatever order she might think fit to issue.

CHAPTER XIX.

Battle of the Porte St. Antoine—Mademoiselle turns the Cannon of the Bastille against the Royal Forces—Retreat of the King's Army—Acknowledgments of Condé to Mademoiselle; her Suspicions of Condé—Flight of the Court to St. Denis—Meeting at the Town-Hall—Extraordinary Party Badge—New Dilemma of Monsieur—Project of a Union—Attack on the Town-Hall—The Provost of the Merchants—Removal of the Court to Pontoise—Monsieur declared Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom by the Parliament; his Want of Authority in the Capital.

Not another moment was wasted. De Jarzé hastened to return to the prince, to inform him that the troops were to be allowed to enter the city; while at the same time the Marquis de la Boulaie went at all speed to cause the Porte St. Honoré to be opened to those who were awaiting ingress from Poissy. Meanwhile, hostilities had already

commenced in the faubourgs, and the report of artillery resounded through the streets of Paris. MADEMOISELLE felt that the die was now cast, and was naturally anxious as to the issue. She consequently determined upon going to judge for herself of the progress of affairs; and accordingly left the Town-Hall, and turned in the direction of the Porte St. Antoine, attended by the Marshal de l'Hôpital, who was not, however, destined long to swell her suite; for, as she descended the steps, a man approached, and pointing to him with his finger, asked the princess how she could permit that Mazarinite to follow her, adding that if she were not satisfied with his conduct she had only to say so, and they would drown him. MADEMOISELLE replied that, so far from desiring any thing of the kind, she had every reason to be extremely satisfied, the marshal having acceded to all her requests. "In that case," was the retort, "all's right; let him go back to the Town-Hall, and be careful to walk upright." M. de l'Hôpital awaited no second bidding; but, having respectfully saluted the princess, rapidly retraced his steps, while she pursued her way undauntedly toward the barrier.*

Nor did this perseverance exact a slight degree of courage when the supineness of those who should have been the most active is calmly considered. The prince, despite his numerical inferiority, tenaciously maintained his ground; and Turenne attacked him with the additional stimulus of emulation. The Duke d'Orleans had shut himself up in his palace, and the Cardinal de Retz had followed his example; while the parliament remained neutral and passive, awaiting the termination of the combat before they ventured to fulminate their decrees. The populace, taking the tone from those who should have been their leaders, and being equally terrified at the incursion of either party, had closed the gates of the city, and would not suffer any individual, whatever might be his rank, to pass in or out.

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

On reaching the Rue de la Tixeranderie the princess was subjected to a frightful spectacle. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld had just been struck in the face by a musket-ball, which had entered the corner of his right eye, and escaped through the left, so that his eyeballs appeared to be dropping from their sockets, and the whole of his features were deluged with blood. His son supported him with one hand, and M. de Gourville, one of his most attached friends, by the other; for he was deprived of sight. He was still on horseback; but his white vest was so saturated with blood, as well as those of his supporters, that the original color of their attire could not be distinguished.

MADEMOISELLE approached the wretched group, to assure the duke of her regret and sympathy; but while the young Prince de Marsillac and M. de Gourville answered her with their tears, the wounded man remained impassive, his sense of hearing having failed beneath the shock. She therefore left them to pursue their melancholy way, and was endeavoring to shake off the sentiment of horror which had taken possession of her, when, at the entrance of the Rue St. Antoine, she encountered M. de Guitaut, pale and sinking, with his vest thrown open, and supported by a soldier, who had great difficulty in enabling him to escape from the scene of carnage. The dialogue which ensued is characteristic.

"Ha! my poor Guitaut," exclaimed the princess "what is the matter? what has happened to you?"

"A ball through my body," was the reply.

"Is the wound fatal?"

"I think not."

"Keep up your spirits then." And once more MADEMOISELLE passed on.

The next victim whom she encountered was M. de Valon, who had accompanied her in her expedition to Orleans; he was badly wounded, and utterly disheartened. "Ah, Madam," he gasped out as she drew near, "we are lost!"

"By no means," said MADEMOISELLE; "we are saved. I command in Paris to-day, as I commanded at Orleans."

"There is still a hope then," murmured the stricken soldier; "all may yet be retrieved."

This confidence augmented the ardor of the princess; and she approached the barrier surrounded by the wounded, whom their comrades were removing in every direction. On all sides she heard the eulogy of M. de Condé, who was declared to have exceeded all his former feats. He appeared to be gifted with ubiquity, and his perpetual presence sustained the courage of the troops.

MADEMOISELLE lost no time in giving an order to the captain of the guard to permit the free passage of the prince and his adherents; and having done this, she entered a house in the immediate neighborhood of the Bastille, whence she could command all that passed in the street. She had scarcely seated herself when M. de Condé paid her a visit. He was covered with dust and blood, his hair matted, his cuirass battered with blows, and he carried his naked sword in his hand, having lost the scabbard. As he approached the princess, he put his weapon into the hand of her equerry, and exclaimed, despondingly, that he was wretched; that he had lost all his friends; for that the Duke de Nemours, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and M. de Clinchamp were fatally wounded.

MADEMOISELLE assured him that he exaggerated the evil; for that, although grievously hurt, there was no fear for their lives. The surgeon had already answered for the safety of M. de Clinchamp; M. de la Rochefoucauld was by no means beyond hope; while M. de Nemours was still less injured than either of the others.

Although greatly comforted by this assurance, M. de Condé, nevertheless, could not suppress his grief; but with a brief apology, he threw himself upon a seat; and there the hero of a dozen victories, covered as he was with the blood of his enemies, and surrounded by the plaudits

of his troops, gave a free loose to his emotion: the warrior was forgotten, while "the strong man wept."

The weakness was, however, only momentary; and rousing himself by a powerful effort, he requested that the princess would give an order for the admission of the baggage which was outside the gates, and consent to remain where she then was, that he might know where to find her on any new emergency, as he could not spare another moment from the troops.

Mademoiselle urged him to retire with all his force into the city; but he firmly refused to do so, declaring that he would rather perish than retreat before the army of Mazarin; while she need feel no uneasiness for her friends, as he should henceforth confine himself to mere skirmishing; and pledged himself that he would march all the troops of *Monsieur* in safety into the capital. He then reclaimed his sword; and having taken leave of the princess, sprung upon a fresh horse and galloped off.

His presence had become requisite, for the battle was raging more fiercely than ever. The royal army had attacked simultaneously the gate of St. Denis and the faubourg St. Antoine. M. de Condé inquired where the Marshal de Turenne was acting; and upon being told that he commanded the attack in the faubourg, he instantly hastened in that direction, considering that the hottest of the fight must necessarily take place upon that spot, while he satisfied himself by sending some cavalry to the barrier. His judgment proved to be correct, for M. de Turenne was advancing with his whole strength on that side, the other demonstration having simply been a feint. The royal force amounted to between ten and eleven thousand men, while the troops of M. de Condé did not exceed five thousand; and he consequently commenced his operations by barricading himself as well as he could in the principal street within sight of the enemy, detaching a portion of his men to guard all the lateral avenues. This done, he

no longer remembered the promise which he had so lately given to MADEMOISELLE; and a most fearful engagement took place, in which those who followed his movements declared that his exploits were almost superhuman.

He was suddenly informed that the enemy had forced the strong barricade of Picpus; that the infantry had behaved admirably, but that the cavalry had been seized with a fearful panic, and had fled in such disorder that they had swept back with them all they encountered on their way. M. de Condé accordingly placed himself at the head of a hundred musketeers, and rallying around him all the officers whom he could collect, and a few volunteers, made a rush upon the barricade, which he retook, and drove the enemy (consisting of four regiments) before him like a cloud of dust.

MADEMOISELLE meanwhile retained her post, where she was joined by the President Viole, who assured her that *Monsieur* had entered into a treaty with the court, and that it was this circumstance which had induced him to remain passive. The indignation of the princess was extreme, and she immediately repeated the report to the Count de Fiesque, and the Duchess de Châtillon; reproaching the latter with the part which she had taken in the affair, and declaring that, for so clever a woman, she must be "easily misled if she suffered herself to be deluded by so absurd a rumor;" adding, that she sincerely believed, should *Monsieur* discover its authors, he would throw them all out of the window. That she regretted, as much as the duchess herself could do, that His Royal Highness had not made himself more prominent, a step which she had strongly urged him to take; but it was not, therefore, to be inferred, that he had played M. de Condé false; as he was incapable of such treachery.* This reproof silenced Madame de Châtillon; although it failed to convince the bystanders of the accu

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

racy of the judgment which MADEMOISELLE had formed of the motives and principles of her father.

The princess had already dispatched an accredited messenger to the Bastille, to demand the intention of the governor; and this functionary, who was no other than M. de Louviers, the son of M. de Broussel, replied, that if he were authorized so to do by an order from *Monsieur*, he would obey whatever commands she might give. MADEMOISELLE accordingly sent to the Count de Béthune to make this communication to the Duke d'Orleans, who forwarded the required order by the Prince de Guimené; while, on his return, M. de Béthune announced to the princess that *Monsieur* was about to join her; a piece of intelligence which she immediately communicated to M. de Condé, who very shortly afterward arrived. He was still in the same disordered attire in which she had previously seen him, but his depression was at an end, and he entered the apartment with a smile upon his lips. The first care of MADEMOISELLE was to prevail upon him not to reproach her father with the equivocal part which he had played throughout the day; which, after some difficulty, he conceded. *Monsieur* subsequently arrived in his turn, and met the prince as cheerfully as though nothing extraordinary had occurred, and that his own bearing had been immaculate. He then congratulated him upon his prowess, and asked a number of questions relating to the engagement; after which he digressed to the dead and wounded, for whom he expressed much sympathy. Finally, it was resolved between himself and M. de Condé that the army should retire within the walls at nightfall; and then *Monsieur* proceeded to the Town-Hall, to offer his acknowledgments to the corporate bodies; and the prince returned to the troops.

They had no sooner taken leave than MADEMOISELLE resolved to repair in person to the Bastille, which she had never previously visited; and this done, she ascended to

the towers, whence, by means of a telescope, she distinguished a great number of people collected on the heights of Charonne, as well as horses and carriages, when it instantly struck her that the king was there in person, as was indeed the fact. Toward Bagnolet, in the valley, she could also see the royal army preparing for a new attack, and recognize the staff of the different general officers. As she continued anxiously to watch their movements, she observed them detach a strong body of their cavalry to intercept the communication between the faubourg and the moat; which, had they done it at an earlier period, must at once have decided the issue of the struggle; while, as she foresaw that even were it now accomplished it must create considerable annoyance to their own troops, she forthwith dispatched a page to M. de Condé, to inform him of the manœuver. Her messenger found him on the top of the belfry of the abbey of St. Antoine, where, profiting by a momentary respite, he was also busy in reconnoitering the besieging forces; and finding his own observations confirmed by those of the princess, he sent an order for all his troops to march forthwith into the city. On the return of her page with these tidings, MADEMOISELLE commanded the cannon of the fortress to be pointed in the direction of the royal army, and gave stringent orders that, should the measure become essential, they should be discharged without hesitation.

Having done this, without paying the slightest attention to the consternation created by her words, she left the Bastille and returned to the house of which she had previously taken possession, in order that she might see the troops march in. Terror had spread through the ranks, as neither officers nor men expected any quarter; but when they found that MADEMOISELLE was at the gate, they raised a shout of joy, declaring that they would fight to the last; knowing that should they eventually be compelled to give way, their retreat was assured, for that she would never

suffer the barrier to remain closed against them when they had no longer any hope of success. At the same moment M. de Condé sent to request that the princess would cause some wine to be distributed, which she did without loss of time; and as the troops passed under the window at which she stood, they hailed her with hearty acclamations.

Meanwhile the situation of the prince himself was perilous in the extreme. Hotly pursued by the forces of M. de Turenne, the number who fell on all sides during this retreat was frightful; and as the royalist army had, moreover, been reinforced by the division under the Marshal de la Ferté-Senectère, the ranks of the Fronde tottered on every side; the musketry resounded within a thousand paces of the house in which MADEMOISELLE was keeping her anxious watch, and for an instant the prince was compelled to give way, and was in the most imminent peril. With his back against the outworks, and contending with those by whom he was opposed with an energy which was rapidly exhausting his strength, in order to give his men time to retreat to the barrier, M. de Condé was about to be overwhelmed by a force that quadrupled his own; when the summit of the Bastille suddenly flamed out, the cannon were discharged in rapid succession, and the ranks of the royalists tottered, swayed, and retreated in bewilderment.

MADEMOISELLE had decided the fortune of the fight; and had just, to use the words of Mazarin, "killed her royal husband with the ordnance of the Bastille." It is certain that the heroism of the princess upon this occasion outweighed her policy; for neither Louis nor those about him were ever likely to forgive so bold an act of disloyalty.

So vigorous a measure, meanwhile, saved M. de Condé. The royalists, totally unprepared for such a demonstration of what they necessarily considered as the popular feeling, halted in a state of helpless indecision; during which the prince rallied his troops, made a charge, and repulsed M. de Turenne; thus effecting his retreat with safety. The

blow was terrible to the court party, which had felt so sure of success, that the queen, who had remained at St. Denis, sent forward a carriage to bring back M. de Condé a prisoner; and as the cardinal had friends in the city who forwarded to him intelligence of all that occurred, he no sooner heard the cannon of the Bastille than he exclaimed, joyfully, "Admirable! there are the guns of the fortress firing upon the prince!"

Some one ventured to suggest that the attack might probably be upon their own troops; and this remark was followed up by another still more pertinent, namely, that MADEMOISELLE had arrived at the Bastille, and that the governor was firing a salute. The Marshal de Villeroy, who overheard the words, saw the truth at a glance; and, shaking his head, said, gravely, "If your judgment be correct, and that MADEMOISELLE is indeed at the Bastille, I know her well enough to be convinced that the salute, such as it is, has been fired by her own hand."

An hour subsequently this was found to be the case, and the queen vowed an eternal enmity to the belligerent princess.

The loss to the royalist army was considerable, especially as regarded the rank of the individuals. M. de St. Mesgrin, lieutenant-general, and second in command of the light cavalry, was killed; as was also the Marquis de Nantouillet. M. de Fouilloux, an ensign in the guards, and one of the favorites of the young king, fell by the hand of the prince himself; and Paul de Mancini, the nephew of the cardinal, an amiable youth of sixteen, full of the most brilliant promise, was wounded at the head of his regiment, and died shortly afterward. When the prince had seen the rear of his troops safely within the barrier, he entered in his turn; and the gates once more closed, he hurried to make his acknowledgments to MADEMOISELLE for her bold and well-timed assistance; who, in reply to his compliment, remarked upon the admirable appearance of his troops, saying

that she saw little difference between them when at Etampes, and now that they had just sustained a siege and two serious engagements; terminating her eulogy by ex-exclaiming, "God preserve them after these perils from those of a negotiation!"

M. de Condé flushed, and remained silent, which more than satisfied the princess that she had driven the arrow home; for she had already been long enough involved in faction to discover that scarcely one individual with whom she was brought into contact was exempt from intrigue or double-dealing of some description; but feeling that the pause which ensued must be painful to the prince, while it was impolitic as regarded her own interests, she hastened to add that she trusted he would at least pledge himself to her that there should be no more secret treaties. This he readily promised, and with apparent good faith.*

Mademoiselle then inquired for the Marquis de Flamarin, whom she had not seen since the morning, and learned with extreme sorrow that he was missing, and that all his friends were ignorant of his fate. As the princess was sincerely attached to him, and had not forgotten the services which he rendered to her at Orleans, she dispatched a number of her attendants to obtain tidings, and, after great exertions, his body was found pierced by a ball. By an extraordinary coincidence, for which it was impossible to account, he had a rope about his neck; and thus the prophecy, which had turned to a jest upon his lips when he took leave of Mademoiselle, had met with a mysterious accomplishment.†

The populace of Paris were indefatigable. They carried away the dead, and buried them; they gave wine to the soldiers who remained under arms, and refreshment and help to the wounded; exerting themselves with all their energy, and shouting continually, "Long live the king, and

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

† Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

no Mazarin!" The cardinal had no sooner ascertained that the troops of the Fronde had reëntered Paris in triumph than he carried off the sovereign to St. Denis; but even this flight was not effected without considerable panic; and the court party did not reach their destination until midnight, after many false alarms, and having several times halted and prepared to oppose an imagined enemy in pursuit. Nothing of the kind was, however, attempted, the troops of M. de Condé being overwhelmed with fatigue.

The prince was now in possession of the capital, which, singularly enough, he had secured by a retreat; but, although his military position was undeniable, he had as yet attained no civil authority, which was absolutely necessary to enable him to retain the power he had acquired. It was, consequently, determined that a general assembly should be held at the Town-Hall, at which the civic dignitaries should be invited to delegate a portion of their authority to *Monsieur* and himself; and that a union should be formed between the two princes and the parliament. The attempt was hazardous, but they had no alternative, as money was required to pay the troops and to make new levies. The assembly was therefore appointed for the 4th of July; and, in order to recognize his own followers in the crowd, M. de Condé desired each of them to attach a few straws to his hat.

The populace, attracted by this singular decoration, immediately adopted it in their turn, believing it to be the symbol of the faction; and their zeal was so great that while the men, in imitation of the troops, affixed it to their hats, the women adopted it as a shoulder-knot; and in a couple of hours every one who appeared in the streets without this appendage was assailed by cries of "The straw! the straw!" and where any were impolitic enough to resist the popular clamor, they were unsparingly beaten by the mob.

This demonstration was sufficient to overthrow the un-

certain courage of *Monsieur;* and, accordingly, when the hour of council arrived, he began to be indisposed, and furious against M. de Condé, who urged him to fulfill his promise. He declared he would do nothing of the sort, for that this device of the straw was quite sufficient to occasion a riot. The prince, in despair at this pusillanimity, addressed himself to MADEMOISELLE, assuring her that it was absolutely necessary to the safety of the faction that His Royal Highness should show himself at the Town-Hall; and that, if he persevered in his refusal, he could not answer for the consequences. All remonstrances, nevertheless, proved useless for a considerable time, and he was evidently ill disposed to M. de Condé; but suddenly, at the eleventh hour, he determined on attending the meeting which had been fixed for two o'clock, probably remembering that his own interests were more deeply involved in the measures which might be adopted than those of any other individual in the capital, and that they would, beyond all doubt, suffer from his absence. As he proceeded through the city he gradually regained his courage, for he soon perceived that every one was provided with a bunch of straw; and that even MADEMOISELLE, whom he encountered by the way, had a similar decoration attached to her fan by a bow of blue ribbon, which was the party color. He had lingered so long that the streets were choked by the mob, and he had great difficulty in advancing; while the whole of the populace were in a state of excitement, and were uttering fierce threats against the Marshal de l'Hôpital, and the provost of the merchants, whom they loudly qualified as Mazarinites, and overwhelmed with threatening and insult.

When *Monsieur* and the prince arrived, the chamber at once proceeded to business, and the meeting was opened by reading a letter from the king, which had just been received, and which demanded that the assembly should be delayed for the space of eight days. It was, however

unanimously rejected, and at once laid aside. His Royal Highness and M. de Condé then made their acknowledgments to the meeting for the assistance which had been afforded to them by the city of Paris at the engagement of the Porte St. Antoine, but both carefully avoided all reference to their anticipations for the future. *Monsieur* expected his full recognition as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, which had already been accorded to him by the parliament; as well as unlimited authority to issue such orders as he might deem expedient, by virtue of the power vested in him by the king, so long as His Majesty should remain a prisoner in the hands of Mazarin; declared to be the enemy of the state, and the disturber of the public peace, to be banished forever from the soil of France, and to have a price set upon his head, by a decree of parliament; which decree had since been confirmed by the king himself; while M. de Condé, also conformably to the declaration of parliament, looked forward to his nomination as generalissimo of the royal forces.

The proposition of a union which was to have been made by certain of the councilors, was not even mooted; nor were the individual interests of the princes alluded to by any person present, although it was for this precise purpose that the assembly had been convoked; and consequently after lingering for a short time, in order to afford the different members an opportunity of suggesting the settlement of these claims, and finding that no effort was made on any hand to enforce them, M. de Condé ultimately lost patience, and rose, motioning to *Monsieur* to follow him; and immediately afterward, having saluted the meeting, they both retired by the great entrance which opened on the Place de Grève.

As the princes left the Town-Hall much dissatisfied, it is probable that their countenances betrayed their annoyance, for some of the mob remarked their discomfiture, and loudly demanded its cause; upon which they replied that

they had quitted the assembly, as the Union had not only remained unsigned, but had actually not even been proposed. On receiving this intelligence the populace, who desired nothing more than a commotion, began to exclaim that all those who met at the Town-Hall were nothing better than Mazarinites, who, on the day of the battle at the Porte St. Antoine, would have left the prince to perish if MADEMOISELLE had not compelled them to assist him; and in a few minutes cries of "The Union! The Union!" burst from every quarter of the crowd; and at the same time a volley of musketry shattered several of the windows of the Town-Hall.

The terror which these shouts, and the balls, which, after having shivered the glass of the casements, buried themselves in the walls of the council-chamber, caused among the assembled functionaries was so great, that the greater number of its occupants threw themselves on the floor, believing that their last hour was come, and began to pray with the utmost devotion; but matters became still worse when a fresh discharge of bullets, instead of striking diagonally like the first, entered the apartment horizontally. Some soldiers, more experienced than the mob, had taken possession of the opposite houses, and were firing point-blank into the building; in consequence of which fact, two or three shots took effect; and the groans of the wounded, and the shuddering spasms of the dying, mingled with the general confusion. The universal idea was, thenceforward, flight; but this was rendered impossible by the fact that the mob had invaded all the issues of the Town-Hall, and closed and barricaded all the doors, piling before them fagots of wood, to which they set fire, and thus, for a time, wrapped the whole building in flame.*

While this was going forward the princes returned to the Luxembourg, never suspecting the violent manner in which the populace were enforcing their demands; and

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle

as *Monsieur* immediately retired, having suffered greatly from heat during the meeting, M. de Condé remained in the ante-room with MADEMOISELLE, the Duchess de Sully,* the Countess de Fiesque, and Madame de Villars, where he amused himself in reading some letters which had been brought to him by a trumpeter of M. de Turenne; and he was still intent upon their contents, when a citizen, pale with terror, and gasping for breath, burst into the apartment, exclaiming that the Town-Hall was on fire, and that the people were shooting and killing each other.

M. de Condé immediately informed *Monsieur* of the circumstance, whose terror was so great, that, forgetting he was not dressed, and that there were ladies in the ante-room, he rushed out of his apartment in his shirt, imploring the prince to hasten instantly to the scene of the disaster, and to pacify the people. M. de Condé, however, replied with some haughtiness that, although there were few things which he should hesitate to undertake in order to serve His Royal Highness, his presence on the present occasion would be of no avail, as he understood nothing about sedition, and was always a coward in a mob; but that he would advise him to send the Duke de Beaufort, who was well known and very popular with the people, a fact which would render him much more useful than himself in such an emergency. M. de Beaufort was accordingly dispatched to the Town-Hall without loss of time; and accepted the mission readily, declaring that he would soon bring all the rebels to their senses.

MADEMOISELLE, who felt some doubts as to his success, and who was not sorry, moreover, to exhibit the extent of her own influence over the public mind, followed her father and M. de Condé to the cabinet of His Royal Highness, and suggested that, should they deem it expedient, she would herself go, and endeavor to allay the tumult;

* The Duchess de Sully was the daughter of the Chancellor Seguier, and niece to the Bishop of Meaux

adding that it would strengthen their party if this opportunity were seized to induce the Marshal de l'Hôpital and the provost of the merchants to give in their resignation, which would be a triumph for the people; while His Royal Highness could not give a more stringent proof of his authority than by withdrawing them in safety from the hands of an infuriated mob.

Monsieur, delighted by any expedient which did not involve his own safety or comfort, conceded the point at once; and as he had by this time conceived a high idea of the generalship of the princess, he bade her hasten to accomplish her project, if, indeed, it could be achieved; while M. de Condé, struck with the extent of the advantage to be gained, made no other reply than by offering to bear her company: a proposal MADEMOISELLE, however, declined, being desirous of reaping the laurels in her own person. All the household of *Monsieur* and the prince followed in her train; and she was accompanied in her coach by Mesdames de Sully and de Villars, and the two countesses, her usual aides-de-camp, who were considerably alarmed at this new adventure.

They had scarcely passed the gates of the Luxembourg when they saw a man lying dead in the street, which increased their distaste for the expedition; but the princess, who had lately become inured to the spectacle of violent and premature death, bade them refrain from looking about them, and trust their safety with confidence to her prudence. Her first idea was to approach the Town-Hall by the square of the Grève, but she fortunately changed her mind, as the risk would have been immense; and the party had scarcely reached the termination of the Rue de Gêvres, in order to cross the Pont-Neuf, when they met the dead body of M. Ferrand, a parliamentary councilor, who was the personal friend of the princess, and whom she sincerely regretted.

As the carriage moved slowly along, she questioned all

the persons whom she encountered; and learned that a controller of accounts named Miron, who was known to her, had likewise perished; and, moreover, that the Vicar of St. John-in-Grève had, in his anxiety to save his curate, who was in the midst of the mob, rushed from his church, lifting above his head the Host which he had taken from the altar; but that, despite his holy ægis, the miserable fanatics had fired upon him. On hearing the detail of this enormity, all the suite of MADEMOISELLE gathered about her coach, and implored her to forego her purpose; but, although she consented not to pursue her way, she equally refused to return to the Luxembourg without an effort to allay the storm; and she, consequently, sent messenger after messenger to the Town-Hall, to bring her a precise report of the revolt. Not one of them, however, returned; and she then determined to dispatch a trumpeter with orders to sound the appel, and thus attract attention to her message; but her attendants were unable to find one; and finally, after a considerable time had elapsed, she drove toward the Hôtel de Nemours, when, on traversing the Petit-Pont, the wheel of her carriage became locked in that of the vehicle in which the dead were nightly conveyed from the Hôtel-Dieu to their common grave. The death-cart was heavily laden with corpses, and the princess had barely time to throw herself to the other side of the coach, in order to avoid the contact of the arms and legs which protruded from between the rails of the wagon, and entered the window of her own vehicle. On arriving at the residence of M. de Nemours, she again failed in procuring a trumpeter; and having inquired into the progress of his own convalescence, and learned that his wound had proved to be very slight, she finally returned with great reluctance to the Luxembourg to report her failure.

Monsieur, whose terror was increased by all he heard urged her to make another attempt, to which she consent-

ed, and again set forth, accompanied by the Duchess de Sully and the Countess de Frontenac, who would not abandon her, and attended by an inconsiderable retinue; for, as it was midnight when the princess returned to the palace, most of her attendants had imagined that she would make no further effort that night. She found the streets deserted save by numerous patrols, each of which afforded her an escort; and as her carriage stopped in the Place de Grève, a man laid his hand upon the window, and asked if M. de Condé was with her. She answered in the negative; upon which he immediately walked rapidly away, and by the light of the flambeaux which were in front of the vehicle, she discovered that he carried a weapon beneath his arm. Just at that moment, M. de Beaufort approached, caused the coach to be drawn up at the Town-Hall, and assisted the princess to alight. With his assistance, she passed across some beams which were still smoking, and entered the building. All was silent and deserted, and they traversed the lower portion of the edifice without meeting a single human being; but while MADEMOISELLE was examining with considerable curiosity the distribution of the council-chamber, the maître-d'hôtel of the city entered cautiously, and informed her that the provost of the merchants was in a neighboring apartment, and requested the honor of an interview with Her Royal Highness. This was precisely what MADEMOISELLE desired; and leaving her ladies in the hall, she followed the messenger, accompanied by the Counts de Fiesque, de Béthune, and de Préfontaine.

In a small dark room she found the provost, disguised by an enormous wig, but perfectly calm and self-possessed; and informed him that she had been sent by *Monsieur* to his assistance, a commission which she had gladly undertaken, having always felt a great esteem for him personally. She would not, she said, moreover, enter into any unpleasant retrospection, as he had probably believed that

he was doing his duty while opposing her interests, and that persons were frequently misled by those whom they considered as their friends.

He expressed, in reply, how deeply he felt the honor of her good opinion, and declared that he should ever remember the extent of his obligation to both herself and *Monsieur;* assuring her that he had acted upon principle, but that, as he was quite conscious of his unpopularity, he was ready, if MADEMOISELLE would cause pens and paper to be brought to him, at once to place his resignation in her hands. This, however, the princess refused to permit, merely promising to mention his wish to *Monsieur*, who could send for the proffered resignation should he deem it desirable—but decidedly declining to become its medium.

The Duke de Beaufort terminated the discussion by asking the provost how he intended to dispose of himself; and was answered that all he wished was to be enabled to return to his own house, where he believed that he should be safe; upon which the duke left the room to reconnoiter a side door opening upon a retired street; and finding it perfectly free, he returned in search of the discomfited functionary, who appeared highly delighted at his prospect of escape, and lost no time, after he had addressed a parting compliment to MADEMOISELLE, in profiting by the discovery. The princess remained in the apartment until the return of M. de Beaufort, when she returned to the hall, where she found the two ladies who were awaiting her in a state of great alarm, another musket having been fired in the square; and they were no sooner pacified than she proceeded in search of the Marshal de l'Hôpital, but learned that he had already succeeded in accomplishing his exit through one of the back windows.

As the day was beginning to dawn, and the mob to reassemble, the princess thought it prudent to return to the palace, lest her lengthened sojourn at the Town-Hall

should excite suspicion of her motives; and she accordingly reëntered her carriage amid the shouts and plaudits of the populace, who called down blessings upon her head, declaring that all she did was well done; and with these flattering sounds ringing in her ears, she drove off at once to the Louvre, and hastened to secure a little rest after her fatigue and exertion.

In the evening the Count de Fiesque waited upon Her Royal Highness, to inform her that he had given a detail of all her proceedings to *Monsieur*, who had commanded the Count de Béthune and himself to go to the provost, and to demand from him the resignation which he had proffered, taking with them M. de Préfontaine, who had been present at the time. The precaution was, however, unnecessary, as he tendered it without hesitation; and on the following evening, M. de Broussel, whose sentiments were well known, was elected to the office. A meeting took place at the Town-Hall, in which his appointment was recognized, after which he proceeded to the Luxembourg, and took the oath to *Monsieur* as it was customary to do to the sovereign. The president De Thou was at the same time intrusted with the duties of secretary of state.*

The cardinal no sooner learned these details than he removed the king from St. Denis to Pontoise, in order that he might be in the center of Turenne's army, and an order was dispatched to the parliamentary deputies to follow him; but as they raised objections to this measure, they were commanded to remain at St. Denis. On the following day they, however, received renewed directions to join the court, which they immediately communicated to the authorities of the capital, who issued a decree enforcing their instant return to Paris; upon which *Monsieur*, the prince, and the Duke de Beaufort (who had succeeded the Marshal de l'Hôpital in the government

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

of the city), placed themselves at the head of eight hundred infantry and twelve hundred cavalry, to escort them into the gates, and to impress upon the populace that they were protecting them from an imminent danger; while the court replied to this demonstration by passing decrees in the council which annulled those promulgated by the parliament; and in which they declared all their proceedings to be void, not only in the past but also in the future; even ordaining that the moneys destined to defray their expenses should henceforth be paid in such places as His Majesty should select for his residence.

These were again answered in a proposition made by Broussel himself, that *Monsieur* should be declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom, as he had been during the minority of the sovereign, with full power to act as he saw fit; and should retain this rank so long as the cardinal remained in the country, using every means to compel his expulsion; while M. de Condé should be requested to accept the command of the army, under the authority of His Royal Highness. A copy of this proposition was, moreover, dispatched to all the parliaments throughout the kingdom, who were requested to pass a similar decree; but, with the exception of that of Bordeaux, no such concession was made, nor was any deliberation held upon the subject; while in Brittany a demurrer was even resolved to all those which it had previously rendered, until the Spanish troops then in France should have left the country.

Nor was *Monsieur* fated to experience a greater degree of obedience to his new dignity from the governors of the respective provinces, from whom, with one solitary exception, he received no reply to his appeal; the court having warned them by a solemn decree that the royal council did not recognize the act of parliament which established the office; while, even in Paris, his authority was so far from being established, that two criminals, condemned to

be hanged for having fired the Town-Hall, being about to suffer for their crime, the city companies who were ordered to attend the execution refused to sanction it by their presence.*

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

CHAPTER XX.

Divisions among the Princes—Quarrel of the Dukes de Nemours and Beaufort—Fatal Duel—Death of M. de Nemours—Forbearance of M. de Beaufort—The Prince de Condé receives a Blow—Answer of the President Bellièvre—Death of the young Duke de Valois—Severe Indisposition of the Princess de Condé—Renewed Hopes of Mademoiselle—Reconciliation of Mademoiselle and the Duke de Lorraine—New Opposition of the Parliament—Resignation and Retirement of Mazarin—Resignation of the Duke de Beaufort and M. Broussel—Return of the King to Paris; he Dislodges Mademoiselle from the Tuileries—Alarm of Monsieur; refuses to Lodge Mademoiselle in the Luxembourg—Monsieur leaves Paris—Mademoiselle Retires to Pons—Position of the Kingdom—Declaration of Lèse-Majesté against the Princes—The Prince de Condé and the Duke de Lorraine continue their Military Operations in the Provinces.

In this emergency a council was formed of which *Monsieur* was the president; an arrangement that renewed the old enmity between the Duke de Nemours and his brother-in-law, M. de Beaufort, who had some altercation as to precedence, in which M. de Nemours exhibited great irritability and haughtiness, while M. de Beaufort

displayed considerable forbearance. As the former refused all concession, although still confined to the house from the weakness consequent upon his wounds, *Monsieur* and the Prince de Condé became alarmed at the possible consequences of his intemperance, and with considerable difficulty at length succeeded in obtaining his pledge not to proceed to any act of violence during the next four-and-twenty hours. Despite this arrangement, however, MADEMOISELLE received private information that a duel would take place; and she forthwith dispatched a couple of her friends to seek out the Duke de Beaufort in the gardens of the Tuileries, where the quarrel was stated to have been renewed. Their report was calculated to allay her fears, for they asserted that he was quietly walking with four or five of his friends, and that nothing in either his conversation or manner induced a belief that he had gone there with any hostile intention. A different impression had, however, taken possession of Madame de Nemours, who had written in great haste to Madame de Chavigny, to entreat that she would closely watch the movements of the two brothers-in-law; and as the latter lady immediately communicated the alarm of the duchess to MADEMOISELLE, she mentioned the fact to *Monsieur*, who chanced at this time to visit her.

His Royal Highness, to whom it was not convenient to give credence to such a rumour, treated the matter with contempt, and remarked with some bitterness to the princess, that she was constantly fancying quarrels, which was the very way to engender them; after which he proceeded in his turn to the Tuileries, to the celebrated *restaurant* of Renard, which had become the fashionable promenade. MADEMOISELLE followed him, but at some distance, having been detained in conversation with M. de Jarzé; and as she was ascending the steps which led to the terrace of Renard, one of the pages of Madame de Châtillon grasped her dress, and having attracted her attention,

said hurriedly, that the duchess had sent him to apprise Her Royal Highness that M. de Nemours and his brother-in-law were about to meet at the Petits-Pères; and that she entreated her to inform *Monsieur* of the fact. The princess instantly walked to the bench upon which her father was seated, and having communicated the intelligence, had the gratification of seeing him at length aroused into an alarm equal to her own. He hurriedly desired the Counts de Fiesque and Fontrailles, who were with him, to proceed immediately to the place mentioned, and to prevent the encounter; but they arrived too late; the procrastination of Gaston having, as usual, rendered his interference of no avail. The parties had met; and M. de Nemours had fallen by the hand of his wife's brother.

On receiving this fatal intelligence, *Monsieur* instantly returned home; while MADEMOISELLE and the prince proceeded to the residence of the unhappy duchess, whom they found in a state bordering on distraction; for not only the melancholy fact itself, but also the circumstances by which it was attended, were too well calculated to overcome her with wretchedness. Trusting to the pledge given by M. de Nemours, neither the Duke d'Orleans nor the prince had taken any precautions to avert the catastrophe; while M. de Beaufort had made every effort in his power to avoid the meeting, and even when he could no longer decline it, had raised difficulties as to its execution, alledging that he had several gentlemen in his company of whom he could not rid himself, and that consequently the encounter must be deferred until another opportunity.

On receiving this last reply M. de Nemours had returned home, where, having unfortunately found an equal number of his own friends, he renewed his challenge to M. de Beaufort; and they all left the Tuileries; after which the duel took place in the horse-market, behind

the Hôtel Vendôme. Three of the Duke de Beaufort s witnesses were dangerously wounded, two of them so much so that they died within four-and-twenty hours; and, as we have already stated, M. de Nemours himself fell.

Even to the last the Duke de Beaufort had endeavored to appease the blind rage of his unnatural relative; and when M. de Nemours approached him with pistols already loaded, and swords already drawn, he exclaimed deprecatingly, "Let us not be guilty of this shame, my brother. Let us rather forget the past, and be reconciled." The appeal, touching as it was, nevertheless produced no effect; and the unhappy Duke de Nemours fell a victim to his own indomitable temper.

The report of firearms drew to the spot several persons who chanced to be walking in the gardens of the Hôtel Vendôme; and among others the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, who sprung toward the dying man, and raised him in his arms. He had, however, only time to press the hand of the horror-stricken ecclesiastic, and to murmur the name of the Savior, when he fell back upon the shoulder of his supporter, a lifeless corse.*

On the following day there occurred a similar scene, save only that it was, fortunately, not attended with equally fatal results. Another dispute on the same contemptible question of precedence took place between the Prince of Tarente, son of the Duke de la Trémouille, and the Count de Rieux, son of the Duke d'Elbœuf. M. de Condé, who chanced to be present, favored the pretensions of the Prince de Tarente, who was his near relative; and during the discussion which ensued, the Count de Rieux having made use of a gesture which M. de Condé construed into an affront, he returned it by a blow, which was instantly met by another. The prince, who was without his sword, instantly seized that of the Baron de

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

Migenne, who was standing near him, and M. de Rieux as promptly drew his own; when the Count de Rohan, apprehensive of the consequences, sprung between the combatants, ordering M. de Rieux instantly to withdraw; and he was forthwith committed to the Bastille by *Monsieur*. M. de Condé was not, however, to be so easily appeased; he insisted that he would have satisfaction for the insult to which he had been subjected; and it was with considerable difficulty that his friends could convince him that he had been the first aggressor; when, finally, aware that his courage could not under any circumstances be called in question, he consented to let the matter drop; but it, nevertheless, rankled deeply; and in the afternoon of the same day, he remarked to MADEMOISELLE that she saw a man who had been beaten for the first time in his life.

A similar circumstance had nearly occurred during the first war of the Fronde, and was only prevented by a witticism of the president Bellièvre. M. de Beaufort, experiencing some difficulty in the success of his projects, through the interference of the Duke d'Elbœuf, lost his temper; and seeking some method to attain his purpose, exclaimed passionately, "If I were to strike M. d'Elbœuf, do you not think that it would change the face of affairs?"

"No, Your Highness," replied the president, "I think that it would only change the face of M. d'Elbœuf."*

After the spirited interference of the Count de Rohan, related above, *Monsieur*, the prince, and MADEMOISELLE, succeeded in obtaining from the parliament the registration of his claims to a duchy, which were not, however, accorded until after long deliberation; and thus the brave old family motto was negatived in its chivalry.

About this time M. de Valois, the only son of *Monsieur*, expired after a few weeks' illness; and the blow was a heavy one to the prince, who caused the body to be re-

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

moved to the Calvary until its interment at St. Denis, for which he anticipated the royal authority immediately upon the receipt of his letters to the court announcing the event. He was not, however, destined to experience even this inadequate consolation; for the reply which he received to his communication was couched in the most harsh and unsympathizing terms, informing him that the death of his child was a visible judgment of God for the unjust war in which he was engaged; with several other comments quite as bitter, as insulting, and as ill-timed.

MADEMOISELLE was much affected by this death, although the child, being strangely deformed, would never have been able to maintain his rank with that dignity required by the fastidiousness of the court to which he belonged. Her grief was, however, diverted by intelligence received by M. de Condé from Bordeaux, of the severe, and it was believed fatal, illness of the princess his wife, who was prostrated by fever: and as MADEMOISELLE was about to express her regret in the courtly commonplace which she considered necessary to the occasion, she was interrupted by the Countess de Frontenac, who told her with a smile that she had learned from M. de Chavigny that the prince was already consoled, by the hope that she would herself accept his hand. Once more busy with the idea of marriage, the princess drove to the Tuileries, where she encountered M. de Condé himself, who immediately joined her, and they walked twice up and down the avenue together without exchanging a word, being apprehensive that they were observed.

At the same period *Monsieur* sent for his daughter, with considerable mystery, desiring her to wait upon him at the Luxembourg, with no other attendance than that of the two countesses (Mesdames de Fiesque and de Frontenac); and she hastened to obey, feeling convinced that news had arrived of the death of the Princess de Condé, and that His Royal Highness and the prince were anxious to ac-

complish her marriage before any interference could be offered by the court. Once more, however, she was destined to disappointment; for the object of her hasty summons was simply to communicate to her the receipt of a letter from the Duke de Lorraine, who, in reply to the entreaties of *Monsieur* and the prince that he should join them in Paris, had written to declare that he must abstain from so doing until he had obtained the pardon of MADEMOISELLE, whom he had offended; and receive her commands, as well as those of Madame de Frontenac, to return to the capital. M. de Saint Etienne, who had been the bearer of the letter, also assured her that the duke could be induced to comply with the wishes of His Royal Highness upon no other terms; and, eventually, the princess was induced to write to M. de Lorraine, declaring that she forgave all that had occurred, in the hope that he would repair his fault; and that she should have great pleasure in seeing him. The countess also wrote; and the ladies were then permitted to retire, having accomplished a very different errand from that which they had anticipated.*

We have already stated, that the king had issued an ordinance which transferred the parliament to Pontoise; to which they had replied, that they could not obey the royal command, nor even give it a public reading, so long as the Cardinal Mazarin remained in France; while they, moreover, put forth an ordinance of their own, by which every one of their members was forbidden to leave Paris; and all who were absent were enjoined to return there. The king immediately signified his acquiescence in their demand; while the minister tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and retired to Bouillon. No concession could have been either better judged, or better timed, although both parties at once felt it to be a mere comedy. The attack upon the Town-Hall, in which several magistrates and nearly forty citizens lost their lives, had indis-

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

posed the parliament to the cause of the princes; while the nomination of *Monsieur* as lieutenant-general of the kingdom had been carried only by a majority of five voices, leaving an opposition of sixty-nine members; and not only the provinces, but even the capital itself, were beginning to weary of a war, which, while it harassed, drained, and weakened the resources of the country, could be ultimately productive of no adequate result. The departure of Mazarin removed all pretext of discontent; for, his banishment once effected, parliamentary opposition degenerated into political rebellion; and the union of the princes became a matter of high treason, against both the sovereign and the state.

The declaration of the king which announced the departure of Mazarin produced, on its arrival at Paris, all the effect which had been anticipated. *Monsieur* and the prince proceeded to the meeting of parliament, and declared that the principal cause of their opposition no longer existing, they were ready to lay down their arms; provided that His Majesty should see fit to grant an amnesty, to remove the troops which were stationed in the environs of Paris, to withdraw those which were quartered in Guienne, and to give free passage and safeguards to the Spanish forces to return to their own country; as well as to accord permission to the princes themselves to send envoys to confer with His Majesty upon such points as might still require adjustment. While the parliament, on their side, issued a decree, by which it was ordained that His Majesty should be thanked for banishing the cardinal; and very humbly requested to return to his good city of Paris.

The negotiation proved a long one, for the princes desired guaranties, while the king stood firm, and refused to compromise his dignity. The princes stipulated that the past should be as though it had never been, while the king maintained that there were certain things which it behooved him to keep in remembrance. The Cardinal de Retz was

the representative of *Monsieur*, and M. de Chavigny that of the prince. Neither of them, however, succeeded as they had hoped; *Monsieur* received only vague and evasive answers; and M. de Condé was equally unfortunate, and became the more intemperate under his annoyance from the fact of a severe indisposition obliging him to leave Paris. So great, indeed, was his irritation, that before his departure he threw himself into a violent passion with M. de Chavigny, whom he reproached with having neglected his interests, when the poor young nobleman became so alarmed as to fall ill, from which illness he died some days afterward.

The reply of the king to the requisition of the princes was a refusal to grant the necessary passports to the Marshal d'Etampes, the Count de Fiesque, and M. de Goulas; while the answer to *Monsieur* individually, expressed that His Majesty was surprised the Duke d'Orleans should not have reflected, that after the departure of the cardinal there remained nothing more for him to do, than, in accordance with his word and declaration, to lay down his arms, to renounce all associations and treaties, and to withdraw the foreign troops from the kingdom; after he had done which, all those whom he sent to negotiate an arrangement with the court would be well received.

The Duke de Beaufort and M. de Broussel mutually proffered their resignation—the one as governor of Paris, and the other as provost of the merchants. They preferred a voluntary tender to an official destitution, as being at once more safe and less mortifying.

On the 17th of October the king arrived at St. Germain, where the civic guard and the town deputation hastened to greet him, and brought back with them in triumph the Marshal de l'Hôpital, and the Councilor Lefèvre, who returned to their former offices; announcing at the same time, that in two days the king would make his entry into the capital.

On the 21st he accordingly did so, having slept the previous night at Ruel; whence he dispatched two of his retinue to request *Monsieur* to meet him outside the gates, an invitation which was peremptorily declined, His Royal Highness preferring to remain shut up in the Luxembourg, where the acclamations of the populace were nevertheless distinctly audible. As they had shouted on the news of the victory of Rocroy; on the advent of M. de Condé, and on his subsequent banishment; on learning the precipitate flight of Mazarin from the capital, and on his reappearance in triumph by the side of the young monarch; as they had shouted for MADEMOISELLE when she turned the cannon of the Bastille against their legitimate sovereign, so they once more pealed forth their rejoicings at the return of the boy-king whom they had shed both blood and money to deprive of his capital.

In the regulation of the ceremonial which was made at Ruel for the entrance into the city, it had been decided that the king should ride beside the queen's carriage, and be surrounded by the Swiss guards; but the young monarch objected to this arrangement, nor could all the arguments which were advanced in its favor induce him to adopt it. He would return to his capital, he said, as a sovereign should do, at the head of his army, and himself open the procession. As his will could not be opposed, he consequently did so; and showed himself thus, amid the glare of ten thousand torches, to his so lately rebellious citizens, upon whom the boldness of the act produced an unhoped-for impression. There was more prudence in his precocious courage than in all the subtil diplomacy of his more experienced mother.

While she was still engaged at her evening toilet, MADEMOISELLE was waited on by the king's steward, M. de Sanguin, who informed her that he was the bearer of a letter from His Majesty, which he had been instructed to deliver into her own hands; and its contents signified that the

king, being about to take up his abode in Paris, had no other residence to offer to his brother than the Tuileries, which he requested her to vacate on the following morning.

The princess merely replied, that His Majesty should be obeyed; but that it was necessary she should communicate the order which she had received to His Royal Highness; and that if he returned in the afternoon, she would have the honor of answering the letter of the king. She then proceeded to the Luxembourg, where she found *Monsieur* extremely uneasy and out of temper; who, on being informed of the purport of her visit, and consulted as to what should be done, told her that she had nothing to do but to obey. Finding that any thing more definite or satisfactory was not to be extorted from her father in his present mood, the princess accordingly returned home, and summoned to her assistance the president Viole, and the parliamentary counsel, Croissy, with whom, on his departure, M. de Condé had entreated her to advise in every emergency; assuring her that they were two of his best friends, in whom he had unlimited confidence. Viole, on his arrival, told her that it was reported *Monsieur* had an understanding with the court; and he even showed her the articles of the treaty; upon which she replied calmly, that the president must know His Royal Highness, and that she would not be answerable for any of his actions; adding, that she only wished to ascertain how she could serve M. de Condé, as that was the most essential consideration. M. de Viole was of opinion that she should take up her abode at the arsenal, which would not fail to annoy the court, and M. de Croissy agreed with the suggestion. The princess consequently looked upon the matter as decided; and in the evening mentioned it at the Luxembourg to *Monsieur*, who offered no objection.

On her return home, the princess found the duchesses of Epernon and Châtillon awaiting her, and full of lamentation at her change of residence, which was at that period

the most agreeable in Paris. Having exhausted their regrets, they at last inquired where she had decided to take up her abode. She replied, at the arsenal; upon which Madame de Châtillon exclaimed, that she could not conceive who had been so ill-advised as to propose such an arrangement; nothing being less expedient, or so useless to the interests of M. de Condé. MADEMOISELLE replied, that she acted upon the advice of Messieurs Viole and Croissy; but this information, far from satisfying the duchess, only determined her to be frank. She therefore assured the princess, that if she contemplated another opposition to the court, she would inevitably subject herself to great annoyance—that the time was passed for demonstrations such as those which had been previously made; and that all MADEMOISELLE now had to do was to consider how she could withdraw herself with the best grace; finally declaring that, as her servant, she thought it her duty to inform Her Highness that *Monsieur* had reconciled himself with the court; and had asserted, that as he could not answer for her conduct, he consequently abandoned her fortunes.

The princess, grateful for the confidence which Madame de Châtillon had placed in her, thanked her sincerely for her good faith; and desired M. de Préfontaine to see the president Viole and M. de Croissy, early in the morning, to tell them what she had learned, and to solicit their advice; stating at the same time her own opinion, which was, that under the circumstances, she ought to make another arrangement. In this sentiment both her counselors agreed; and it was then suggested by some of her friends that she should establish herself in the palace of Mazarin, a measure which would compel the court to offer her a handsome residence in order to induce her to vacate it; but to this neither the princess hereslf, nor *Monsieur* would give their consent; they had no ambition to seize the lion by the mane. The whole day was thus uselessly

exhausted in seeking a residence which could not be found; and the heiress of a score of duchies, divers principalities, and almost unlimited wealth, found herself compelled to accept shelter for the night from the Countess de Fiesque, her attendant; which she did with somewhat ruffled temper, and still more uneasiness.

Despite the assertion made to MADEMOISELLE by Viole, no treaty had actually been concluded between *Monsieur* and the court. The good faith of the president was, however, perfect; and he had full authority for believing it to have been completed. Such was, nevertheless, not the case, although the difficulty had not arisen with Gaston, who had proposed certain articles of arrangement which the king, or rather those about him, had definitely rejected; and in a few days, to his infinite astonishment and mortification, His Royal Highness received an order from His Majesty to retire from Paris. During the embarrassment of MADEMOISELLE, his own daughter, he had selfishly resolved not to offer her a temporary asylum in the Luxembourg, being aware of the strong feeling which existed against her in the court party, and being fearful of compromising himself by an act of paternal kindness; and now he found himself, in his turn, thrust across the threshold of the palace, and even beyond the gates of the capital.

Monsieur had no sooner received the royal command, than, without betraying its purport to any one, he hastened to the parliament, to assure them that he had entered into no treaty whatever with the court; and that he was resolved, rather than separate his interests from their own, to perish with them. Perfectly unaware of the strait in which the prince found himself at the moment, and which had wrung from him this unusual burst of generous enthusiasm, the meeting warmly thanked him for so flattering a demonstration of attachment; but His Royal Highness nevertheless returned to the Luxembourg in a very bad humor, which he was anxious to exhaust upon the first

persons who afforded him a pretext for pouring forth upon them his "vial of wrath."

MADEMOISELLE proved to be the victim; for, having learned the exile of her father, and being anxious to ascertain the truth of the rumor, she entered the cabinet of *Madame* only a few minutes after *Monsieur* himself.

We have already stated that Gaston felt no overweening affection for the daughter of his first marriage; and for this there were many causes, for although his egotism would have alone sufficed to produce such a result, it was rendered more pronounced by his jealousy, alike of her wealth and of her courage. His second family, which increased rapidly, were comparatively beggars, and he still had enough of the father about him to feel anxious for their future position; while he could not conceal from himself that, on several occasions where he had played the craven, MADEMOISELLE had enacted the heroine; and however convenient such a fact had proved at the moment when it was needed, it was gall and wormwood to his after-reflections. No one could, consequently, have been more welcome to him than herself, at the present crisis, for he could pour forth his bitterness in safety, and without risk of its subsequent consequences, upon one who owed him alike submission and respect. The first words to which the unlucky princess gave utterance sufficed, therefore, to draw down the avalanche of his ill-humor upon her, as she inquired if it were really true that His Royal Highness had received an order to withdraw from the capital? To which question he replied, that he believed he was not called upon to account to her for his movements.

Startled, but not surprised, for she was aware of the infirmity of her father, MADEMOISELLE declared that she could not give credit to the rumor of his thus tamely abandoning the cause of M. de Condé and the Duke de Lorraine—a remonstrance which only met with a similar

rejoinder to the first. MADEMOISELLE next requested to be informed if she were also to be banished; and this inquiry was still more bitterly answered. He said that he should not interfere in any thing that concerned her; for that she had conducted herself so ill toward the court, that he had ceased to feel any care for her interests, even as she had, on her side, rejected his advice.

MADEMOISELLE, calmly as she always met the ignoble temper of her father, could not suffer such an accusation as this to pass without comment; and she accordingly replied, with great firmness, that, if His Royal Highness alluded to her conduct at Orleans, she begged to remind him that she had acted entirely by his order; and that although she could not produce written evidence of the fact, inasmuch as he had given her his commands by word of mouth, she still possessed several letters from His Royal Highness, couched in terms of approbation beyond her deserts, and so full of affection and tenderness, that they had not led her to anticipate his present reproaches.

Beaten at Orleans, *Monsieur*, to whom the subject was always a bitter one, retreated upon Paris, and asked her, sarcastically, if she imagined that the affair at the Porte St. Antoine had tended to serve her at court? She had, he said, been delighted to play the heroine, and to be called such by her faction, as well as to be told that she had twice insured its safety; and that now, whatever might be the result, she had only to console herself by the remembrance of the praises which had been lavished upon her.

To this taunt MADEMOISELLE responded, by declaring that she had done him as good service at the barrier as at Orleans; that both in the one place and in the other she had acted by his authority, blamable as he now considered her; and that, were the opportunity to recur, she should not hesitate to do precisely as she had done, considering that such would be her duty, as he had a right to com

mand both her obedience and her services. She added, moreover, that if his Royal Highness were destined to be unfortunate, she considered it only proper that she should share his disgrace and his evil fortunes; and that she was better pleased to feel that she had not been useless in the past, than to see herself punished without cause. She knew nothing, she said, about her being a heroine; but she was aware that the privileges of her high birth entailed upon her the necessity of a noble and elevated line of conduct, which all were at liberty to designate as they pleased, but which she simply considered as pursuing her proper path, from not having been born in so mean a rank as to find herself compelled to adopt that of others.

After a time the ill-humor of *Monsieur* began to evaporate; when the princess again spoke of her difficulty in procuring a residence, and even so far conquered her pride as to entreat him to give her accommodation in the Luxembourg. He briefly answered, that there was not room to receive her; upon which she remarked, that no individual of his household had shown her the courtesy to offer her their apartments, although she believed that she had the greatest right to expect a home there;* but even this hint failed in its effect upon the obtuse prince, who satisfied himself by observing, that all the present inhabitants of the palace were necessary to his comfort, and that he should not suffer one of them to be disturbed.

"In that case," said MADEMOISELLE, resolutely, "I shall establish myself at the Hôtel de Condé; it is empty, and I can there command ample accommodation."

So bold a resolution brought cold damps to the forehead of the quailing listener; and he had only power to utter a peremptory command that she should immediately abandon such an idea.

* The Luxembourg Palace was the property of MADEMOISELLE.

"Where, then, does Your Royal Highness wish me to go?" asked the poor princess.

"Where you please"—was the regal reply; and as *Monsieur* gave it utterance, he turned upon his heel, and left the room. Thus uncourteously dismissed, MADEMOISELLE returned to the Hôtel de Fiesque; and it was at length determined that she should pass the night under the roof of Madame de Montmort, the sister of the countess, where she awaited, with great anxiety, the permission of His Royal Highness to reside under his protection. No such permission, however, reached her; but early on the following morning, having received a note, from which she learned that *Monsieur* had already started for Limours, she immediately dispatched the Count de Holac, by whom he was overtaken near Berny.

The Duke d'Orleans had no sooner recognized his daughter's messenger than, leaving him no time to explain his errand, he exclaimed that he was glad to see him, in order that he might communicate his pleasure to MADEMOISELLE that she should retire to her estate of Bois-le-Vicomte, and cease to delude herself with the hopes held out to her by the Duke de Beaufort and Madame de Montbazon that she could in any way assist the views of M. de Condé, or repair his fortunes. She might learn, he said, that there was nothing more to be done, by the indifference with which the populace of Paris had suffered him personally to leave the capital, although he was so much better loved and more important than herself. She had, therefore, only to withdraw herself from the city, and not to anticipate impossible events. M. de Holac ventured to remonstrate, and to observe, that Her Royal Highness, aware of the route which he had taken, was already preparing to follow him. To this measure the prince, however, vehemently dissented, declaring, that she must immediately proceed to Bois-le-Vicomte, as he had already ordered, and as he once more repeated. The

count respectfully, but firmly, again urged the utter impossibility of such a step, Bois-le-Vicomte being a solitary house, and surrounded in all directions by troops, who pillaged every place near which they passed; declaring that it would be out of their power even to procure necessary provisions; and that, moreover, MADEMOISELLE had generously converted the chateau into a hospital for those who had been wounded at the battle of the Porte St. Antoine—a circumstance which, of course, excluded her from its occupancy. The retort of *Monsieur*, upon this announcement, was, that if such were the case, she might retire to another of her estates, or live anywhere she pleased, provided it were not with him.

M. de Holac then suggested that the princess should take up her abode with *Madame*, who had remained in Paris, being too ill to venture upon a journey; but this proposition met with no more encouragement than the last—*Monsieur* asserting that such an arrangement was impossible, for that *Madame* was in weak health, and that MADEMOISELLE would inconvenience her: upon which the count replied, with a profound bow, that he considered it his duty to inform His Royal Highness that he apprehended all opposition would be useless, as the princess had resolved upon rejoining him.

"Let her do as she likes, then," said *Monsieur*, doggedly; "but let her know, at the same time, that if she does come, I shall turn her out."

It was, of course, useless to attempt further expostulation, and the Count de Holac accordingly retired to report the ill-success of his mission to MADEMOISELLE, who quitted Paris on the following day, without having made any definite arrangement. She left the city in a carriage, lent to her for the purpose by Madame de Montmort, drawn only by two horses, a few attendants in undress liveries, three femmes-de-chambre, and accompanied merely by the Countess de Frontenac; and with this limited retinue took

up her temporary residence at Pons, in the house of Madame de Bouthelier, the mother of the unfortunate Chavigny.

On the very day of her departure the king published an amnesty, from which, however, were excluded the Dukes de Beaufort, de la Rochefoucould, and de Rohan; six parliamentary councilors, the president Pérault, and all the followers of the house of Condé; while in his suit he had nevertheless brought Henry de Guise, the archbishop of Rheims, lately a prisoner in Spain, who had been recalled a fortnight previously to France, at the solicitation of the prince.

Let us give a brief glance at the situation of the kingdom at this period.

The archduke had retaken Gravelins and Dunkirk: Cromwell, without any declaration of hostilities, had seized several French ships; Barcelona and Casal, the one the key of Spain, and the other that of Italy, were wrenched from the French crown; Champagne and Picardy had been ravaged by the passage of the troops of Spain and Lorraine, whom the princes had summoned to their aid; Berry, Nivernais, Saintonge, Poitou, Perigord, Limousin, Anjou, Touraine, Orleanais, and Bauce, were ruined by the civil war; the standards of Spain had floated over the Pont-Neuf, and flouted the proud statue of Henry IV.; and, finally, the yellow scarfs of Lorraine had fluttered in the streets of Paris as freely as the blue and isabel, which were the distinguishing colors of the houses of Orleans and Condé. The Cardinal de Retz, who had remained neutral in all the recent movements, had hastened to congratulate the king and his illustrious mother on their return to the good city whence they had so long been banished; the Duke d'Orleans, having vainly proffered the most vehement professions of an unalterable fidelity for the future, had retired to Blois, with the consent of the court. MADEMOISELLE, after having wandered

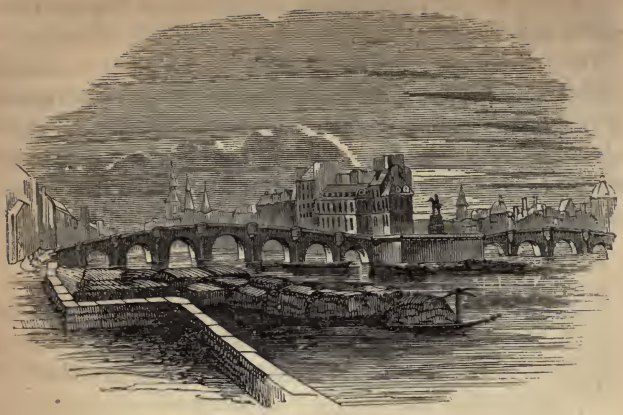
right and left, hoped and despaired a thousand times, and maintained a correspondence with the prince, which, of course, tended to produce no result, finally took up her abode upon one of her estates at Fargeau; the Duke de Beaufort, the Duchess de Montbazon, and Madame de Châtillon, had left Paris; the Princess de Condé, the Prince de Conti, and the Duchess de Longueville remained at Bordeaux, no longer as the sovereign masters of the city, but as simple inhabitants; while the unfortunate Duke de la Rochefoucauld, as yet barely convalescent of the grievous wound which he had received at the Porte St. Antoine, had caused himself to be removed to Bagneux, nearly cured both of his fancy for faction and his passion for Madame de Longueville; and, finally, the Duke de Rohan, who was believed to be one of the most faithful followers of the prince, and who was under weighty obligations both to him and *Monsieur*, had arranged matters so cleverly, that a week after their entrance into Paris, Their Majesties stood sponsors to his infant son.*

Thus the court saw all their enemies dispersed and overcome, save one; but of that one the very name was formidable, although, by the recent events, he found himself shorn of at least three fourths of his strength. We allude, of course, to M. de Condé; of whose diminished influence the royal council were so well aware, that they did not hesitate to urge the king, in a Bed of Justice which he held on the 13th of the following month, to publish a declaration, setting forth that the princes de Condé and Conti, the Prince of Tarente, the Duchess de Longueville, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and all their adherents, having rejected with contempt and perseverance the favors which had been offered to them, and, by these means, rendered themselves unworthy of all pardon, had irrevocably incurred the penalties declared against

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

rebels, guilty of lèse-majesté, disturbers of the public peace, and traitors to their country.

The parliament registered this declaration, without comment or hesitation, while M. de Condé and the Duke de Lorraine continued their military operations in the provinces with varying success, but succeeded under every circumstance in harassing the forces which were opposed to them.



CHAPTER XXI.

Imprudence of the Coadjutor—The Court are anxious for its Overthrow—Louis XIV. asserts himself—Resolves on his Arrest—Autograph Order to that Effect—Arrest of the Coadjutor—The Opiate-Paste—Termination of the Second Fronde—Return of Mazarin—Deaths of the Duke de Bouillon, the Marshal Caumont de la Force, and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse—Marriage of the Poet Scarron and Frances D'Aubigny—Early History of Frances D'Aubigny.

On the occasion of the decree just named, the king sent M. de Saintot, the master of the ceremonies, to the Cardinal de Retz, to command his attendance at the meeting in which it was to be declared: to which summons the prelate replied, that he most humbly begged permission of his His Majesty to absent himself, as he conceived that it would neither be just nor courteous, when he was on friendly terms with M. de Condé, for him to vote in a deliberation in which it was question of his condemnation. Saintot had warned him of its having been suggested in the presence of the queen that he would avail himself of this pretext to refuse compliance with the king's summons;

and also that she had remarked the excuse was not valid, inasmuch as M. Guise, who owed his liberty to the solicitation of the prince, would be present; upon which M. de Retz retorted that, had he been of the same profession as the Archbishop of Rheims, he should have been delighted to emulate the noble feats which that prince had lately accomplished in Naples.

This rejoinder exasperated the queen, and her anger was heightened by the comments of those about her, who declared that it was a convincing proof of his anxiety for M. de Condé's interests; and what he thus simply decided upon principle, assumed, in her mind, the indication of measures inimical to the court either already taken, or about to be attempted.*

Anxious, thenceforward, to be freed from an enemy whose popularity rendered him doubly dangerous, the court offered to M. de Retz the direction of their affairs in Rome for the space of three years, the liquidation of all his debts, and an ample income to enable him to make a brilliant figure in the capital of the Christian world; but, conscious that their motive, so far from being a desire to forward his interests, was only to effect his removal from the capital, he resolved to treat the proposal accordingly, and stipulated for certain conditions before he would consent to abandon his see; all of which were for the purpose of enriching his friends rather than himself, but were not, on that account, the less impolitic or exorbitant.

From that moment the council resolved to rid themselves of him in a more summary and authoritative manner; and the young king, who had begun to assert himself, gave such evident tokens of his distaste to the exacting and self-appreciating prelate, that his friends warned him to beware of the young but nervous will of the stripling-monarch, which he might find it difficult to oppose. M. de Retz, however, smiled at the caution; and when the president

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

Bellièvre, among others, was expressing some apprehension of the kind, he answered, calmly, that he had two oars which would prevent the capsizing of his bark: one was his cardinal's mace, and the other was the crosier of Paris.* The Princess-Palatine, who had made her peace with the court, without, however, withdrawing her friendship from the prelate, endeavored, in her turn, to convince him that he was tempting his fate, assuring him that it had been resolved to remove him, even at the sacrifice of his life; but, although he thanked her for the interest which she exhibited in his welfare, he nevertheless persisted in remaining quietly in Paris, although he consented not to risk himself at the Louvre.

As it was soon ascertained that he had come to this decision, it was determined to arrest him wherever he might be met with, and Pradelle, a captain of the royal guards, received a written order to that effect; while upon his suggestion that the cardinal would never suffer himself to be taken without offering resistance, and that, in order to secure his seizure, he might, in consequence, be compelled to take his life, which he could not consent to do, without sufficient authority, the king seized a pen, and wrote with his own hand at the bottom of the order:—

"I have commanded Pradelle to execute the present order on the person of the Cardinal de Retz, and even to arrest him, dead or alive, in the event of resistance on his part. "LOUIS."

Divers measures were immediately taken to secure the capture of the obnoxious prelate. Spies were set upon his residence; efforts were made to bribe his servants to betray his movements; and no pains were spared to secure the execution of the arrest. While these things were taking place, M. de Retz was betrayed by his vanity into

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

a folly well calculated to imbitter still more the virulence of his enemies. M. de Brissac having upon one occasion asked him if it were not his intention to ride the following day to Rambouillet, and receiving an affirmative reply, drew a paper from his pocket, and requested him to glance at its contents. It was an anonymous note, addressed to himself, begging him to caution the cardinal against the proposed journey, and asserting the consequences of such a step would be fatal. M. de Retz was not, however, to be turned from his purpose; but he took the precaution to be accompanied by two hundred gentlemen, with whom he gayly set forth for Rambouillet. He states that he found there numerous officers of the guards, and does not know if their intention were to attack him, as he was not in a position to be attacked; but that they saluted him most reverentially, and that he entered into conversation with those with whom he was acquainted, and afterward returned home as quietly as though he had not committed a folly.

He still, however, remained self-exiled from the court, until he was reproached by Madame de Lesdiguières, his cousin (who was a favorite of the queen, and greatly in her confidence, and in whose perfect good faith he himself placed the utmost confidence), with his persistence in a line of conduct which she declared would inevitably draw upon him a disgrace that he should be most anxious to avert, and who strongly advised him to make his appearance at the Louvre, which he might in all security.

M. de Retz admitted the propriety of this measure, but demurred as to its safety; whereupon she inquired if that were the only consideration which deterred him, and he frankly confessed that it was. In that case, she said, she trusted that he would go to the palace the next day, as she knew that a secret council had been held, at which, after great opposition, it was resolved that a reconciliation should be effected with him, and that he should even receive what

he had demanded for his friends. M. de Retz admits, although the result of his compliance with this dangerous advice proved so unfortunate, that he never entertained the slightest suspicion that he was willfully deceived by Madame de Lesdiguières, whom he believed to have been misled by the Marshal de Villeroy. Be that as it may, however, it is certain that on the morrow when he entered the queen's ante-chamber, he was arrested by M. de Villequier, who was the captain of the guard on duty. He was then conducted through the great gallery of the Louvre; and having descended by the pavilion of MADEMOISELLE, found one of the royal carriages awaiting him, into which M. de Villequier and five or six officers of the body-guard entered along with him. The escort was composed of the Marshal d'Albert at the head of the gendarmes; M. de Vaugauion at the head of the light-horse, and M. de Venne, lieutenant-colonel of the guards, in command of eight companies of his corps. In order to reach the Porte St. Antoine, the prisoner was compelled to pass two or three other barriers, at each of which was posted a battalion of Swiss, with their arms leveled toward the town; and finally, between eight and nine in the evening, he found himself at Vincennes, where he was ushered into a spacious and dreary apartment, without either hangings or bed; and he remained for a fortnight, in the middle of December, without fire.*

This arrest produced a great sensation, although the populace, worn out by such constantly succeeding catastrophes, contented itself by weeping over the fate of their beloved archbishop, instead of attempting his rescue. His friends were, however, less passive; and, dreading that in order to disembarrass themselves of him quietly, the court might seek to dispose of him by poison, they held a council to devise some method of conveying an antidote to his prison. Madame de Lesdiguières, who looked upon her

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

self, with reason, as the primary cause of his arrest, undertook to affect this; and Villequier, who had conducted him to Vincennes, being her devoted friend, she requested him to take charge of a jar containing an opiate-paste, and to give it from her to the cardinal. Villequier consented; but as he was about to execute the commission, he suddenly deemed it expedient to secure the permission of the queen, who had no sooner learned the circumstance than she desired that the jar might be brought to her; and having caused its contents to be analyzed by a chemist, thus learned their nature. Extremely indignant at the suspicion implied by such a precaution, she immediately communicated the circumstance to the ministers, upon which one of them proposed that an actual poison should be substituted for the antidote; but M. Letellier formally refused to recognize such a proceeding, and the council ultimately contented themselves with retaining the jar and its contents.*

The arrest of M. de Retz terminated the second war of the Fronde; and Mazarin only awaited its accomplishment to return to Paris. Let it not be imagined, however, that he prepared to do so quietly; and to be permitted to regain the capital on sufferance. He was too able a tactician to forget that the French were an impulsive people—that their watchword was "glory"—and he had consequently been smoothing his backward path by effecting a succession of petty conquests over the forces of M. de Condé and his allies; to which end he left St. Dizier two days previously to the imprisonment of M. de Retz, and joined the troops then besieging Bar-le-Duc, who ultimately retook the town. After Bar-le-Duc, Ligny surrendered; and then the cardinal, in order that his reappearance might be heralded by victory, endeavored to regain St. Menehould and Rethel; the severe cold, however, prevented this; and he was compelled to content himself with

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

the capture of Chateau-Porcian, and Vervins, whence the Spaniards retreated under the Count de Fuensaldagne, without attempting any resistance. After these exploits, Mazarin knew enough of the mutable materials of a Parisian mob to feel that he might return, not only in all safety, but also in all honor, to the Louvre; and in fact the king drove three leagues beyond the walls to welcome him; while even this demonstration, flattering as it was, did not satisfy the courtiers, who rode forward as far as Damartin.

The cardinal-minister entered the gates of Paris in triumph, seated beside his sovereign and pupil; bonfires blazed and fireworks were exhibited in his honor; and amid all these rejoicings there were but few in the capital that night who thought upon their "shivered idols"—M. de Condé, the Duke de Beaufort, and the Cardinal de Retz.

During the year 1652, which we have now traced to its close, the most note-worthy deaths were those of the Duke de Bouillon, who having deserted the Fronde to become the friend of Mazarin, did not live to reap the reward of his apostasy; the veteran Marshal Caumont de la Force,* who had escaped almost by a miracle at the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and the beautiful Mademoiselle

* James Nompar de Caumont, Duke de la Force, whose family could be traced back to the 11th century, was the son of Francis, Lord of La Force, who was killed during the massacre of St. Bartholomew. He bore arms in the Protestant army of Henry IV., and placed himself at the head of the reformers under Louis XIII. He gave in his submission to that king in 1622, and was created Marshal of France, and lieutenant-general of the forces in Piedmont. He took Pignerol; defeated the Spaniards at Carignan in 1630; passed over into Germany, where he took possession of several towns; and finally died as we have stated, in 1652. He was the grandfather of Charlotte Rose de Caumont de la Force, born in 1650, who devoted her life to the cultivation of literature, and obtained a place among the historians of the 17th century. She died in 1724, leaving behind her the *Secret History of Burgundy*, the *History of Marguerite de Valois*, *The Fairies*, the *Tale of Tales*, the *Castle in Spain*, *Gustavus Vasa*, &c.

de Chevreuse, who was carried off by a fever in four-and-twenty hours, a short time previously to the disgrace of M. de Retz.

In this year, also, a marriage was contracted which, although regarded at the time as a mere jest for the wits of the court, was destined to influence in a powerful manner the close of the brilliant reign which we are now recording. It was in 1652 that the poet Scarron* married Frances d'Aubigny, the granddaughter of the celebrated Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigny, who, at the age of six years, read the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; and at that of thirteen embraced the military profession; fought under the Prince de Condé, and afterward accepted service with Henry of Navarre (subsequently Henry IV.), whose friend and confidant he became; and who appointed him successively a gentleman of the chamber, a general of brigade, and ultimately Vice-Admiral of Guienne and Brittany. He was the author of several works; and among others, of a Universal History, from 1550 (the year of his birth) to 1601. The father of Frances was Constant d'Aubigny, Baron de Surimeau; who having, without the consent of his parent, married Anne Marchand, the widow of John Courant, Baron de Chatellaillon, and surprised her in an act of infidelity, murdered both her and her lover, and took as

* Paul Scarron was the son of a councilor to the parliament, and was born in Paris, in 1610 or 1611. He assumed the ecclesiastical habit, but without entering into any religious order; and was devoted to all the pleasures of his age, when a deplorable accident suddenly deprived him, at the age of twenty-seven, of the use of his limbs. Confined by his sufferings to an easy chair, he nevertheless preserved throughout all his privations his brilliant, lively, and sarcastic wit; and his sick-chamber became the rendezvous of the most distinguished men of all ranks. He was the originator of burlesque poetry. His principal productions were the *Enéide Travestie*, *Typhon, or La Gigantomachie;* and several comedies, such as *Don Japhet of Armenia*, and the *Absurd Heir;* but his most celebrated work was the *Comic Novel*, in prose. All these writings were distinguished by perpetual sallies of wit and whimsicality, and breathe the most exuberant gayety.

his second wife Jane de Cardillac, daughter of the governor of Chateau-Trompette, who bore him a son, and subsequently Frances, the celebrated Madame de Maintenon.

Bussy-Robutin, who, notwithstanding his vanity and self-appreciation, never could overcome his jealousy of those who achieved their own fortunes, or who had "greatness thrust upon them," indulges, in his most popular work, in some scandalous anecdotes of the early years of this lady, with which we have no intention to sully our pages, and to which we only advert from a principle of duty as faithful historians; neither shall we precisely follow the narrative which Madame de Maintenon has herself given in her Memoirs of her girlish recollections; for, correct as they may be in their general outline, it is easy to discover that they are recorded with considerable reservation, and that a doubtful light is thrown over many circumstances from which time and the evidence of her cotemporaries have removed the varnish of self-love.

Frances d'Aubigny was born on the 27th of November, 1635, in the prison of Niort,* where her father, who had rendered himself amenable to justice, was incarcerated. Her mother, who was at once amiable and high-spirited, was, as we have already stated, the daughter of the governor of the Chateau-Trompette, in which the noble prisoner was expiating the crime of murder; and unable to resist the fascination of his manners, and, moreover, convinced by the arguments which he advanced in extenuation of his delinquency, she was at length induced to credit his assertion that he valued life only for her sake, and desired his liberty solely that he might devote it to her happiness; and thus consented to effect his escape, and to fly with him,

* Niort is a handsome city, situated 108 leagues from Paris, and is the capital of the department of the Deux-Sevres. The chateau has been converted into a prison; and the ancient palace of Eleonora of Aquitain now serves as its town-hall.

provided he would pledge himself to make her his wife at the earliest opportunity. To this he readily agreed; and, through her means, his evasion was effected, and his pledge soon afterward fulfilled.

The money which Madame d'Aubigny was enabled to raise upon her jewels sufficed for a time to their mutual support; but she had scarcely become the mother of a son, when Monsieur d'Aubigny found that they were utterly without the means of existence; and, unable to support the sight of his heroic wife and his infant boy deprived even of the most common necessaries of life, he resolved to risk a return to France, and to endeavor to save some remnant of his former wealth, upon which, with strict economy, they might contrive to exist. As he was thoroughly aware of the hazardous nature of the attempt, he left his wife without communicating his project, which he only confided to her by letter, at the close of his first day's journey. The terror of the devoted lady was intense, for she idolized the man for whom she suffered; and her alarm was only too well founded. M. d'Aubigny was recognized, seized, and once more conveyed as a prisoner to the castle of Niort. The agonized wife at once felt that a second evasion was impossible; but her love and her conscience alike showed her that, if she could not once more effect his liberty, she could at least share and lighten his captivity; and she accordingly set forth, in weak health and with a burdened heart, to become the partner of his prison.

The family of M. d'Aubigny, revolted alike by his previous crime, and by his second marriage, had all abandoned him, save his sister, Madame de Villette; and the birth of a second child having taken place in the gloomy jail to which his errors had consigned him, this lady hastened to offer the consolation of her presence to the unhappy pair. The condition in which she found them was deplorable; poverty and destitution met her on all sides; and to so extreme a state of misery were they reduced, that Madame

d'Aubigny, whom anxiety and deprivation had reduced to a degree of weakness which rendered her unable to afford nourishment to her infant of two days old, was anticipating every hour that she should see it expire in her arms; while crouched at her feet lay her first-born, her boy, literally wrapped in rags, and already old enough to be conscious of his misery.

Madame de Villette, unable to endure so painful a spectacle, after having afforded to her brother and his wretched wife every assistance in her power, took possession of the suffering child, and carried it home with her to the Chateau de Murcey, where it passed its infancy; but, at the close of that period, the prisoner having obtained permission to return to the Chateau-Trompette, he hastened to reclaim his daughter.

In 1639 his imprisonment concluded; but as he would not abjure Calvinism, Richelieu refused to allow him to remain in France, and he consequently embarked for Martinique. During the passage Frances was taken seriously ill, and the sickness made such rapid progress that in the short space of a few hours she was declared to have expired; when one of the crew of the vessel, anxious, as sailors proverbially show themselves, to rid the ship of a dead body, lifted the child in his arms in order to throw her overboard; upon which the wretched mother implored the privilege of one more parting embrace, and, as she strained the infant to her heart, felt a slight movement, which convinced her that the hapless girl still lived. In this conviction she was strengthened by the observation of every succeeding moment; and ultimately her maternal tenderness recalled the fleeting faculties of the predestined Frances. Thenceforward M. d'Aubigny devoted himself entirely to the education of his children; while Madame d'Aubigny, with the strong good sense and resolution which had characterized all her married life, exerted herself so strenuously in the management of the slender funds

which they had been enabled to secure on their departure, that prosperity once more dawned upon the exiled family. Rendered sanguine by this success, her husband conceived the unfortunate idea of sending her back to France, to recover, should it be possible, some portion of his sequestered estates; and she obeyed him, as she had ever done, with cheerful alacrity; but, during her absence, M. d'Aubigny, anxious to force fortune, was induced to gamble; and when she returned, unsuccessful, to report the inutility of her voyage, she found him once more a ruined man.

Overwhelmed by poverty, regret, and hopelessness, Constant d'Aubigny, in 1645, sunk into a foreign and ignoble grave; and in such an utter state of destitution did he leave his widow that, when she resolved upon returning to Europe, she was compelled to resign her daughter as a pledge into the hands of her principal creditor, who, however, becoming weary of supporting the poor child without any probable prospect of remuneration, embarked her on board a French vessel, without even intimating his intention to Madame d'Aubigny, who learned her arrival at La Rochelle, while she believed her to be still in Martinique. As her poverty had experienced no diminution, the unhappy lady reluctantly acceded to the proposal of Madame de Villette, that her daughter should once more become her inmate; for, like her brother, she was a Calvinist, and the mother trembled lest the aunt should tamper with the religion of her child; nor were her fears groundless, as in a short time Frances adopted the creed of her protectors.

She had been baptized by a Romanist priest; and her sponsors were the Duke Francis de la Rochefoucauld, and Frances Tirequeau, Countess de Neuillant, who was attached to the household of Anne of Austria, and who no sooner learned the apostasy of her god-child, than she obtained an order to remove her from the house of her relative and to assume her guardianship. This accomplished, every effort was made to induce the young Calvinist to return to

her original faith; but neither threats, exhortations, nor menaces had power to shake her principles; and thus she, who was one day to cause the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, began life as the martyr of that religion of which she was destined subsequently to become the scourge.*

The youth of the after-queen was cruel. At three years of age she crossed the Atlantic with her parents, who knew not how soon they might want bread; and, at eleven, she returned to France alone, and surrounded by strangers, only to find herself, after a brief interval of ease and affection, still more unhappy and more persecuted than ever; for when Madame de Neuillant found her invulnerable to persuasion, and firm in the new faith which she had adopted, there was no species of humiliation to which she did not expose her. The most petty cares of the household devolved upon the young Frances; she measured out the oats for the horses; summoned the servants when their services were required, bells being at that period unknown; and, as the countess was hypereconomical in all that regarded her establishment, frequently suffered both from cold and hunger. At length her mother, who could no longer endure the sight of her despondency, reclaimed her in her turn, and placed her in the Ursuline convent at Niort. But, when there, neither Madame de Neuillant, whom she had quitted, nor Madame de Villette, who dreaded her relapse to Romanism, would consent to pay her board; and, finally, conquered by necessity, after having received the assurance of the confessor that, despite her heresy, her aunt, to whom she was fondly attached, might still be saved, she once more embraced the Catholic faith.

The Ursuline nuns, proud of the conversion which had been accomplished under their roof, kept her in the community for another year; but, finding that her friends still

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

remained inexorable, they declined any longer to afford her shelter; and she returned to share the poverty of her heart-broken mother only in time to see her die a death of misery and despair. For three months after this fatal event the helpless orphan remained shut up in the squalid apartment in which she had thus been left destitute, without an effort or a wish to survive her lost parent, indebted to the charity of her neighbors for the pittance of bread by which she was kept alive, and without a care or a thought for the future. Her extreme destitution at length touched the heart of Madame de Neuillant, who placed her once more with the Ursulines; but, on her departure for Paris, removed her to her own house in the same subordinate position as before.

Among the friends of the countess was the Marquis de Villarceaux, who was struck by the beauty of the desolate girl, of whom he in vain endeavored to make his mistress; for, oppressed as she was, Frances d'Aubigny was too right-minded to encourage the addresses of a libertine. Nor was the profligate marquis the only person attracted by her loveliness; for the Chevalier de Méré, who enjoyed the reputation of being a man of intellect and taste, having first paid homage to her personal charms, soon learned to appreciate the intelligence from which they derived their greatest fascination; and becoming attached, with all the anxious tenderness of a brother, to the handsome Creole, took considerable pains to form her manners, and to enable her hereafter to appear advantageously in society. Grateful as she was, however, for all the interest which the chevalier evinced in her fate, the young girl only shook her head with a sad smile, when he ventured upon some flattering prophecy of her future existence; declaring that all she desired in this world was to meet with some good Christian who would be charitable enough to pay the required dowry for her entrance into a convent.

The poet Scarron inhabited the same street as Madame

de Neuillant; and, poor as he was, occasionally indulged in some of those good deeds which are so frequently neglected, and even ridiculed, by the wealthy; a fact so well known to M. de Méré, that he seized an opportunity of mentioning to him the position and wishes of his *protégée*; a tale which so deeply interested the infirm invalid, that he eagerly promised to procure contributions from his friends, and to supply any deficiency from his own purse, to enable the orphan to effect her purpose. Delighted by his success, the chevalier hastened to communicate these good tidings to the persecuted girl, who, in the joy of her heart, hurried to the residence of Scarron to pour forth her gratitude; a step which was destined to change the whole current of her fate.

Mademoiselle d'Aubigny, when she entered the apartment of Scarron, was conscious only of the weighty obligation which his ready sympathy had entailed upon her, and paid little attention to his grotesque and somewhat revolting appearance. Her first impulse was to rush toward him, and to raise his hand to her lips; and several minutes had elapsed ere she had time to discover that she stood beside a man who, although still young, was contorted in the most extraordinary manner. His limbs were wasted and feeble, his large eyes buried deeply in his head, his teeth black and irregular, and his expression, save when illumined by a flash of that joyous intellect which was, however, the light in which he lived, languid and suffering. No man, perhaps, ever endured more sharp physical suffering than Scarron, with so resolute a mental defiance as he exhibited.

A moment sufficed to betray all this to the rapid eye of the tearful orphan, but those very tears blinded her to the most salient points of the picture. She saw Scarron, it is true; Scarron the cripple—Scarron the paralytic—Scarron the buffoon—but to her he was a benefactor, a friend, a deliverer; and she could more readily have wept over

his affliction than smiled at the eccentricity of his appearance.

Meanwhile the dark and deep-set eyes of Scarron were not idle. With the cynicism of the period, he had no sooner heard of a "vocation," than he believed that the girl of fifteen by whom it was announced, must have felt a conviction that her appearance was not calculated to assist her progress in the world; instead of which he saw before him a face beaming with expression, and a figure fashioned in the most exact symmetry which a sculptor might have desired in a model. Thus impressed, a cheerful smile diffused itself over his countenance, as he declared that, upon mature reflection, he recalled his promise, and could not undertake to procure the means for her admission into a religious community.

The disappointed girl uttered a cry of grief.

"Listen to me," said Scarron; "you are not fitted for a nun. You can not understand the extent of the sacrifice which you are so eager to make. Will you become my wife? My servants anger and neglect me, and I am unable to enforce obedience; were they under the control of a mistress they would do their duty. My friends neglect me, and I can not pursue them to reproach them with their abandonment; if they saw a pretty woman at the head of my household, they would make my home cheerful. I give you a week to decide."

This extraordinary wooing prospered; cripple as he was, Scarron was popular and witty; the first shock of his appearance had been softened by the circumstances under which they met; and at the close of the given period, Frances d'Aubigny consented to become his wife.

Scarron had not deceived himself. His bride had no sooner assumed the government of his house than his servants returned to their duty, and his friends to their allegiance; his saloon became the center of all that was witty and intellectual in the capital; and, at the period of which

we write, it was the fashion to appear in his circle. Nevertheless, great difficulties remained to be overcome. The war of the Fronde had afforded too rich and too tempting scope for the wit of Scarron, to enable him to remain in the neutrality which was dictated by prudence; and a considerable number of the satires which had appeared against Mazarin were traced to the caustic pen of the infirm poet. This fact was, moreover, the more natural, from the circumstance that the pension which Anne of Austria had conferred upon Scarron in consequence of his infirmities, had been suppressed by the minister, who became thenceforward the victim of his satire.

The position of the poet on the triumphant return of the cardinal was, consequently, worse than precarious; and Madame Scarron, after having succeeded in rendering his home happy, found herself under the necessity of undertaking the still more difficult task of insuring a continuance of the comfort which she had already shed over it. Hers, however, was not a spirit to quail under such a task; and she forthwith commenced the undertaking of reconciling her husband to the court, with an energy which was only equalled by her good sense. She had united herself with a being, amiable, it is true, but helpless, incautious, and improvident; who perilled his future existence recklessly on a *bon mot*, and could not be made to comprehend the extent of his imprudence; but the reputation of both her virtue and her beauty had already made her powerful friends, among whom the most attached were Ninon de l'Enclos, and Madame de Sévigné—the two extremes of moral society—the courtesan and the prude; one of whom valued her for her intellect, and the other for her reputation.

The numerous applications which she was constrained to make, opened to Madame Scarron all the doors in Paris; and her anxiety to prevent the banishment of her husband developed all the resources of her mind, and all the charms

of her eloquence. She was ultimately successful. The political offenses of the poet were forgiven in consideration of his infirmities; and his house became more frequented and more popular than ever.*

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

CHAPTER XXII.

Proceedings of the Prince de Condé—Position of Mazarin; his first Measures—Marriage of the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle Martinozzi—Condemnation of the Prince de Condé; his Retort—Marriage of the Duke de Richelieu and Mademoiselle de Beauvais—First At tachments of Louis XIV.—Madame de Frontenac and Madame de Châtillon—Caution of the Cardinal—Mademoiselle d'Heudecourt—The Nieces of the Cardinal—Madame de Beauvais—Court Festivities—The Etourdi of Molière—Louis XIV. an Actor and a Dancer—The Superintendent Fouquet—The Coronation of Louis XIV.—The Marquis de Fabert—The Coadjutor becomes Archbishop of Paris—M. de Bellièvre as an Ambassador—Transfer of the Archbishop to Nantes; his Evasion; Order for his Arrest.

After this long but necessary digression, we hasten to give a brief glance at the position of France at the commencement of the year 1653. M. de Condé, instead of retiring from Paris, might have made his peace advanta geously with the court, who would readily have availed

themselves of any pretext to terminate a war by which they were at once harassed and impoverished; but after having opposed Turenne, and established his reputation as a soldier, as well as played the politician, and seen himself the idol of the populace, he determined to enact the partisan; and so withdrew from the capital like a knight of ancient chivalry; girt on his sword, mounted his charger, rallied around him all those who were attached to his fortunes, caused himself to be appointed generalissimo of the Spanish forces, and set forth, taking on his way the towns which Mazarin afterward reconquered; until, compelled to retreat before Turenne, he ultimately crossed the French frontier.

The first care of the cardinal, after his final return to Paris, was given to the state of the public finances, which were in a deplorable condition; and to his own, which had also suffered considerably by recent events. All was tranquil in the capital; and having exerted himself strenuously in the reëstablishment of his private fortunes, Mazarin found his position sufficiently stable to enable him to turn his attention to the advancement of his family. He gathered his relations about him accordingly; and felt the greater confidence in so doing that the court had become shorn of its greatest ornaments by the result of the war.

The Duke d'Orleans still resided at Blois in a position of honorable banishment, where he held a court twice a week. Mademoiselle, when she withdrew to St. Fargeau, carried with her in her train all her personal friends and ladies of honor; M. de Condé had swept away not only his brilliant staff, but also the ladies who were attached to his party; the four duchesses, de Châtillon, de Beaufort, de Rohan, and de Montbazon, had left Paris; all the friends of the Cardinal de Retz were exiled; the Duke de Montausier* and his wife were in Guienne; the Duke de la

* Charles du St. Maure, Duke de Montausier, Peer of France, Knight of the Order of the King, was the descendant of a family of Touraine,

Rochefoucauld still convalescent at Dampvilliers; the Princess de Condé and the Duchess de Longueville at Bordeaux; Madame de Chevreuse remarried; in short, all the most celebrated nobles and beauties scattered far and wide; and an ample field left vacant for the handsome nieces of the far-sighted cardinal.

Nor had Mazarin great cause for apprehension from without. Condé had taken refuge in the Low Countries; and the one cloud upon the horizon of the cardinal consequently lowered in that direction; but, ere long, the princess and her son left Bordeaux to join the prince, as if conscious that all further anticipation of successful resistance was at an end; the Cardinal de Retz was a fast prisoner; and Madame de Longueville, following the example of her sister-in-law, had also vacated the scene of her former triumph, and retired to the convent of St. Mary at Moulin, of which one of her relatives was the abbess; while no great time elapsed ere the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, thoroughly sated with faction, and the evil chances of civil war, began to make overtures of reconciliation to the court; being desirous to effect the marriage of his son, the Prince de Marsillac, with Mademoiselle de la Roche-Guyon, the heiress of the house of Duplessis-Liancourt.

In order to effect his purpose, the duke sent Gourville,*

and early distinguished himself by his valor and high character. During the civil wars of the Fronde he was Governor of Saintonge and Angoumois, both of which he maintained in their allegiance. His austere probity caused him to be selected to preside over the education of Louis, the Dauphin of France. He died in 1690, leaving by his wife, Lucy d'Angennes, an only daughter, who married the Duke d'Uzès.

* John Héraud de Gourville was born in La Rochefoucauld in 1625. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld having discovered him to be a man of intelligence, made him his valet-de-chambre, and afterward his confidential friend. Involved in the disgrace of Fouquet, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, he traveled for some time abroad. He was afterward the king's envoy in Germany; and was ultimately proposed as the successor of Colbert in the ministry. He died at Paris in 1703; and left behind him Memoirs from the year 1642 to that of 1698.

his confidential agent at Brussels, to ask the consent of the Prince de Condé to this marriage; but as Gourville had made himself conspicuous during the Fronde, and had, moreover, recently taken prisoner the director of the posts, who only regained his liberty by paying a ransom of forty thousand crowns, the cardinal-minister never lost sight of his movements; and having ascertained that he was for the moment in Paris, instantly resolved that he should not again leave it.

Gourville was not long ere he ascertained that his arrival had been detected, and, without an instant's hesitation, he resolved to brave the danger to which he was exposed, by requesting an audience of Mazarin; and, accordingly, to the surprise of the minister, who had just issued an order for his capture, he found himself about to be confronted, not with a prisoner, but with an envoy. Delighted by such a display of courageous presence of mind, the cardinal at once accorded the interview which Gourville had solicited; and, ere it terminated, so justly appreciated the moral qualities of the clever and fearless agent, that he made proposals to him, which were accepted; and while he attached to his own service the intellect and adroitness which had elicited his admiration, Gourville effected the reconciliation of the duke with the court, which entailed the entire pacification of Guienne; and by his intermediation, a peace was definitely concluded between Mazarin and the city of Bordeaux.*

This great object accomplished, the cardinal resolved to strengthen and sustain the position which he had again acquired, by marrying his nieces to the most influential personages of the court; and, accordingly, profiting by a new misunderstanding which had arisen between the Prince de Conti and his brother, he determined to profit by so favorable an opportunity to attach the former to his own interests; and for this purpose he gained over a confiden-

* Louis XIV et son Siècle.

tial friend of M. de Conti, to whom he promised the sum of twenty-five thousand livres, should he succeed in effecting a marriage between the prince and one of his nieces. The moment was, as the wily minister had seen, well chosen; for, at once jealous and indignant, M. de Conti received the proposition without repugnance, only stipulating that he should be free to select whichever of the ladies he might prefer; and this point having been conceded, to the great mortification of Mazarin the prince fixed upon Anna-Maria Martinozzi, who was all but affianced to the Duke de Candale; who, on his side, had been reluctantly led to contemplate the alliance of which he was still, under one pretext or another, deferring the completion, when he was startled to find his offered bride freely selected by a prince of the blood.

It will readily be believed that the transfer which was made of her hand was by no means accordant with the taste of the lady; the Duke de Candale being one of the finest men at court, and so celebrated for the elegance of his attire, that he formed a model for those who were desirous to be distinguished for fashion and good taste. "The duke," says Bussy-Rabutin, "had large blue eyes, somewhat irregular features, a wide mouth, but garnished with very fine teeth, and exuberant light hair. His figure was admirable. He had the air of a man of quality, and filled one of the first stations in France, being a duke and peer of the kingdom. Beside this, he was governor-in-chief of the Gergovians; and conjointly with his father, Bernard of England, of the Bourguignons also, as well as general of the Gallacian infantry."*

When this description is contrasted with the deformed person and crippled position of M. de Conti, it will not be difficult to concede that the sacrifice made by Mademoiselle Martinozzi must have been a painful one. The marriage was, however, celebrated a few days subsequently in the

* Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules

king's private cabinet at Fontainebleau; and the exemplary conduct of the Princess de Conti more than justified selection of her husband. At the same time, at a solemn convocation of the parliament, a decree was issued against M. de Condé, who, convicted of the double crime of lèse-majesté and rebellion, and as such deprived of the name of Bourbon, was condemned to death, in whatever manner it might be the will of the king. The prince replied to this sentence characteristically by taking Rocroy; while Turenne, who from want of troops, was compelled to evade a general action, could only retort by possessing himself of Sainte-Menehould.

We must not, however, omit to mention another marriage which took place at this period, and which created a strong feeling at court. It was that of the Marquis de Richelieu with Mademoiselle de Beauvais, daughter of the first femme-de-chambre of the queen. The marquis was well made, young, full of intellect and courage, and had been reared in all the refinement of luxury. His elder brother being childless, the enormous wealth of the family was likely to devolve on him; and thus it was an alliance which the proudest beauties of the court would not have disdained; while the lady whom he had selected, although pretty and amiable, possessed no attraction sufficiently great to have induced a suspicion that she was destined to form so brilliant a marriage.

The Duchess d'Aiguillon* was in despair; and on the following day caused him to be carried off and conveyed to Italy, hoping by this extreme measure to weaken his affection for his plebeian bride; an experiment which, however, signally failed, as on his return he exhibited toward her an attachment which absence had failed to

* Marie Madelène de Vignerod, the niece of the Cardinal Richelieu, married to Antoine de Beauvoir du Roure de Cambalet; for whom, as already stated, he had purchased, in 1638, the duchy-peerage of Aiguillon, was the aunt of the marquis.

weaken. In her mortification, the duchess declared that her nephews were progressing from bad to worse, and that she had great hopes that the third would complete the ruin of the family by marrying the daughter of a clerk.* It is certain that, could the proud and haughty cardinal have risen from his grave, and seen the result to which his ambition had attained, he would have shivered in his shroud.

At this period, *Madame* gave birth to a fourth daughter, greatly to the chagrin of *Monsieur*, who had entertained hopes of another son; and her life was in such extreme danger that MADEMOISELLE sent to request of *Monsieur* that he would allow her to see the invalid; but she received the cold reply that her visit was declined for the present. The Countess de Fiesque also took this opportunity of requesting the queen to permit her to pay her respects at the Louvre; when Her Majesty answered, that simply as the Countess de Fiesque she had no objection to see her, but that she must decline receiving the governante of MADEMOISELLE. Madame de Fiesque accordingly paid her visit.†

We have hitherto, owing to his tender age, been enabled to do little more than glance at the existence of the young king. It has now, however, become time that he should assume his fitting place in our narrative; and to enable him to do this, it is necessary for us to revert briefly to the last two or three years of his life. Even as a boy, Louis XIV. was singularly susceptible to female beauty. His first passion, if such indeed it merits to be called, was for Madame de Frontenac, the attraction of whose society was so great to the young sovereign, that MADEMOISELLE, as we have already shown, built up a world of hopes upon attentions for which she was simply indebted to the companionship of her handsome lady of honor. This inclina

* The Duke de Richelieu had married Mademoiselle de Pons, attached to the household of Anne of Austria.

† Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

tion was, however, nipped in the bud by Anne of Austria, who was more far-sighted than her ambitious niece, and who discovered nothing but peril for her young son, in this intimacy with an experienced woman of fashion.

His next favorite was Madame de Châtillon; who, at the commencement of the Fronde, accompanied the royal circle from Paris, where the amusements of the court suffered no diminution from the menacing aspect of public affairs. The policy of the cardinal was to divert the mind of the king from passing events; and for this purpose he was careful to conceal the whole extent of the evil even from the queen herself, and never to mention the subject of the war in the presence of Louis, save when he could make it serviceable, by expatiating upon the demerits of those who were opposing his own measures; for he had already learned to mistrust the intuitive penetration of the boy-sovereign, of whom, even at this early age, he was once betrayed into declaring that, "There was material enough in him to make three kings, and an honest man;" a libel upon royalty which seems strangely misplaced from the lips of a courtier.

Thus Louis had no care save that of surrounding himself with pleasure, and Madame de Châtillon was the constant associate of his sports; while so agreeable and almost indispensable did she make herself, that the young king soon forgot in her society the attractions of Madame de Frontenac; her bright eyes and ringing laugh producing an effect upon his affections which was as unwelcome as unexpected to the queen. Louis, however, was still a boy, and too timid to contend with so practiced a coquet, whose unconcealed indiscretion with the Duke de Nemours soon afforded a subject for the gossipry of the court. The young king had, moreover, to contend with the rivalry of Condé, then in the full blaze of his renown; and this fact, coupled with the death of M. de Châtillon, who held a command under the prince, where he received a musket-

shot in his body, of whose effects he expired on the succeeding evening, tended to emancipate Louis from his second peril.

The despair enacted by the young and beautiful duchess on the occasion of her widowhood became a new theme for the comments of the court circle; and was carried to such an excess, that its sincerity did not remain for one moment doubtful. Her subsequent exile on the termination of the Fronde, however, removed her from all immediate contact with the sovereign, whose third inclination was for Mademoiselle d'Heudecourt, one of the maids of honor to Anne of Austria; but his extreme youth had hitherto been his best protection against the dangers by which he was surrounded.

Meanwhile the nieces of the cardinal-minister, who were peculiarly favored by the queen, were accustomed to consider the Louvre as a second home; and Anne of Austria, naturally affable where her feelings were interested, dispensed in their favor with all the usual ceremonials of court etiquet. They consequently played, laughed, romped, and sang, as girls of their age are wont to do; and the young king lived gayly in the midst of them, as though they had been his sisters, without a thought beyond the pleasure of the hour; while he was fated to bestow his first serious affections upon a femme-de-chambre of the queen, Madame de Beauvais, the mother of the lady who was afterward fated to become the wife of the Marquis de Richelieu, but who, at that period in her eighteenth year, was beloved by the Count de Guiche. This *liaison*, which is said to have been prompted by the queen herself, to whom De Beauvais was devoted, lasted for three months, when it was abruptly terminated by a jest of the young count, which Louis never forgave.

In a moment of confidence the king mentioned his conquest to his friend; and was repaid for the tale by a fit of laughter, as the count declared that His Majesty had taken

an unfair advantage of so loyal a subject as himself, by superadding to the respect which he owed him as a monarch that which he must render to a parent, being himself in pursuit of the lady's daughter. Louis felt at the moment when these unguarded words were uttered, that they must either be resented, or treated as a jest, and he at once resolved to affect amusement at the intelligence; but it nevertheless rankled, for he at once perceived the absurdity of his position, and could not support the superiority of the count.

The queen, as a matter of public expediency, affected a desire to remove Madame de Beauvais from the court; but Mazarin, with his usual policy, protested against such a proceeding, which he declared to be at once unwise and unnecessary; reminding her that what the king mistook for love would be the means of occupying his thoughts, and diverting his attention from more important affairs; and that the young monarch had, during this hallucination, left an unlimited power in her hands, which, under other circumstances, he would probably have disputed. Convinced by this argument, the queen forbore all interference; which was, indeed, as we have shown, soon rendered unnecessary by the agency of the Count de Guiche.

Louis XIV. was naturally a votary of pleasure; and the minister was, above all things, careful that amusement should never be wanting. Despite the penury of the court, every opportunity of dissipation was seized with avidity; and throughout the whole of the winter Paris presented one long festival. The marriage of the Princess Louise of Savoy, and the Prince of Baden, was made the occasion of long-continued rejoicings; the anniversary of St. Louis was celebrated with unusual pomp; and theatrical entertainments were of constant recurrence.

At this period Corneille produced his *Pertharite;* which, however, notwithstanding the presence of the king at its first representation, proved an utter failure; while Qui-

nault,* hitherto unknown, put his first comedy upon the stage, and at once secured his reputation as a dramatist. At the same time a company of actors at Lyons were representing a comedy in five acts, of which the fame reached even to Paris. It was the *Etourdi* of Molière.

Somewhat wearied of remaining a mere spectator of these public exhibitions, Louis began to interest himself greatly in the representations of ballets, and to cause them to be composed for the express purpose of being enacted by himself, his brother, and the principal ladies and nobles of the court; and as the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon was contiguous to the Louvre, its theater was selected for these regal exhibitions. The queen and the cardinal exulted in the applause and admiration which Louis constantly excited in these strange masqueradings, and encouraged them by every means in their power; while, so devoted was the young king himself to the pastime, that in one of them he actually played five successive characters, those of Apollo, Mars, a Fury, a Dryad, and a Courtier; and submitted to the fatigue of assuming the several costumes, frequently as often as three times during the week. Benserade† had the exclusive privilege of composing the *libretti* of these ballets, which were one continued ovation to the young monarch, who was not in his own person exempted from the

* Philip Quinault was the originator of lyrical tragedy in France, a style in which he has never been excelled. Born in 1635, he wrote in 1658 his first comedy, entitled *The Rivals;* which he followed up by a crowd of other dramas, that obtained equal success, and caused him to be received into the French Academy in 1670. In the following year he purchased the charge of an auditor of public accounts. From that period until 1686, he produced nothing but operas, of which Lulli composed the music, and for which Louis XIV. bestowed upon him a pension of 2000 livres. Quinault died in 1688.

† Isaac de Benserade, the poet, was born at Lyons in Normandy, in 1612; and died in 1691 a member of the French Academy, to which he had been admitted in 1674. All the court were divided into parties, between his sonnet of *Job,* and that of *Uranie* by Voiture.

delivery of the most exaggerated and fulsome self-praise. Such, however, was the taste of the time; and if these vapid verses did little for the reputation of Benserade, they at least made his fortune.

It was in these entertainments that Louis XIV. accustomed himself to be regarded as a demi-god; and his brother, the Duke d'Anjou, who from his extreme beauty invariably represented a female character, to be worshiped as a goddess. We have already alluded to the misdirection of the tastes and energies of the young princes, which it will be seen had continued from boyhood into youth.

There was a second theater in Paris, in the Hôtel de Bourgoyne; and ere long the taste for the drama obtained so much, that these two no longer sufficed, and it was found necessary to reopen that in the Marias, where, in bygone times, even the thoughtful features of Richelieu had occasionally relaxed into a smile.

All these amusements, however, pleasant as they were, and much as they tended to the gratification of individual vanity, cost considerable sums of money; and the state chest was ill supplied. Upon the death of the Duke de la Vieuville, who had been superintendent of finance, Mazarin had named two individuals who were conjointly to perform his duties. One was the Servien,* who advised the substitution of poison for the antidote which Madame de Lesdiguières was anxious to convey to the Cardinal de Retz, and the other was the Advocate-General Fouquet, in whose person the cardinal sought at once to serve his

* Abel Servien had already been superintendent of finance, under Louis XIII.; an office which was suppressed after the arrest of Fouquet. In 1644, he was sent with M. d'Avaux to Munster, and acquired a lasting reputation at the treaty of Westphalia, where he acted as plenipotentiary. He died at his chateau at Meudon, in 1659. Many of his letters have been published with those of the Count d'Avaux.

brother, the Abbé Fouquet,* and to conciliate the parliament.

When his funds were exhausted, Mazarin applied to Servien, who declared that she could give him no assistance; and he was, consequently, compelled to turn for help to Fouquet,† who had been awaiting the application with anxiety, and who declared that, if the minister would confide in his exertions, he would find money, not only for the pleasures of the court, and for the necessities of the war, but also for a ceremony at which, owing to the default of the treasury, not even one of those who were so deeply interested in its accomplishment had yet dared to glance—the coronation of the young sovereign. Mazarin at once felt that he had encountered the very individual calculated to second his views, and, happy to rid himself of a responsibility to which he was unequal, he conferred unlimited power upon Fouquet to raise funds as he saw fit; and the new minister thenceforth became, in point of fact, the real and sole superintendent of finance.‡

Bold, ambitious, and uncompromising, at once a sensualist and a prodigal, Fouquet overcame every impediment

* Abbé de Barbeaux and de Rigney. "He was," says Anquetil, "intriguing, bold, interfering with every thing; creating misunderstandings in families, causing the men to fight, and defaming their wives and daughters. Nevertheless he was tolerated, even by those whom he had insulted, because he was a man of intelligence, in more than one respect. On one occasion, when Madame de Châtillon went to his house, in his absence, and carried away some of her own letters which he had refused to restore to her, he retorted by going in his turn into hers, making a general search, upsetting every thing, and not finding what he sought, breaking the mirrors and the porcelain, and throwing the furniture out of the windows, to the great scandal of the whole neighborhood; and yet they afterward became reconciled."—*Louis XIV., Sa Cour, et Le Regent.*

† Nicholas Fouquet, born in 1615, was at twenty years of age *Maître des Requêtes*, and some years subsequently Advocate-General of Paris. In 1653, he was appointed Superintendent of Finance.

‡ Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

and every scruple, and, at the expiration of a few months, had so amply redeemed his promise, that the cardinal, dazzled by the display of a genius for money-getting, to which even his own was compelled to bow, confided to him not only the finances of the kingdom, but, what was still dearer to him, the care of his private fortune.

A period was then finally fixed for the coronation of Louis XIV., and every one who was privileged to take a part in the pageant was immediately so much occupied by individual interests, that it was only as the time for the ceremony drew near that each awakened to a consciousness of the meagerness of the train which would follow the King of France to the steps of the throne. The Duke d'Orleans, when summoned, refused to leave his little court at Blois, unless certain concessions were made, which were definitively negatived by the minister, to the great increase of his discontent, while MADEMOISELLE, to whom nothing would have given greater satisfaction than so pompous an opportunity of displaying her magnificence at court, could not be present at a ceremony in which her father refused to appear. The Prince de Condé, under judicial sentence of death, was at the head of the Spanish forces, while M. de Conti, foreseeing the difficulty in which he should soon be placed, had already asked and obtained permission to leave his young wife, and to assume the command of the troops in Roussillon. The Cardinal de Retz was still a prisoner, and ten thousand individuals, belonging to the noblest families in the kingdom, had either exiled themselves with Condé, or, adopting the interests of M. de Retz, remained neutral, refusing to sanction by their presence the movements of the court party.

The destitution was thus almost complete; but as, thanks to the exertions of Fouquet, there was no lack of funds, Mazarin resolved that the coronation should suffer no de-

lay; and it accordingly took place at Rheims, with considerable splendor. One circumstance connected with the ceremony deserves remark. As the Archbishop of Rheims (the Duke de Guise) was not an ecclesiastic, the privilege of crowning the young king devolved upon M. de Soisson, one of his suffragans; and thus almost every individual who was present was in a false position, from the officiating priest to the peers; who, with the exception of the Duke d'Anjou, were not qualified to fill the places to which the absence of the princes of the blood had temporarily exalted them.*

On the morrow, the king was invested with the Order of the Holy Ghost, which he, in his turn, immediately conferred upon his brother; and on the following day he left Rheims to join the army. It had been decided that M. de Condé should be compelled to vacate Stenay, and the sovereign was to commence his military career by assisting at the taking of the city.†

His apprenticeship to war was by no means calculated to imbue Louis XIV. with a taste for military life; for the avaricious cardinal, notwithstanding the extreme youth of his royal master, and his exalted rank, invested his position with no adventitious attractions. All the arrangements were made in a spirit of parsimony unworthy of a great nation and a wise minister. The king could not boast a single equipage, but was constantly compelled to travel on horseback; while, having no table of his own,

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

† Stenay, situated on the Meuse, is a very ancient city, and was originally protected by strong fortifications, which were destroyed by Louis XIV. It was one of the residences of the kings of Austrasia. The city was taken by Turenne in 1591, and a short time subsequently fell into the possession of the dukes of Lorraine, who retained it until the period of its cession to France. During the war of 1650 it became the strong-hold of the revolted princes, and was taken by Louis in 1654. In 1648 the king had given it to the great Condé, in whose family it subsequently remained until 1791.

he shared that of the general in command. Nor was greater care exhibited in protecting him from danger. He was permitted to enter the trenches, and to join in the frequent skirmishes; where the balls which whistled past, or fell about him, never, however, succeeded in eliciting from him one gesture of apprehension. He was, at this period, in his sixteenth year, and received his first lessons in the art of war from the Marquis de Fabert,* who was one of the most remarkable men of the age.

The son of a bookseller and magistrate of Metz, Abraham Fabert commenced his career as a private soldier, became a marshal of France, and might have been received as a knight of the order, had he not refused to furnish to the authorities fictitious testimonials of nobility, which they were prepared to admit upon his oath, because such a proceeding was repugnant to his principles. He was believed by the troops to bear a charmed life, although he had frequently been wounded; while the people of Sedan affirmed that he had a familiar spirit which revealed to him all the secrets of the future, and to whom he was indebted for his constant good fortune; an impression which he took no pains to remove.

When Cardinal Mazarin was compelled to leave Paris, he confided to M. de Fabert his money, his jewels, and his nieces; and now that he had resumed his authority,

* Abraham Fabert, born at Metz in 1599, entered the French Guards in the year 1613. He contributed to the capture of St. John d'Angely in 1621, and of Royan in 1622; and fought at the siege of La Rochelle After having served in the war of Savoy, as well as in the religious wars, he was appointed captain of light-horse, and distinguished himself in Piedmont in 1639, for which service he obtained the rank of captain in the French Guards. In the campaign of Roussillon, in 1641, he took Argillers and Collioure. Named governor of Sedan, and adjutant-general in 1644, he served in Catalonia and Italy. Created a marquis in 1650, and lieutenant-general of the king's forces; he fought in Flanders and in Champagne, took Stenay, was made Marshal of France, and died at Sedan in 1662.

he intrusted to his charge the military education of the young sovereign.*

The anticipation of the marshal that Stenay would sustain a long and desperate siege proved to be erroneous, as M. de Condé, after having strengthened the garrison, had marched all his forces against Arras. Stenay was accordingly soon taken; and this point accomplished, it was resolved to attack the Spanish troops. One wing of the army reinforced M. de Turenne, while the other, comprising the king, formed two divisions under the Marshal de la Ferté and the Marshal d'Hocquincourt. A few unimportant engagements then took place between Condé and the royal army, which were, however, only the prelude to a general attack, in which the Spanish and Lorraine positions were forced; although at the decisive moment M. de Condé, who had reserved himself for this emergency, fell upon the victorious troops with such extreme impetuosity, that for an instant the fortune of the day wavered; but it was only for an instant; and, despite his chivalrous courage, he could not prevent all the cannon and baggage of his army from falling into the hands of the enemy, nor ultimately the raising of the siege of Arras, into which city the king entered a few days subsequently for the purpose of congratulating his three generals, but especially M. de Turenne, upon the victory they had gained, after which he returned to Paris, in order to preside at a public thanksgiving at Nôtre-Dame, while on the very morrow of that ceremony, when all was pomp and gladness, died in obscurity the councilor Broussel, who, only a few years previously, had been for awhile the idol of the capital.*

With Louis, returned all the pleasures of the court. His precocious courage, and the prospect which it afforded, were the one great theme of the joyous city. All was

* Louis XIV., Sa Cour, et Le Regent.

† Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

again gayety and animation; ballets, tournaments, and jousts, in which the actors were habited in the costume of ancient chivalry, succeeded each other with unwearied activity; and all the most magnificent nobles then collected in Paris, gorgeously attired, and mounted upon superb chargers, cavalcaded in emulative pride beneath the balconies of the high-born dames, who contributed, by the richness of their own costume, to the gorgeousness of the spectacle.

Court-balls were also frequent; sometimes accessible to every one whose position entitled them to such a privilege, and at others limited to a select circle; on which occasions, in order to give confidence to the young sovereign, who felt ill at ease in the society of comparative strangers, the queen permitted a disregard of etiquet, which startled those who remembered the severe ceremonial observed under Louis XIII. and the Cardinal Richelieu. Nor was Mazarin less anxious than Anne of Austria herself to contribute, by every means in his power, to the gratification of the young monarch, whose rapid advance toward moral emancipation he contemplated with such misgiving, that he ere long became conscious, that, in order to retain his own influence, he must detach himself by degrees from the queen (who from her peculiar position must necessarily submit to his defalcation without complaint), and secure the good opinion of the new power which was about to develop its resources. For this purpose, the crafty cardinal, as if sympathizing in the tastes of his royal master, exerted himself to further all his amusements, and even introduce into them a magnificence which had never before been displayed in France.

While these trivial pursuits were apparently absorbing alike the attention and the energies of the court, an event occurred, however, which compelled Mazarin to withdraw his thoughts from pomp and pageantry, and to feel that

the eagle, although caged, still possesses its beak and its talons. A few days after M. de Retz was conducted to Vincennes, he learned the death of his uncle, the archbishop of Paris; and even prisoner as he was, he found himself perfectly eligible, as coadjutor alone, to claim the succession. The archbishop had expired at four o'clock on the morning of the 21st of May (1653), and at five, M. de Caumartin, being the bearer. of a valid authority from the cardinal his nephew, took possession, in his name, of the archbishopric. Twenty minutes later M. Letellier arrived, in the name of the king; but those twenty minutes had rendered his errand abortive. The power of M. de Retz over the minds of the metropolitan clergy, so far from being weakened by his captivity, had increased from the very fact of what they considered as a political martyrdom, to which his more sacred character had been sacrificed; while the Pope, on his side, addressed perpetual letters to the ministers to solicit his libera tion.

An event had, moreover, occurred, which had carried the sympathy of the people with M. de Retz almost to enthusiasm. The chapter of Nôtre-Dame had asked and obtained permission for one of its members to share his captivity, and its selection fell upon a chanoine related to M. de Bragelonne, who had been the fellow-student of M. de Retz, and to whom he had subsequently given his prebend. Unable to endure the confinement which, from affection for the cardinal, he had solicited, and which, despite all entreaties, he persisted in believing himself able to sustain, he fell into a state of profound melancholy, which was succeeded by an intermittent fever, under whose effects he destroyed himself, by cutting his throat with a razor; and the only civility which he experienced throughout the whole course of his imprisonment M. de Retz declares to have been exhibited in the fact, that he was never informed of the manner of his death until he learned it

from M. de Bellièvre on the day when he was transferred from the tower of Vincennes to Nantes. It, however, served him well with his friends; for as they did not fail to attribute the suicide of the chanoine to the rigorous nature of the imprisonment, it awakened at once their compassion for the sufferings of the cardinal, and their admiration of the magnanimity with which he sustained the trial. From every pulpit in Paris fulminated the most incendiary discourses; the two grand-vicars publicly denounced his captivity; while the several curates reëchoed the cry of sacrilege; and amid this excitement appeared a pamphlet calling upon all the acting clergy in Paris to close their churches.

This species of excommunication was the more frightful that it came not only from the head of the church, but from the church collectively; and it was impossible to calculate the effect of such a denunciation upon the populace. Suffice it that, in his alarm, Mazarin determined to capitulate; but, in order to effect this, it was found expedient to obtain from the Cardinal de Retz his resignation of the archbishopric of Paris. The first attempt to procure this resignation was by menace; although the minister should long ago have discovered that the prelate was not a person likely to be intimidated by threats. Accordingly, M. de Navailles, the captain of the guard then on duty, was dispatched to the prisoner in the name of the king, and addressed him in a tone which, as De Retz himself declares, was altogether foreign to the courteous and gentle nature of the messenger, whom Mazarin had instructed to act more like an aga of Janissaries than the official of a Christian monarch. Unwilling, therefore, to retort upon the compulsatory harshness of M. de Navailles, by a reply in the same spirit, M. de Retz requested him to permit that he should give his answer in writing; and this having been conceded, he couched it in terms of sovereign contempt for both menace and promise, and con

cluded by a definite refusal to divest himself of his archbishopric!*

Two days afterward the cardinal received a visit from the president Bellièvre, for which he had on the previous evening been prepared by his friends; and as he knew him to be at heart a confirmed enemy of Mazarin, he awaited his advent with some curiosity, but without the slightest apprehension. His mission was to offer to the prisoner, as an equivalent for the dignity of which he was urged to dispossess himself, the abbeys of St. Lucian and Beauvais, St. Medard de Soissons, St. Germain d'Auxerre, St. Martin de Pontoise, St. Aubin d'Ange, de Barbeau, and d'Ovian. The cardinal was, however, inflexible; frankly declaring that he placed no faith in the fulfillment of a pledge to this extent, as Mazarin had offered no sureties, although on the part of M. de Retz he required the security of twelve of his friends; an arrangement which excited his utmost indignation.

The envoy, who participated in his feelings, then threw off the mask; and, after a long consultation between them, it was agreed that the cardinal was by no means compelled to consider himself bound by a resignation dated from the castle of Vincennes, where and when he was in the power of his enemies; and that, consequently, should M. de Bellièvre be enabled to procure the omission of the clause respecting the sureties, the prisoner should sign the treaty at once; but that, meanwhile, he was to remain firm in his efusal, and to reject on the present occasion every condition save a pure and simple resignation. M. de Retz agreed, accordingly, to this plan; and M. de Bellièvre left his apartment with all the gravity of an unsuccessful negotiator.

On the morrow he again visited the fortress; for Mazarin, who desired nothing so much at the present moment as perfect tranquillity, in order that he might be free tc

* Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

put forth all his strength against Condé, by whom he was once more menaced, readily lent himself to a compromise well adapted to conciliate the jarring interests in question. In exchange for the seven abbeys, the Cardinal de Retz was to tender his resignation; but, until the period in which it was accepted by the Pope, he was to continue a prisoner at Nantes, under the charge of the Marshal de la Meilleraye, to whom he was related through his wife; and whose life, as he himself acknowledged, had been saved by the coadjutor during the riots consequent on the arrest of M. de Broussel. Moreover, in any case, and whatever might ensue, the marshal, on the authority of the king himself, gave a written promise to M. de Bellièvre that the Cardinal de Retz should not again be delivered into the hands of His Majesty; no further mention being made of the sureties.

On the second day after signing this treaty, M. de Retz left Vincennes, under an escort composed of light-horse, musketeers, and the guards of His Eminence. The president Bellièvre bore him company as far as Port-à-l'Anglais, where he took his leave and returned to Paris, while the cardinal continued his journey to Nantes under the guard of Pradelle, who had originally escorted him to Vincennes The latter, after remaining one day with his men in the fortress, also departed in his turn for the capital, and M. de Retz remained under the sole guard of the Marshal de la Meilleraye, who, even while taking every precaution to secure his prisoner, made, on the other hand, great exertions to alleviate the tedium of his captivity. After receiving him with the most courteous politeness, he was no sooner installed in his apartment, than M. de la Meilleraye surrounded him with amusements. In the morning he was permitted to hold a reception, at which he received all the visitors whom he desired to see; in the evening there was a theater which he attended whenever he thought proper; in fine, although a strict prisoner, and closely watched,

every thing was done which could tend to render his captivity less irksome. The society of the ladies of the city and its environs tended greatly to console and amuse the cardinal, and at times even caused him almost to forget that he was constantly under the surveillance of his jailers, until he retired to his chamber, after which the door was guarded by six men-at-arms, day and night; while the solitary window placed near the roof, and strongly barred, opened into a court in which the guard-room was situated.

After the rigorous coldness of Vincennes, such a life appeared almost liberty to the captive, who was, moreover, looking forward with confidence to entire freedom; but this expectation was soon blighted by the refusal of the Pope to accept his resignation; and the cardinal, whom this refusal threatened to condemn to an indefinite period of imprisonment, forthwith dispatched a confidential agent to Rome to entreat the Pontiff to recognize his retirement from the archbishopric, and to authorize the appointment of whatever successor might be selected by the court. Innocent X. was, however, inflexible, although the agent of M. de Retz explained to His Holiness the steps which the cardinal had decided to take, so soon as he should agree to his retreat. He merely replied to the explanation by declaring that he considered it incompatible with his dignity to recognize a resignation which had been extorted by force, and could not, consequently, be rendered valid even by his sanction; while it would entail dishonor upon himself, should he permit it to be said that he had ratified an arrangement made in a state-prison.

M. de Retz received this reply with great uneasiness; for he well knew that, although the marshal detested Mazarin, he had been the pupil of Richelieu, and therefore reared in the school of absolute and uncompromising obedience; nor was it long ere he perceived a change in the manner of his guardian, who affected to believe that the

request which he had made to the Pope was a mere feint of which he had been previously well assured of the result, and that he had clandestinely secured the refusal to which he was now subjected; nor could all the protestations of his prisoner convince himself to the contrary. Thenceforward M. de Retz felt a perfect conviction that the marshal only sought a plausible pretext to deliver him once more into the hands of his enemies; and in this opinion he was strengthened by the fact of a journey made by M. de la Meilleraye to the fortress of Brest, and the departure of his wife, who had only arrived a week previously from Paris, and whom he caused to leave Nantes, and to retire to her chateau; while these suspicions gained the greater consistency from a note which was placed in the hand of the cardinal by a lady visitor, and which informed him that, should he not previously effect his escape, he would be transferred to Blois at the end of the month.

It was difficult for M. de Retz to profit by this warning; but he was, nevertheless, unwilling to consider his evasion as altogether impracticable, and, accordingly, commenced operations by inducing his friends to spread a report that the court of Rome was beginning to look with less reluctance upon his request. He next confided his project to the Duke de Brissac, who was an occasional visitor to Nantes, and who promised to do every thing in his power to forward his views; and as the duke had a numerous suite, and was always accompanied by a long string of baggage mules, the cardinal at once suggested that he might make his escape in one of the chests with which they were laden. A box was accordingly made of larger dimensions than usual, and with a perforated lid to enable him to breathe freely during his journey; and so satisfied was the prisoner that he should by this expedient accomplish his object, that he already felt at liberty; but, unfortunately for his hopes, M. de Brissac departed for Machecoul,

where he remained during three or four days on a visit to the Duchess de Retz,* who dissuaded him from the attempt; alledging that it would not only endanger his own safety, but that it would render him guilty of a serious breach of hospitality toward M. de Meilleraye, by whom he was received in all confidence, and who would be seriously involved by the result of such an adventure.

M. de Brissac, impressed by these arguments, consequently declared, on his return to Nantes, that he felt convinced, should the cardinal persist in his intention, he would be smothered in the chest; and, moreover, frankly avowed that he could not reconcile to himself the breach of trust which, in his friendship for the prisoner, he had thoughtlessly contemplated; but he solemnly pledged himself that, should M. de Retz succeed in making his escape beyond the walls of the fortress, he would exert every energy to assist his final evasion. As this was all that he would concede, the cardinal was compelled to accept his help upon his own terms; and, having concerted their plans, the prisoner set boldly to work in order to accomplish his own deliverance.

He was accustomed to walk along a sort of ravelin which ran beside the Loire, and had already remarked that at that period (the month of August) the river did not reach the foot of the wall, but left a small space of land extending to the bastion; and that, between this bastion and the garden in which the guard remained while he was taking his exercise, there was a trellised door which had been placed there to prevent the soldiers from gathering the grapes. The project of the prisoner was a desperate one; for it was no less than, as if unconsciously, to close the door behind him, which, although it could not prevent the sentries from watching his movements, would still form an obstacle to their pursuit; and, this done, to let himself

* Sister-in-law of the Cardinal.

down by a rope which his physician, and the Abbé Rousseau, the brother of his steward, were to provide, as well as horses at the foot of the ravelin for himself and four gentlemen by whom he was to be accompanied in his flight.

The great difficulty of this attempt existed in the fact that it must be undertaken by daylight, and under the eyes of two sentinels who were only posted thirty paces apart; while the six guards who were responsible for his safe-keeping could fire upon him through the latticed door. It was also necessary that the friends who awaited him should act with great circumspection, lest the appearance of mounted men so near the fortress should create suspicion; and it was impossible to dispense with their attendance, as he must necessarily pass through a neighboring town which was the usual lounge of the garrison. There were, moreover, other precautions enforced by the distance from Paris, where it was essential to the cardinal to arrive with the least possible delay; and he had to elude the couriers of the marshal, by whom the alarm of his evasion would not fail to be spread almost on the instant.

Nevertheless, the cardinal persisted in his purpose; and at five o'clock in the evening, having strolled forth according to his usual custom, he drew the door which we have described quietly after him; seized the rope, which he found at the given spot; and succeeded in gaining the base of the wall, which was forty feet in height, while one of his servants, who was in the plot, plied the guard with wine. One of the sentinels was about to fire on him as he threw himself from the wall, but M. de Retz, with great presence of mind, warned him to beware, as he would have him hanged if he persisted in his intention; and the man believing, as he afterward confessed, that the marshal was a party in the evasion, withheld his shot. Two young pages, who were bathing, raised an outcry that the cardinal was effecting

his escape; but, by a strange coincidence, their shouts were disregarded, for it chanced that at that precise moment a man was drowning farther down the river, and it was supposed that they were merely crying for help.

The four gentlemen whom he expected were already awaiting the prisoner at the foot of the ravelin, where they affected to be watering their horses; and M. de Retz was himself mounted before the slightest alarm was given. Forty relays had been prepared between Nantes and Paris; and the party galloped off in the direction of Mauve, where, on being joined by M. de Brissac and the Chevalier de Sévigné, they were to cross the river. Unfortunately for the fugitive, the horse he rode having shied at the reflection of the sun upon the barrel of his pistol (which he was compelled to draw from the holster in order to defend himself at the gate of the faubourg, upon being recognized by one of the sentinels), he was thrown with great violence, and broke his collar-bone; and although he was speedily replaced in the saddle by one of his attendants, the agony he endured was so great that he was compelled from time to time to pull his hair in order to keep himself from fainting; and in this state he rode for five leagues, hotly pursued, ere he gained the boat, into which he had scarcely been lifted when he became totally unconscious.

When the party had crossed the river he made an effort to continue his journey; but his physical energies were exhausted, and M. de Brissac was compelled to conceal him in a haystack, where he left him supported in the arms of one of his own household. In this painful situation he remained for the space of seven hours; suffering intense bodily anguish, and perishing with the thirst engendered by the fever which supervened; without daring, although upon the very bank of the river, to permit his companion to bring him water, lest the dis-

turbed appearance of the hay should betray his retreat; and, meanwhile, he heard on every side the voices of the horsemen who had been sent in pursuit, some of which he distinctly recognized. At three o'clock in the morning he was released by his friends, and placed upon a litter, which was carried by two peasants to a barn about a league distant, where he was once more concealed among the hay; but being well supplied with water, and comparatively in safety, he fell into a deep and refreshing sleep.

Toward evening the Duke and Duchess de Brissac arrived with fifteen or twenty horsemen, and conveyed him to Beaupréau, where he remained one night, until the nobility had assembled: when M. de Brissac, who was extremely popular, succeeded in collecting more than two hundred gentlemen; and M. de Retz,* who was still more so in his own neighborhood, joined the escort a few leagues farther on with three hundred more. Thus attended, the cardinal and his friends passed within sight of Nantes, where they had a skirmish with some of the guards of the marshal, who were vigorously repulsed, and driven back within the gates; after which the party proceeded without further molestation to Machecoul, which being situated in the territory of Retz, was a place of safety for the cardinal, as at that period every noble was the sovereign of his own province.†

The injury which the cardinal had received rendered his intention of reaching the capital impossible, as the delay which it had occasioned had given time to his enemies to concert their measures; but their dismay was nevertheless great. The Chancellor Seguier, and Servien, who had proposed to poison him, were already preparing to leave Paris, when the report reached them of his

* Henry de Gondi, Duke de Retz, the brother of the cardinal.

† Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

accident and its results: upon which they contented themselves by communicating the event to the king, who forthwith issued an order for the arrest of the fugitive, wherever he might be found.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Court of Louis XIV.—Olympia de Mancini; her Favor with the King—Henrietta of England and her Daughter—Rudeness of Louis XIV. to the English Princess—Misunderstanding between Louis XIV. and Anne of Austria—Attempted Opposition of the Parliament—Extraordinary Proceeding of the King—The Cardinal de Retz in Rome—Marriage of Laura de Martinozzi with the Duke of Modena—Capitulation of Landrecies—More Victories obtained by the Royal Forces—The Count de Soissons—Arrival of Christina of Sweden; her Portrait, by the Duke de Guise—Jealousy of Olympia de Mancini—The Reception of Christina; her Destitution; her Portrait by Mademoiselle; her Visit to Ninon de l'Enclos; her Departure—New Campaign of Louis XIV.—Death of Madame de Mancini and the Duchess de Mercœur—Compliments of Condolence—Mortification of Olympia de Mancini; her Resentment; her Marriage—Coldness of the King—Courtly Conjectures—The Italian Opera—The young Stranger.

Meanwhile, Louis was once more absorbed in pleasure, and surrounded by a bevy of young beauties; among whom the most prominent were the Mancini, the Martinozzi, the

Comminges, the Beuvron, the Villeroy, the Mortemart, and Madame de Sévigné, already admired for her graceful person, and beginning to acquire a reputation by her witty and entertaining letters. Though he had smiled at the conceit of the too plain-spoken Count de Guiche, the young king had never either forgotten or forgiven the taunt to which he had been subjected by his favorite on the subject of Madame de Beauvais; and incited by the example of his most intimate companions, anxious to assert his independence, and prompted moreover by his natural tendency to gallantry, he resolved to attach himself to the most beautiful woman of the court; when, having carefully observed all those with whom he was brought into immediate contact, his choice fell upon Olympia Mancini.

This young beauty, whose intellect rivaled her fascinations, was vain, witty, and ambitious; and deemed no sacrifice too great by which she could gratify either her ambition or her resentment. Her tact was unequaled, and her conduct was one long comedy. Toward the king she was all modest devotion; and even while she hung upon his words with a smothered joy which led her to form the wildest visions, she appeared to shrink within herself whenever he approached. Her demeanor with the queen was not less skillfully studied; she was devout, serious, and humble. To her uncle she was all submission and obedience; and with the young nobles by whom she was surrounded, and whose homage and admiration she received rather as a right than as a tribute accorded not only to her own beauty, but also to the position of the cardinal, she was at once coquetish, witty, amiable, and endearing.

On her first appearance at court, when the Marshal de Villeroy uttered the prophecy which had since been partially accomplished by the marriages of her sister and her cousin, one of whom had become Duchess de Mercœur, and the other Princess de Conti, Olympia Mancini had given no promise of the radiant beauty into which she afterward

expanded. She was then thin and meager, with a long face, a dark complexion, a large mouth, and an unpromising figure. At eighteen she had, however, revenged herself upon the gracelessness of her youth; for, if the testimony of Madame de Motteville may be taken, she had, as her person became more formed, acquired a singular fairness of complexion, and an attractive contour of countenance; her mouth had become smaller, and her Sicilian eye, which had always been large and beautiful, was full of light; while even her hands and arms had grown into a symmetry that rendered them remarkable.

In the absence of MADEMOISELLE and the Duchess de Longueville, Olympia, through the passion of the king, became almost the queen of the court; for although, in recognition of her rank, Louis always opened the ball with Madame de Mercœur, he had no sooner made this concession to etiquet than he resigned her hand, only to retain that of her sister throughout the remainder of the evening. Still Anne of Austria laughed at the comments of those by whom she was surrounded; and so resolutely refused to recognize in all these demonstrations any thing more serious than a mere passing caprice, that there were not wanting those who suspected that the Queen-Mother desired nothing more earnestly than the union of her son, sovereign though he was, with the niece of the Italian cardinal. Thus no check was placed upon this budding passion, at which the queen smiled, and the minister laughed incredulously; while Olympia herself began to dream that a crown would ere long be laid at her feet.

It was yet in its first fervor, when Anne of Austria on one occasion gave a ball in her own private apartments, to which no one was invited save her immediate circle; as it was intended merely for the amusement of the Queen of England and her young daughter, who were precluded by their misfortunes from all participation in the general diversions of the court.

We have for a considerable time made no mention of these royal exiles, whose life of retirement, and almost of obscurity, caused them to be overlooked, even if not forgotten; and the appearance of the fair and timid girl, who, bathed in blushes, half tearful and half joyous, entered the saloon of Anne of Austria that evening, created neither attention nor sympathy. It was, nevertheless, expedient that Louis, whatever might be the tendency of his inclination, should lead out the Princess Henrietta, whose rank, no less than her misfortunes, entitled her to this distinction; and the general surprise was consequently great, when, at the first sound of the violins, the young king, according to his habit, approached the Duchess de Mercœur, and took her hand to conduct her to her place.

Indignant at this breach, alike of etiquet and of good feeling, the Queen-Mother immediately rose from her seat, and withdrawing the hand of the duchess from that of her son, desired him, in a low voice, to commence the *bransle* with the English princess; to which he replied testily, that he was "not fond of little girls;" an uncourteous rejoinder which was unfortunately overheard by Henrietta-Maria, who, perceiving the extreme displeasure of her royal relative, and the cloud that had gathered upon the brow of the king, hastened to entreat that she would not constrain His Majesty's wishes; and the rather as her daughter had sprained her ankle, and was unable to dance. This remonstrance only strengthened the resolution of Anne of Austria; who replied by saying, that if the Princess of England were compelled to remain a spectator of the ball throughout the evening, the King of France must do the same; and this fiat having gone forth, Louis accommodated himself to the necessity with the best grace he could assume, and led out the little princess, who having, as well as her royal mother, overheard his ungracious remark, danced with the tears streaming down her cheeks.

It was at this moment that she first drew upon herself

the attention of the court. She had been reared amid privation and tears at Colombe, whither the widowed queen had retired; and although she had attained her eleventh year, and was consequently near the age at which the hand of persons of her rank were already coveted by such of the European princes as sought to form a matrimonial alliance, her peculiar position had disinherited her of the privileges of her birth. The victim of a national revolution, exiled, powerless, living upon the bounty of her relatives, and overlooked by all who would have paid her homage had she been in more prosperous circumstances, she was rapidly growing in beauty, in intellect, and in grace, unheeded, and unencouraged.

On the departure of her guests, the first serious misunderstanding which had ever taken place occurred between Anne of Austria and the king. She, remembering only his youth, ventured upon a severe reprimand; which he, strong in his position, resented with a determination as haughty as it was unexpected; declaring that he had been sufficiently coerced during his boyhood, and that he was no longer disposed to submit to a dictation of which he had long been weary. Abundance of tears were shed on both sides; and, at length, after mutual concessions, a reconciliation took place, which was, however, far from tranquilizing the mind of the queen; who began thenceforward to reflect more seriously than she had yet done upon the possible results of a passion, whose first fruits were the transformation of the king into a mere headstrong and ungracious stripling.

Those who had suspected her of favoring the pretensions of Mademoiselle de Mancini knew little of the haughty and ambitious spirit of Anne of Austria. Her feeling of security had grown out of what she held to be the utter impossibility of so unequal an alliance. She well knew the extreme pride of Louis, and she had looked upon it as an impregnable barrier, which must place him beyond all peril; but she forgot, at the same time, to speculate upon the gratified vanity, and the ardent passions of his age.

Nor had the altercation a less enduring effect upon the king. He had at last asserted himself; and he resolved not again to fall back into the state of passive submission from which a few words had sufficed to emancipate him. He formed the determination at a critical moment; for he had scarcely insisted upon his social rights, ere he found an opportunity of asserting with equal authority his regal privileges.

Fouquet, who administered largely and ungrudgingly to his luxury, was anxious to insure the registry of some edicts by the parliament, and communicated the necessity of their acceptance to the king, who immediately attended the meeting, and by his presence alone carried the measure; but he had scarcely left the chamber ere a proposal was made that the registry should be opposed; and immediately all the remnant which remained of the Fronde, all the friends of the prince, and the adherents of the Cardinal de Retz, who only required a slight incitement to renew their disaffection, broke out into murmurs, which, like the breathing of far-off thunder, threatened to be the precursors of a storm. The king had, after attending the parliament, left the capital for Vincennes, where, since the departure of M. de Retz, he had established his summer residence; but the report no sooner reached him, than he dispatched an order to the chamber to reassemble on the morrow.

This arrangement disconcerted the whole court, as a grand hunt had been organized for that day, at which all the court ladies were to be present; and Louis was accordingly overwhelmed with remonstrances and entreaties that he would delay the assembly; but they were at once astonished and pacified by his assurance that the public business should not be permitted to interfere with the hunt.

Accordingly, at half-past nine on the morning of the 10th of April, the deputies of the chamber, who had been sent t meet the king, were thunderstruck to see him arrive in h hunting-dress, consisting of a scarlet coat, a gray beaver

and high boots, followed by all the nobles of his court in a similar costume; and "in this *unusual* attire," says the Marquis de Montglat, grand master of the wardrobe, "he heard mass, took his place with the accustomed ceremonies and, with a whip in his hand, declared to the parliament that in future it was his will that his speeches should be registered and not discussed; threatening that, should the contrary occur, he would return and enforce obedience."

This bold stroke of diplomacy, hazarded by a youth of eighteen, with all the reckless daring of his age, was calculated either to excite a general insurrection, or to insure a passive obedience. Fortunately for the young monarch it produced the latter result. France was already weary of revolt; and the parliament, which did not fear to try its strength against the minister, did not care to contend against the king. The Fronde, consequently, heaved its last sigh upon this occasion in the chambers; and every thing appeared to second the wishes of Louis.

From Machecoul the Cardinal de Retz had retired to Belleisle, whence, pursued by the troops of M. de la Meilleraye, he had embarked for Spain; and, having traversed the Peninsula, subsequently reached Rome, precisely in time to join the funeral procession of Innocent X., his protector. Nothing more, therefore, remained to be feared from the restless prelate than his ill-services at the papal court, which could not extend beyond an interference with the election of one of the friends of Mazarin to the Conclave; and could in no way compromise the interests of France.*

Meanwhile the minister found a consolation for this slight annoyance in marrying another of his nieces, Laura Martinozzi, to the elder son of the Duke de Modena; who, without possessing the eminent qualities of her sister, the Princess de Conti, nevertheless, by her correct conduct and amiable disposition, endeared herself greatly to the noble family of which she thus became a member.

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

Nor was Louis XIV. less fortunate in his indemnification; for, ere long, news reached Paris that Turenne had obtained another victory, and that Landrecies had capitulated. Upon receiving this intelligence the king determined to assist in the campaign; and he accordingly joined the army, and proceeded to besiege the city of Condé, which was taken at the end of the third day; and within a fortnight St. Quilain also fell into the hands of the royalist troops, when Louis determined upon returning to Paris, leaving his generals to fortify the conquered cities; and he reappeared in his capital only to be more lauded and more idolized than ever.

Olympia Mancini was still the first object of his attention. It was for her that ballads were composed, comedies performed, and festivals invented. The passion of the young conqueror was sung by Loret, the court-poet; recorded by Madame de Motteville;* and contemplated with increasing anxiety by the queen; who, on the occasion of a tourney given by the king in honor of the young beauty, failed not to remark the emphatic salutation which he addressed to Mademoiselle de Mancini, who was seated among the ladies of the royal suite; while every eye turned from the scarlet and white scarf and plumes of the sovereign, to the scarlet damask, looped with white rosets, worn by the fair niece of the cardinal. The games were led by the king himself, the Duke de Guise, and the Duke de Candale, each attended by eight nobles, and followed by pages and trumpeters. Every detail of costume and chivalry was strictly observed; and, as a natural consequence, Louis bore away the laurels of the day from his really less skillful or more complaisant competitors.

It was upon this occasion that the Prince Eugene Mau

* "The king, continuing to love Mademoiselle de Mancini, sometimes more, sometimes less, determined, in order to amuse himself, to celebrate a course at the ring, after the fashion of ancient chivalry." *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Anne d'Autriche.*

rice of Savoy, who had recently become Count de Soissons by the death of his elder brother, first saw Olympia de Mancini. Intended for the church, he had for twenty years been under ecclesiastical tuition; but, upon becoming the heir of his house, he had been suddenly called upon to assume his place in the world, and to exchange his breviary for a troop in the Mancini regiment of cavalry; while his family, anxious to prevent the extinction of the noble race which was destined to produce the famous Prince Eugene, lost no time in seeking, among the first blood of the kingdom, a wife whose birth and virtues might alike entitle her to so great an alliance.

Having passed so instantaneously from the cloister to the palace, the Count de Soissons was a novice in all worldly things, utterly ignorant of court intrigue, and an enthusiastic admirer of female beauty. The loveliness of Olympia consequently made its impression; nor was he insensible to the luster that was shed about her by the homage of the king, which was so undisguised as to delude many beside the young beauty herself into the belief that she had become indispensable to his happiness; an impression which had grown into such strength as to occasion a visible coolness between the queen and the cardinal, who persisted in treating the whole affair as a mere passing caprice.

The court had scarcely removed to Compiègne for the summer, when it was announced to the king that Queen Christina of Sweden had arrived on the frontier, where she awaited his invitation to enter the kingdom; upon which he immediately gave an order to the Duke de Guise to hasten to meet her with an assurance of the sincere welcome with which she would be greeted. Anne of Austria also dispatched the Count de Comminges, the captain of her guard, on the same errand; and the court was all impatience to witness the arrival of the celebrated daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, of whom such extraordinary reports

were rife, and who had just abjured her religion and embraced Romanism in the capital of the Pope.

As the Duke de Guise was retiring, after having taken leave of Her Majesty, the Duchess de Chevreuse drew him apart, and entreated him, so soon as he should have seen Christina, to send her a written portrait of the pilgrim-queen; the duke, however, declined for some time to commit himself by such a document; and it was only upon the express promise of Madame de Chevreuse that it should be kept secret from both Louis and Anne of Austria, that he reluctantly consented to send her the desired letter. M. de Guise proved more faithful to his pledge than herself; for the private communication of the duke soon made the tour of the court circle. Thus it ran:

"I will, while I am myself cruelly uncomfortable, endeavor to amuse you by forwarding the portrait of the queen, whom I accompany. She is not tall, but her figure is plump, her arm beautiful, her hand white and well formed, although more like that of a man than a woman; one shoulder higher than the other, a defect which she, however, conceals so cleverly by the singularity of her dress, that you might venture a bet as to its existence. Her face is large, without being faulty; all the features the same, and strongly marked; her nose aquiline; her mouth rather wide, but not disagreeable; her teeth tolerable; her eyes very fine and full of fire; her skin, notwithstanding a few marks of small-pox, tolerably clear and fair; the outline of her face passable enough, but surmounted by a very fantastical head-dress—a species of man's wig, very large and extremely raised above the forehead, very thick at the sides, and terminating in thin points. The summit of her head is a mass of hair; and at the back it has somewhat the look of a woman's *coiffure*. Sometimes she wears a hat. Her bodice is laced across the back, as our doublets were wont to be; and her chemise is drawn through all round above her petticoat, which she ties very loosely, and not over str-

She is always very much powdered, with a quantity of pomatum; and never wears gloves; she is shod like a man, and has the voice and manners of one. She affects extremely to enact the Amazon. She possesses at least as much pride and hauteur as her father, the great Gustavus, but is very courteous and kind; and speaks eight languages, and, above all, French, as though she had been born in Paris. She knows more than all our Academy and the Sorbonne put together; understands painting, as well as every thing else, admirably; and is better acquainted with all the intrigues of our court than I am. In short, she is altogether an extraordinary person. I shall attend her to Compiègne by Paris; so you will be able to judge for yourself. I believe that I have omitted nothing in her portrait, save that she sometimes wears a sword, with a belt of buffalo-hide; that her wig is black; and that she has nothing over her neck save a scarf of the same color."*

The curiosity exhibited by the king on the subject of this extraordinary stranger was so great as to awaken a first pang of jealousy in the bosom of Mademoiselle de Mancini, who had so long been accustomed to find herself the all-absorbing object of his attention that she could ill brook the lively expressions of his awakened interest in Christina.

The passion of Louis had not, however, at that period, sufficiently abated to render the cloud which had so suddenly gathered upon her brow, and the silence which she resolutely maintained on the subject of the extraordinary woman who had abdicated a throne, in order to free herself from the trammels of regal responsibilities, otherwise than as an added charm. His vanity was flattered by so marked an evidence of his power over the feelings of a young and beautiful woman; and, with the natural weakness of his age, far from endeavoring to calm her fears, he fed them by a continual and conspicuous exhibition of his anxiety for

* Extracted from the Mémoires of Madame de Motteville.

the advent of one whom she already began to consider as a rival.

Nor was the queen less inclined to believe that the eccentricities of Christina might affect that change in the feelings of the king, which her own expostulations had failed to produce. There is a strange charm in novelty; and Anne of Austria began to hope that she should acquire a powerful although an unconscious ally in the Swedish sovereign.

At Essonne* the royal visitor halted, in order to be present at a ballet, a comedy, and an exhibition of fireworks, which had been prepared in her honor; after which she made her entry into Paris, escorted by two lines of armed citizens, who had received her at the gates, and who lined the streets from Conflans,† where she had passed the night, to the Louvre, where she was to alight. The crowd which collected to see her pass was so great that, although she reached Paris two hours after mid-day, she did not arrive at the palace until nine o'clock at night, where she was received by the Prince de Conti.‡

The effect produced by Christina was more favorable than had been anticipated from her eccentric reputation; for although the singularity of her costume was displeasing at the first glance, it was one to which the eye became easily habituated; and where she had resolved to please

* Essonne is a village in the department of Seine and Oise, about thirteen leagues from Versailles. Its ancient name was *Axona* or *Exona*; and it was originally only a royal villa, which, in the sixth century, was given by Clotaire to the Abbey of St. Denis. Subsequently, this estate and some others were granted to the monks by the Abbé Hilduin, in 832, when a village was built about it, with a church. The soil produces a great quantity of peat, which has been an object of industry since the reign of Louis XIII.

† Conflans is a town situated within one league of Pontoise, and six of Paris, where, on the 1st of October, 1465, a famous treaty was concluded between Louis XI and the Count de Charolais, which was afterward violated by the king.

‡ Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

she seldom failed in the attempt; while the fearlessness and aptitude of her wit, the rich resources of her intellect, and her perfect familiarity with all the individuals of the French court, and all the events in which they had been actors, soon withdrew the attention of those around her from her voluminous wig and masculine boots.

After remaining for a few days in Paris, she proceeded to Compiègne to visit the king and queen, and was met at Chantilly by the cardinal; who was followed two hours afterward by Louis XIV. and the Duke d'Anjou, both of whom arrived as private individuals, and entered her apartment in the midst of the crowd of courtiers forming the suite of Mazarin. They had no sooner appeared than the cardinal presented them to the Swedish queen, remarking that they were two of the most nobly-born gentlemen in France; when the reply of Christina, as she saluted her august visitors, was accompanied by a smile, as she observed that she had no doubt of it, since their birthright was a crown. She had remarked their portraits at the Louvre, and recognized them at once. On the following day, Anne of Austria, accompanied by the king and the whole court, set out to receive the royal traveler at Fayet, a house belonging to the Marshal de la Motte-Houdancourt. The carriage of Their Majesties was preceded by a strong escort of light-horse, gendarmes, and guards; and contained, beside the king and queen, the Duke d'Anjou, the Duchess de Lorraine, the Duchess de Mercœur, and the Countess de Flex, lady of honor to Anne of Austria.

When the illustrious party reached Fayet, Anne of Austria, aware that Christina was at no great distance, resolved not to enter the house, but to receive her royal visitor upon the terrace, surrounded by all the court, who were in full costume, and blazing with gold and jewels. They had not long to wait ere the Duke de la Rochefoucauld announced the approach of the Swedish queen, whose carriage drove into the court amid a flourish of trumpets. The Cardinal

Mazarin and the Duke de Guise, by whom she was accompanied, assisted her to alight, and she immediately advanced toward the queen, who moved forward three paces to receive her; and only a few brief instants had elapsed ere the two royal strangers were conversing in a frank and familiar manner, which astonished Anne of Austria, although she could not resist the charm by which she was hurried into this sudden intimacy.

For a moment the French queen had been conscious of the ridiculous appearance of her royal visitor, but in the next she had ceased to observe it; and when, on an allusion to the portrait of her son in the Louvre, she extended her arm with all a mother's pride, to exhibit one which she conceived to be still more faithful, and which formed the clasp of her bracelet, Christina exclaimed, with enthusiasm, on the loveliness of the limb that it adorned, declaring that she would willingly have made the journey from Rome to Paris for no other purpose than that of seeing a hand and arm of such perfect symmetry; Anne of Austria, who was extremely vain, and with reason, of this uncommon and essentially feminine beauty, was fairly won.

During the collation which had been prepared for her, Christina ate enormously, and spoke little. She felt that she had conciliated the queen through the medium of her vanity; while she had equally delighted the king by the marked courtesy which she had exhibited toward Mademoiselle de Mancini; and she knew enough of courts to be aware that she had consequently captivated the whole circle.

On her arrival at Compiègne it was found necessary to supply her with attendants of every description, as she had neither ladies, officers, equipages, nor money; and with the exception of M. Chanut, who had been the Swedish resident during her reign, and two or three insignificant and obscure gentlemen upon whom she bestowed the title of counts, she was absolutely unattended.*

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

Christina remained several days at Compiègne, during which she unequivocally astonished all about her—discussing politics with the ministers, science with the learned, and gallantry with the courtiers. She accompanied the queen to the theater, where she wept heartily at the tragedy, and fell into convulsions of laughter at one of the coarse and pungent farces of Scarron—electrifying all the court by clapping her hands, and resting her feet upon the front of the royal box, as composedly as if she had been in her own apartment.

Remarking her taste for theatrical amusements, Anne of Austria next took her to see a tragedy at the Jesuit convent, which she ridiculed without mercy; a circumstance occasioned, as it was reported, by the fact that the head of that society had not paid his respects to her during her sojourn in Rome. On hearing this rumor, Father Annat, the king's confessor, waited upon her to reconcile her, if possible, with the order, but she received him in the same sarcastic spirit which she had exhibited at the drama, declaring that she should be delighted to make her peace with the reverend fathers, of whose power she was so well aware that she should prefer a misunderstanding with all the sovereigns of Europe, to one with themselves; a fact which did not, nevertheless, prevent her from considering them to be very poor tragedians.

Mademoiselle, whose curiosity was naturally excited by all she heard of Christina, received permission from the king (to whom she had written to request it, alledging that, although exiled from the court, she could not permit herself to visit a foreign sovereign without his sanction), to wait upon her at Fontainebleau, where she was then residing; and after she had scrupulously arranged the minutiæ of her reception, insisting upon an arm-chair, and sundry other unimportant matters of the same nature, all of which were conceded with perfect indifference by the Swedish queen, she made an elaborate toilet; and, attended by four of

her ladies, arrived at Fontainebleau, where she was received by M. de Guise, the Count de Comminges, and all the officers of rank who were in waiting upon the royal visitor, whom she found in a spacious saloon, surrounded by benches, in which she was about to witness a ballet.

The haughty and sarcastic princess confesses that, from the reports which had reached her, she was fearful that she should not be able to preserve her gravity during the presentation, and she was extremely alarmed at the prospect of committing so outrageous a solecism in good-breeding and dignity. But the result was very different; for as the ushers dispersed the glittering throng which had already assembled, she saw, as she describes, a small person, habited in a petticoat of gray silk, trimmed with gold and silver lace, with a bodice of gold-colored camlet, trimmed like the skirt; a handkerchief of Genoa-point about her neck, fastened with a knot of ribbon of the same color; a light wig; and holding in one hand a hat, covered with black plumes; very fair in complexion, with blue eyes, varying greatly and rapidly in their expression; fine teeth; a large and aquiline nose; her deformity completely concealed by the fashion of her dress; and looking, upon the whole, like a handsome boy.

After a mutual embrace, the princess remained to witness the ballet, highly diverted by the piquant conversation of her new acquaintance: and at its conclusion they proceeded together to the theater of the palace, to see a comedy; where the rigid propriety of MADEMOISELLE was formidably outraged by the emission of some hearty oaths which Christina delivered with considerable unction; and by her habit of throwing her legs over the arms of her chair, and putting herself into attitudes common only to the buffoons of the theaters.

Finally, this Amazonian princess took leave of the court, to the great regret of Anne of Austria, and proceeded to Senlis, where she was magnificently welcomed by the Marquis

de St. Simon; and thence again to the Chateau de Fresné, on a visit to M. and Madame Duplessis; after which, to the consternation of every one, excited by a curiosity which she resolved at all risks to gratify, upon learning that Ninon de l'Enclos inhabited a country-house in the neighborhood of Fresné, she sent her word that she was desirous to make her acquaintance; and an hour after the departure of the messenger, herself drove to her villa, where she remained for a couple of hours, and on her departure overwhelmed her hostess with expressions of regard.

This done, she availed herself of the hired carriages which the king had provided for her, and the money which was to defray her expenses, and departed, with her sorry suite, with all the independence of a private gentlewoman.

On the morrow, the king and the cardinal in their turn took leave of the queen, in order to join M. de Turenne, who was in command of the royal army before Capelle; and as the enemy had left St. Quilain in order to reinforce it, a general engagement was anticipated. Seeing, however, that it was delayed, M. Turenne gave notice to the besieged that if they did not surrender on the morrow they would receive no quarter; upon which M. de Chamilly, who held the town for the prince, considered it more advisable to submit than to incur the risk of a battle. Consequently, after remaining a few days at Guise, and having personally conducted a convoy to St. Quilain, the king once more returned to Paris, heralded by a victory which had been obtained without any loss of life, and which might fairly be received with rejoicing as it had not cost a tear.

The court festivals were, however, abruptly terminated by the death of Madame de Mancini, the cardinal's sister; and this death, which had been foretold to the very day by her deceased husband, strengthened the superstition of all those who were cognizant of the fact. Its effect on Mazarin was very great, and he forthwith secluded himself in his apartments; while Olympia and her sisters, sincerely afflict

ed by the loss of so exemplary a parent, retired to a convent to weep unnoticed and unchidden. But even there a newer and an equally heavy grief awaited them; for the beautiful Duchess de Mercœur, who was herself on the eve of becoming a mother, was so overwhelmed with anguish on receiving the last blessing of the exemplary and devoted Madame de Mancini, that she was stricken with paralysis, and only survived a few hours. When the afflicting news of her danger reached him, the cardinal hastened to the Hôtel de Vendôme; but she was only able to welcome him by a faint gesture and a tranquil smile, for she had already lost the power of speech, and she expired the moment after his entrance.

The grief of Mazarin was intense. He had already been sorely tried by the death of his sister, but this last blow entirely overcame his self-possession; and the rather that the same prophet who had foretold this double demise had also predicted that he himself would either die or incur disgrace in the year when it occurred. As he looked upon the young and beautiful woman who lay dead before him, he sobbed aloud; and there can be little doubt that his feelings were imbittered by the remembrance of the prophecy which had foreshadowed this painful bereavement.

From the first moment of her illness, Madame de Mancini had considered herself as doomed; her husband, who was a great astrologer, having not only foretold his own death, and that of his son, who was killed at the Porte St. Antoine, but also predicted that she would not survive her forty-second year. For a time she had believed that this last prophecy would fail, a few days only remaining to complete the given period; but when she became conscious of approaching indisposition, she at once resigned herself to her fate; and, on what she felt to be her death-bed, entreated her brother to protect her two youngest daughters, Mary and Hortensia.

To this he readily pledged himself; nor was it the only

duty which he was called upon to perform, for Madame de Mercœur left behind her an infant of a day old—the same Duke de Vendôme who was fated, forty years later, to save the monarchy of Louis XIV.*

On this occasion the clergy, the parliament, and the principal bodies of the state, hastened to overwhelm the cardinal with the most ostentatious condolences; and the journals of the day have recorded these pompous demonstrations, which prove how thoroughly Mazarin had repossessed himself of power.

The young king was, however, soon wearied of this ceremonial mourning, which ill accorded with his love of pleasure and amusement; and utterly forgetful, or regardless, of the grief of Mademoiselle de Mancini, he resumed the ballets, which had been for a time interrupted; and a new representation, in which he was himself the principal actor, accordingly took place during the funeral services which the clergy were performing for the repose of the soul of the cardinal's sister; and Olympia required no further evidence to convince her that she had miscalculated her power over the heart of a king who could find diversion in emulating an opera dancer, and exhibiting himself crowned with roses, and attired in a tunic sparkling with spangles, while she was weeping for a beloved mother and sister.

In an instant she discovered the truth of her position: she saw that she had ministered to his vanity, but had never touched his heart; and she had too much pride to subject herself to a neglect which would make her a proverb to the court. The first pang was bitter, for her ambition and her vanity were alike trampled into the dust; but she did not hesitate to immolate both the one and the other, in order to retain her self-respect. The Count de Soissons, of whose admiration she was already aware, had returned to court after a brief visit to his family; and the rumor had

* Louis XIV et son Siècle

already spread, that the Princess de Carignan,* his mother had entreated the queen to forward the interests of her son, and to select for him a wife worthy to enter the house of Savoy, and to become the bride of a grandson of Charles V.

The proud spirit of Olympia de Mancini rebounded at the hope of such an alliance; and without permitting herself to turn one thought upon the past, she hastened to impress upon the cardinal the marked change which had taken place in the feelings of the king; the uneasiness which his former preference had excited in the breast of the Queen-Mother; and the opportunity which now presented itself of accomplishing, through her medium, an alliance equal to those which he had secured to the Princess de Conti and the Duchess de Modena.

Mazarin appreciated on the instant the arguments by which he was assailed; and after complimenting his niece upon her prudence and self-government, promised to exert all his influence in the furtherance of so desirable an object; nor were the effects of his interference long doubtful, for, although on the very evening of the day upon which this interview took place, every one had remarked the anxious expression of the queen, and the tenacity with which she watched the most trivial actions of the king, only two days afterward the cloud had passed away, and she was evidently at ease; while the cause of this rapid change did not long remain doubtful, as she was heard to say to the Princess de Carignan that she had always felt convinced there was nothing to fear from such an attachment.†

In less than a week every difficulty was overcome by the gold of the cardinal and the entreaties of the queen, who undertook to obtain the consent of her son to this alliance, little foreseeing, however, how readily it would be accorded; and only two days subsequently the betrothal took place, at the express desire of the king himself, in his own

* Daughter of the celebrated Count de Soissons.

† Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Anne d'Autriche.

private cabinet, in the presence of Their Majesties, the Duke d'Anjou, the Cardinal, the princesses of Conti and Carignan, Mademoiselle de Longueville (who, it may be remembered, had long before attached herself to the court), the Ambassador of Savoy, and many other persons of distinction.

When the contracts had been read and signed by the king, the queen, and the several witnesses, the Bishop of Rennes, grand-almoner to the queen, performed the ceremony of the betrothal; and at its termination the ambassador of Savoy presented to the bride, as the gift of *Madame Royale*,* a magnificent box ornamented with the portrait of the daughter of Henry IV., and a set of diamonds valued at more than twenty thousand crowns.†

Not one individual who possessed the privilege of the *entrée* was absent upon this occasion; for, superadded to the thirst for amusement and variety which distinguished the court at that period, the additional stimulant of curiosity secured their attendance. The king and Mademoiselle de Mancini had not previously met since the question of the marriage had been mooted, and some display of agitation was anticipated; but none was exhibited; for both Louis XIV. and the niece of the cardinal possessed too much self-possession to offer themselves as a spectacle to the court gossips, and thus a brief but courteous salutation was alone exchanged between them.

On the morrow, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the Count de Soissons entered the queen's apartment, leading his bethrothed bride, that day to become his wife; and her extraordinary loveliness excited a murmur of general admiration, as she advanced and bent her knee to the gracious sovereign to whom she was indebted for the exalted rank to which she had attained. She was attired, say the chronicles of the time, in a dress of cloth of silver, bordered with

* Dowager-Duchess of Savoy.

† Gazette du Temps, 24 Février, 1657.

jewels, and wore upon her head a single spray of pearls estimated at more than five hundred thousand livres. The marriage took place in the queen's chapel: and after dining in private with the Princess de Carignan, the bride and bridegroom proceeded to the apartments of the cardinal, where a magnificent fête awaited them, at which both the king and his brother had signified their intention to be present.

When Louis approached his new cousin to salute her, an honor which it was customary for him to confer on such brides as he saw fit to congratulate upon the occasion of their marriage, it was remarked that the Countess de Soissons turned very pale, and breathed with difficulty; but she soon conquered the emotion; and in another moment the blood flushed over her brow and bosom, and a smile rose to her lips. The king lingered for a considerable time beside her; and it was evident that the conversation which ensued was deeply interesting to both parties, although no one sentence was overheard, as the courtiers were discreet enough not to intrude upon its privacy.

When the king at length rose to precede the guests into the great saloon, a strain of consummate melody heralded his appearance. Mazarin, who had, in his gratification at the splendid alliance of his niece, resolved to make his avarice for once subservient to his magnificence, had imported from Rome the principal musicians of the Pope's choir, for this express occasion; and the French court listened for the first time, at the marriage of Olympia de Mancini, to the exquisite voices of Italian vocalists, pouring forth, in waves of harmony, which rose and fell upon the ears of their astonished auditors like the soft but mysterious undulations of a summer sea, the finest compositions of Leo and Scarletti. This sacred music (for it was all such) had been adapted to words analogous to the circumstance; and the sublime canticles which had inspired each divine *maestro* were now replaced by amorous ditties and sentimental ep-

thalamiums; a species of metamorphosis common enough in Italy, however singularly misplaced upon this particular occasion, when the festival was given by one of the princes of the church.

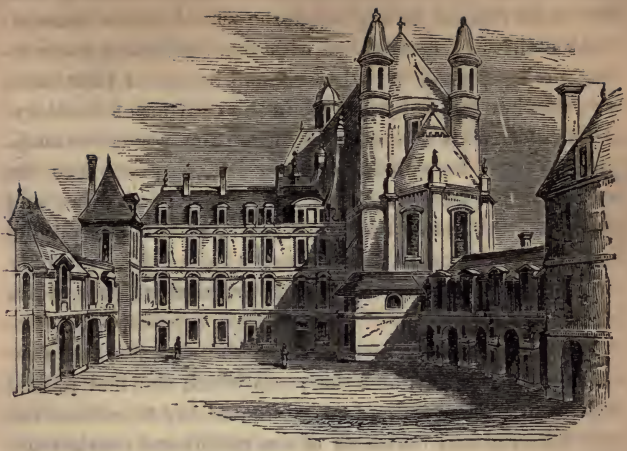
Louis XIV., astonished and enchanted by a melody of which he had hitherto never conceived the existence, learned with dismay that as all these extraordinary vocalists were members of the Sixtine chapel, they were compelled to leave Paris on the following morning, on their return to Rome. It chanced, however, that they had brought with them a young Florentine composer, who was an admirable performer on the violin, and capable of conducting an orchestra. This youth was Lulli,* who was immediately engaged by the king, to remain in his particular service; but he also, perceiving that the French were at that period utter barbarians in music, made his conditions before he would consent thus to exile himself from his country; and a new band was formed under his own auspices, which received the name of the "little violins" in order to distinguish it from that already organized.

The great event of the day was, however, the appearance at this festival of a young girl upon whom the eyes of the king chanced accidentally to fall during a moment of abstraction; and upon whom they rested, until her own, which had been fixed eagerly upon his countenance, fell beneath his gaze; while, as her cheeks crimsoned with mingled shame and terror, large tears, of which she appeared to be utterly unconscious, dropped fast and silently upon her bosom.

* Jean Baptiste Lulli was born at Florence in 1633, and his talent so won upon the favor of Louis XIV. that he subsequently ennobled him and appointed him to the secretaryship of the chancelry. In 1672 the Abbé Perrin ceded to Lulli his privilege of compositor to the opera, and from that period until his death, which occurred in 1687, he enriched the French stage with many fine works; among which may be cited his *Armida*, *Isis*, *Perseus*, *Amadis*, *Atys*, &c.

The king was surrounded by a bevy of beauties, all anxious to secure his notice, and to repay it by their homage; yet for a while he remained impassive to their attractions. He was tracing upon the mobile but irregular features of the almost child (who, seated in an obscure corner, had suffered herself to be so thoroughly subjugated by the magic of the sweet sounds to which she had been listening, that she felt like a detected culprit on exciting observation), the changeful tide of feeling to which that flood of harmony had given birth.

This young girl, who had left her convent only on the previous day, in order to be present at the marriage of the brilliant Countess de Soissons, was her sister Mary de Mancini. Poor Mary! Little did her bounding heart, as it leaped with joy at the prospect of her emancipation from conventual rule, and the life of courtly pleasure upon which she was about to enter, forewarn her that the serpent of despair was already coiling up his glittering folds upon the roses amid which she was about to tread.



CHAPTER XXIV.

Mary de Mancini—The Prophecy—The Portrait—Hortensia de Mancini—Presentation of the Sisters to the King—Secret Passion of Mary for Louis XIV.—Mademoiselle de la Motte d'Argencourt—Flight of the King—Return of Louis to Court—Insolence of Mademoiselle d'Argencourt—Remonstrances of the Queen—Growing Attachment to Mary de Mancini; her conversational Talents—Negotiations for the Marriage of Louis XIV.—Partial Reconciliation of Monsieur with the Court—Rival Princesses—Alliance with Cromwell—Arrival of the Princess of Orange—Departure of the Princess-Royal and the Duke of York—The Hand of Mary de Mancini demanded by Charles II.—Refusal of the Cardinal—Return of Christina; her Residence at Fontainebleau—The Murder of Monaldeschi.

We have already shown the accomplishment of one of the prophecies of M. de Mancini, and his daughter Mary had been the object of another—less sinister, perhaps, but infinitely more subtil and mysterious. On his death-bed he had entreated Madame de Mancini to compel her to take the veil, as he dreaded her independent character and he

bold spirit, which unfitted her for social life; adding that, should his request be neglected, she would be the cause of much evil.* In compliance with this injunction, the anxious mother placed both herself and her sister Hortensia, who was her junior by a year, in the convent of St. Mary at Chaillot, with the intention, when the younger should have attained to a fitting age for her entrance into the world, of inducing Mary to pronounce her vows; and upon her own bed of death she repeated alike the prediction and the design to the cardinal, who had, however, only in vague, although earnest terms, promised to protect the orphan girls.

Mary was so mere a child when the sentence was pronounced against her, and the years which she had passed under a monastic roof had so habituated her to self-control, that she exhibited no traces of the willful and overbearing spirit which had been attributed to her; and whether it were this fact which induced the cardinal to neglect the dying injunctions of his sister, or that, his ambitious hopes having been frustrated by the failure of Olympia upon the affections of the king, he resolved to make another attempt to place the crown of France upon the brow of one of his younger nieces, it is certain that he availed himself of the marriage of Madame de Soissons to withdraw both Mary and Hortensia from their convent.

Mary was, at this period, in her fifteenth year, and from her very childhood had been so constantly accustomed to hear the personal beauty of her sisters extolled, that she had instinctively imbibed a conviction of her own deficiency in attraction, which was strengthened by the constant contemplation of Hortensia, who already gave promise of a future loveliness which was destined to eclipse that of all her sisters. Strong in this belief, Mary consequently became indifferent to mere external advantages, and did not even seek to avail herself of those which she actually pos-

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville. *Pièces Historiques, &c.*

sessed; and yet Madame de Motteville, who, from her great attachment to the queen, can not be suspected of being the friend of Mary de Mancini, thus describes her at this period.

"Mary Mancini was of a dark and somewhat sallow complexion, with a long, thin throat and arms; a large, flat mouth; fine teeth; a tall and slender figure; and harsh, dull eyes, which, however, gave promise of future softness and animation." A cotemporaneous chronicler* gives a still more favorable impression of her appearance. "She was not a beauty," he says; "but her movements, her manner, all the bearing of her person was the result of a nature guided by grace. Her look was tender; the accent of her voice enchanting; her genius was great, substantial, and extensive, and capable of the grandest conceptions. She wrote both good prose and pleasing poetry; and Mary Mancini, who shone in a courtly letter, was equally capable of producing a political or state dispatch. She would not have been unworthy of the throne, if, among us, great merit had been a title to obtain it."

There was nothing sufficiently striking, however, in such an appearance, to catch the sated fancy of the king; and upon Hortensia alone, who was still a mere child, did the minister for an instant speculate. But for a time even the budding beauty of Hortensia was overlooked by the young sovereign, although from the moment of their arrival at court the sisters became the privileged inmates of the Louvre, as Victoria and Olympia had previously been. Louis had, indeed, inquired the name of the young girl by the singularity of whose speaking countenance he had been for a moment impressed; and on learning that she was one of the nieces of the cardinal, had desired that both the sisters should be presented to him; but beyond this act of courtesy, simply intended to conciliate the minister, he had evinced no interest in their existence.

* Dreux du Radier.

Such was, unfortunately, far from being the case with Mary. Even in the rigid circle of her convent she had perpetually heard the personal grace and the high qualities of the young monarch discussed with enthusiasm; and she had accustomed herself to dwell upon this idea with an intensity of admiration of which so ardent and impassioned a nature as her own could alone have been capable. Upon the rare occasions on which the sisters had been permitted to pay their respects to the queen, such as her birthday, the festival of St. Louis, and the commencement of the new year, while Hortensia was wild with delight on seeing herself attired in a more becoming costume, and anticipating with girlish eagerness the pleasures of the day, Mary was only speculating upon the probability of obtaining a glance at the king, although, amid the court ceremonies, he vouchsafed no notice of the two timid girls, who, having performed their accustomed homage, were forthwith conducted once more to their convent. Still she had looked upon him, listened to his voice, watched his every movement in the dance, and felt her heart quail, she knew not wherefore, when she saw his smile beam upon her sister. These memories sufficed to fill her solitude, and to exalt her imagination; but still, no hope that the idol, at whose shrine all bent down in almost more than worldly worship, would ever waste one thought upon herself, passed across her mind. She was contented to listen and gaze on in silence; and when she finally quitted Chaillot, her one great dream of joy was based upon the certainty of frequent contact with the faultless mortal whom she had invested with all the perfections of an excitable and devoted fancy.

It is possible that the original impression produced upon the king by the intellectual expression of Mary de Mancini might, however, have inspired him with sufficient curiosity to induce a desire of cultivating her society when he found her included among the ladies of the queen's house-

hold, had not his attention been directed, at the time, to Mademoiselle de la Motte d'Argencourt, who had just been appointed one of the maids of honor. A member of the family of Conti, her high birth alone insured to her the protection of Anne of Austria; and it was at once anticipated that her appearance and acquirements would attract the attention of the young sovereign. Although not of striking beauty, Mademoiselle d'Argencourt was graceful and pleasing; and her deep-blue eyes and fair hair, contrasted with her dark eyebrows and clear brown skin, gave a singular vivacity to the expression of her countenance, which was full of charm. Her manner was courtly, and her figure very fine; she expressed herself admirably, and danced to perfection; and she had no sooner been admitted to the private parties of the queen than she became the object of the king's attentions, and that so undisguisedly, that Anne of Austria found herself once more compelled to expostulate; but Louis was invulnerable, and on the first opportunity which presented itself, declared to the young lady the sentiments with which she had inspired him, and offered, should she return his passion, to protect her from the displeasure of both the queen and the cardinal.

Mademoiselle d'Argencourt had, however, already bestowed her heart elsewhere, and would not consent to forego her love for the gratification of a worse than questionable ambition.* She consequently met the protestations of her royal lover with a declaration of her own scruples, so gracefully and femininely expressed, that Louis, in despair, believing for the moment that his happiness actually depended upon the gratification of this

* The mere gossips of the court assigned to her, as a lover, M. de Chamarante, the king's first gentleman, who was commonly called "the handsome Chamarante;" while the more uncharitable whispered that she had attached herself to the Marquis de Richelieu, the husband of Mademoiselle de Beauvais.

new caprice, rushed, in his first burst of disappointment, to the queen, to apprise her that if Mademoiselle d'Argencourt persisted in her coldness, he must leave Paris until he had conquered his passion. Anne of Austria heard the declaration with undisguised pleasure, and complimented her son upon the propriety and becoming dignity of his intention, promising to consult the cardinal as to the most eligible means of carrying his purpose into effect.

This was soon accomplished, for no proposition could be more agreeable to Mazarin, who had been watching with a jealous eye the interference of the young lady of honor with the prospects of his own nieces; and he forthwith advised the love-sick monarch to reside, for a time, at Vincennes. Louis acted upon this counsel; passed a week in the strict observances of a devotion which always grew upon him in seasons of annoyance; and at the termination of ten days, believing that he had effectually overcome his passion, returned to court. During his absence, however, Madame d'Argencourt, who had speculated upon the attractions of her daughter to advance the fortunes of the family, satisfied that, since her marriage, the hopes which had been based upon the preference of the king for Olympia de Mancini were at an end, and ignorant that the cardinal had formed a fresh design on the heart of the susceptible young monarch, alarmed by the sudden retreat of Louis, requested an interview with the minister, to whom she made the infamous proposal, that, should he desire to encourage the nascent passion of the sovereign, she would pledge herself that her daughter should never seek to attain to any higher rank than that of His Majesty's mistress; while she would, on her part, in acknowledgment of the benefit which must necessarily accrue to her connections, communicate to himself every thing relating to the king which might be confided to her.

The minister saw at once the advantage to be gained

by such a circumstance, and, consequently, did not hesitate to promise all she wished—listening, moreover, with courteous attention to whatever she, at that moment, profited by the opportunity to divulge; and thus armed in one quarter, he next proceeded to examine into the truth of the rumors which had vaguely reached him of a previous attachment on the part of the lady. In this attempt he succeeded so well, that he not only discovered the object of her affection, but even procured a letter, authentic or forged, which was stated to have passed between the parties. This done, he hastened to explain all the circumstances to Anne of Austria, and it was determined that their united thanks should be offered to Madame d'Argencourt for the sacrifice which she had been willing to make for the happiness of His Majesty, coupled with the assurance that it was no longer necessary, as the king had already overcome his passing inclination.

On his return, both the queen and the cardinal had every reason to hope that such was in fact the case, for Louis scrupulously avoided every opportunity of meeting Mademoiselle d'Argencourt; and whenever they were accidentally brought into contact, simply saluted her with a cold courtesy, which betrayed no trace of latent passion. There can be no doubt that the previously coy beauty had, meanwhile, been tutored by her unworthy mother; for, two days after the reappearance of the king, a ball took place at court, of which he was doing the honors, when Mademoiselle d'Argencourt entered the room magnificently attired; and she no sooner made her courtesy to the queen than she walked straight up to the young monarch, before the eyes of the whole circle, and requested him to do her the favor of dancing with her. At this unheard-of request Louis turned pale, and suffered his hand to fall into that of the fair petitioner with an embarrassment which continued throughout the bransle. Meanwhile the exultation of the triumphant beauty was conspicuously exhibited, and

she drew general attention upon the emotion of the young sovereign.

A glance exchanged between the queen and Mazarin served to convince both that the moment was important, and Anne of Austria seized the first opportunity to represent to her son in how short a time he had subjected himself to a liberty, from which, by a more guarded line of conduct, he would have been preserved; while the cardinal, having suffered his pride to feel the humiliation to which it had been exposed, followed up the expostulation of the Queen-Mother by placing in his hands the intercepted letter, and informing him of the indiscretion which had been displayed by Mademoiselle d'Argencourt, for which knowledge he was indebted to the communications of her mother; and by these means succeeded in arousing the indignation of the king. Moreover, at this precise moment, Madame de Beauvais made a formal complaint of the unhappiness which she had caused to her daughter, the Duchess de Richelieu, and she had no sooner done so than Mademoiselle d'Argencourt received an intimation that she was forthwith to retire to the convent of St. Mary, at Chaillot, an arrangement to which she offered no opposition; and although she never took the vows, and that after a brief period she was left at perfect liberty to return to the world, she remained in that community until her death.*

Mazarin again triumphed; the pride of Louis XIV. had obliterated his passion; and when the perpetual pleasures by which he was surrounded began to pall, he once more looked around him for a more absorbing object of interest; and, disregarding the beauty of her younger sister, attached himself to Mary de Mancini. Convinced, at length, that the king felt pleasure in her society, the timid reserve of this extraordinary woman disappeared; and although her devotion led her to treat him upon all occasions with a

Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

deference and respect which satisfied his pride and gratified his self-love, she, nevertheless, conversed with him with a frankness to which he was totally unaccustomed. This intimacy, encouraged by Mazarin, and witnessed without misgiving by the queen, soon attracted attention, and a few of the boldest among the courtiers even ventured allusions upon the subject to Louis himself, who at first affected to laugh, although these comments induced him to watch Mary more closely; and he soon became convinced that, although his court could boast of women more beautiful in person, she was unrivaled alike for intellect and wit.

No one sustained an argument or related an anecdote with the piquancy of Mary de Mancini. In her hands dullness grew into point, and reason became palatable. There was no weariness within the circle of her influence; and even wisdom crowned itself with roses when she introduced it to the company of the loves and graces. But the great charm of Mary existed, after all, in the heart-whole affection which she had given to the young king—an affection which led her to weep over the defects of his education, and to exert all her efforts to remove them. From her lips he heard truths boldly spoken, which none had ever before ventured even to whisper; she conversed with him upon subjects of which, although they involved his dearest interests, he was almost ignorant; she awakened in his breast the noblest impulses and the most worthy ambition; and while she loved him as he was, she strove to make him comprehend all that he ought to be.

Accustomed to unlimited admiration and undeviating worship, Louis was for a time amazed and bewildered by the honest frankness with which this mere girl ventured to criticise his actions, and to explain to him the motives and impulses by which he had been governed; but ere long he became thralled by the strength of an intellect with which he found his own unable to compete; and while he shared his amusements and pleasures with the obsequious

crowd around him, he turned to Mary upon every occasion of difficulty for strength and help.

Nevertheless, the cardinal soon found it necessary to occupy himself with an event the most likely of all others to render his niece wretched, through the very medium of the attachment which he had himself encouraged—the marriage of the king. It might be that, aware of the hold which the intellect of Mary had already taken upon the mind of Louis, he believed that obstacles would only strengthen her power; or, what is still more feasible, that it was necessary to divert the attention of the queen from the engrossing effects of this new attachment; while it is, at all events, certain that he selected this precise period to bring forward his most forcible arguments on the expediency of some eligible matrimonial alliance being decided upon for the young sovereign.

European princesses were not wanting who might with reason pretend to such a marriage. In the first place, there was MADEMOISELLE, whose enormous wealth, as well as her high birth, rendered her a fitting candidate for the throne to which it was well known that she had long aspired. It was with no other view that she had made herself conspicuous during the civil war; and it had even been reported to Anne of Austria, that when it was required of her to permit the royalists to enter Paris, she had replied, that if they would pledge themselves to marry her to the king, she would at once deliver up the city: upon which the queen had retorted, with a bitter smile and a somewhat unregal petulancy, that in that case they would pass beside it without entering, for that "the king was not for her nose, although it was a long one."* Undignified as the rejoinder had been, it was, nevertheless, decisive; and from that time MADEMOISELLE was never again thought of as a wife for the king.

Meanwhile, a species of reconciliation had been effected

* Mémoires de Laporte.

between the court and the Duke d'Orleans, through the agency of the Duchess de Guise and M. de Montresor; in consideration of which His Royal Highness, with his characteristic facility on such occasions, sacrificed the interests of the Duke de Beaufort, the Duchess de Montbazon, and, in short, all who had served him during the war; while even after this concession he found himself as powerless as ever. When he went to La Fère, where the court was sojourning, the cardinal affected to be confined with gout, because he would not go to meet him; and after having had an interview with the king and queen, he accordingly proceeded to the chamber of the minister; thus reversing their relative positions, and affording a great and public triumph to Mazarin, of which the duke himself was so conscious, that, after remaining only two or three days at court, he returned in no very placid mood to Blois.

The partial reconciliation of Gaston with the court had induced many to believe that an alliance would, in all probability, be formed between the young sovereign and his elder daughter by the second marriage; but this arrangement by no means accorded with the views of the cardinal, who had no reason to favor the projects of the king's uncle, by whom he had been so frequently thwarted in his own plans; and consequently this match was at once negatived. The princesses of England and Portugal were alike declared to be ineligible; for the former was poor and disinherited, Cromwell having for the moment usurped, if not the throne, at least the sovereign power; while, although the Count de Comminges, who was ambassador at Lisbon, had not only written to inform Mazarin that the Queen of Portugal earnestly desired to see her daughter the wife of the French king, but had even forwarded a miniature likeness of the princess; it was whispered that the portrait was extremely flattered, and that if the sovereign placed any reliance upon the copy, he would find

himself sorely disappointed when he encountered the original; and thus the cardinal, who was aware that this was an important consideration with Louis, replied by alledging the impossibility of the alliance. The disappointment was great, both to the Lisbonese court and to Comminges himself, to whom the Queen-Mother had offered an immense sum of money in the event of his succeeding in the negotiation.

At length the minister turned his eyes upon Marguerite of Savoy, the niece of the Queen of England, although without any of the energy that such an event would have appeared to demand; a fact which caused suspicions that he had merely availed himself of her name to compel the King of Spain to decide upon the cession of his own daughter, the Infanta Maria Theresa, an alliance for which Anne of Austria had long been anxious as well as her minister—Mazarin from its political importance, and the queen from attachment to her own family. Hitherto, however, the marriage had been impossible, the Infanta Maria Theresa being an only child, and consequently heir to the throne—a fact which effectually prevented her from becoming the wife of a reigning sovereign; but, as though the star of Louis XIV. were to be ever in the ascendant, the Queen of Spain had, at this particular period, given birth to a son, which released the princess from her exclusive position as heiress presumptive; and from the day upon which the intelligence of this event reached the court of France, Mazarin never lost sight of Spain, or, rather, of the states of Flanders and Brabant, which he had long desired to merge into the French kingdom.

While these negotiations were pending, Louis formed an alliance with Cromwell, who forwarded an ambassador to the court of France; upon which the ministers intimated to Charles II., who still lingered at St. Germain in the hope of succeeding in his pursuit of Mademoiselle,

that they desired his departure; nor did he delay it, having naturally no inclination to subject himself to daily contact with the envoy of the Commonwealth. As if to compensate, however, to the Queen of England for this new mortification, the princess-royal her daughter, widow of the Prince of Orange, arrived at Paris on a visit to her exiled relatives, surrounded by magnificence and blazing with jewels. Rumor assigned her appearance at that particular juncture to a desire of captivating Louis; but if such indeed were her errand, it signally failed, the king not having exchanged a word with her during her stay. It was, however, also reported that Anne of Austria was extremely pleased by her advent; and that she had reason to believe that in the event of the princess attracting the attention of her son, she would readily abjure her religion in order to become his wife. The marked discourtesy of Louis of course rendered every such speculation needless; and it was the more conspicuous, inasmuch as the princess-royal ought by her birth to have commanded the respect and deference of every one by whom she was approached; while she had scarcely derogated in her marriage, for although the principality of Nassau was not ancient, it was, nevertheless, a very illustrious name. By Anne of Austria she was received with great distinction; and as the princess, from her recent widowhood, did not wish to appear in public, the queen admitted her to her intimacy, and gave assemblies for her amusement in her own private apartments.*

The departure of the princess-royal was closely followed by that of the young Duke of York, who left France to join his royal brother in Holland, by command of Mazarin; compelled to this step by the rigid will of of Cromwell, who, in signing his treaty with France, had not yielded one inch of ground to the pretension of royalty, but had met Louis on equal terms, insisting

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

upon his bestowing upon him in his letters the title of *brother*, and permitting his own secretary to sign the treaty before the French plenipotentiary.

While this alliance was pending, Charles II. wrote to the cardinal to ask the hand of his niece, Mary de Mancini; but his shattered fortunes, which had driven him to solicit the marriage, formed a sufficient cause for refusal on the part of the minister, who, it was whispered, would willingly have bestowed the same hand upon the son of the usurper Cromwell which he had declined to yield to the legitimate King of England. Thus much, at least, is certain, that when he saw the path to the throne once more opening to the long-persecuted Stuart, he endeavored to revive the negotiation, but without effect.

Meanwhile, amid all the gayety and profusion of the court, the unfortunate Henrietta, the illustrious daughter of Henry IV., finding that the scanty means which were provided for her subsistence by the French government were both grudgingly and uncertainly bestowed, and that the position of Cromwell was attaining added strength every hour, from his recognition by foreign powers, found herself reduced to the necessity of entreating the cardinal to obtain from the protector the payment of her dower. This was the most bitter pang which she had yet encountered, for it was craving food from the very hand which had led her husband to the scaffold; but she had no alternative; and as she looked at her helpless daughter, destitute not only of the luxuries common to her rank, but of the very comforts requisite to her age and sex, she bowed her stricken spirit to its task.

Mazarin repaid her ill for this confidence in his sympathy, however; for having personal views upon Cromwell, he did not care to exhaust his influence on subjects which were irrelevant to his own interests; and Henrietta, in whose behalf he merely urged a faint and cold request,

found her claim disallowed, and herself condemned to remain, not only in her accustomed state of privation, but also crushed beneath the weight of another and a keener mortification than any to which she had previously been subjected; and separated, moreover, from both her sons, who had joined the combined forces of the Prince de Condé and Don John of Austria, where they were bearing arms against the country by which they had been so heartlessly abandoned.*

The next royal arrival at the court of France was once more that of Christina, who, on this second occasion, exhibited so much less ceremony than she had formerly displayed, that she reached Fontainebleau before the court was even apprised of her return; which they no sooner learned than she received an intimation not to proceed beyond that palace—a command which was, nevertheless, so courteously worded that she found herself in one moment its sovereign mistress. She had not, however, long been its inmate ere the frightful tragedy of Monaldeschi took place; and the sentiment of disgust and horror which it excited was so universal, that in the first burst of his indignation the king desired Cardinal Mazarin to signify to her his extreme displeasure. There can be no doubt that the letter of the minister highly exasperated the Swedish queen, who returned the following characteristic reply:—

"Mr. Mazarin,—Those who acquainted you with the details regarding Monaldeschi, my equery, were very ill informed; and I consider it very extraordinary that you should have committed so many persons in order to ascertain the truth of the case. Your proceeding ought not, however, to astonish me, silly as it is; but I should never have believed that either you or your haughty young master would have dared to exhibit the least

* Le Siècle de Louis XIV. *Francheville.*

resentment toward me. Learn, all of you, valets and masters, little and great, that it was my pleasure to act as I did; that I need not, and that I will not, account for my actions to any one in the world, and particularly to bullies of your description. You play an extraordinary part for a personage of your rank; but whatever reasons determined you to write to me, I consider them too insignificant to trouble myself about it for an instant; I wish you to know, and to say to all who will hear it, that Christina cares very little about your court, and still less about yourself; and that, in order to revenge my wrongs, I do not require to have recourse to your formidable power. My honor required what I have done; my will is a law which you ought to respect; and many people, for whom I have not more esteem than for yourself, ought to learn what they owe to their equals before they make more noise than is becoming.

"Learn, finally, Mr. Cardinal, that Christina is a queen wherever she may be; and that in whatever place it is her pleasure to reside, the men, let them be as great impostors as they may, will still be superior to you and your confidants.

"The Prince de Condé was quite right to exclaim, when you inhumanly held him a prisoner at Vincennes, 'The old fox will never cease to insult those who do the state good service, unless the parliament either dismiss, or severely punish this illustrious St. Aquinus de Piscina.'

"Believe me, therefore, Jules; conduct yourself in a manner to deserve my favor, which you can not study too much to secure. God preserve you from ever risking the least indiscreet remark upon my person; for although at the end of the earth, I shall be informed of your plots; I have friends and courtiers in my service, who are as clever and as far-sighted as yours, although they are worse paid.

"CHRISTINA."

CHAPTER XXV.

Reconciliation of Monsieur and Mademoiselle; her return to Court—Interview with Anne of Austria—Presentation to the King—Project of Marriage between Mademoiselle and the Duke d'Anjou—Christina at Court—Increasing Passion of Louis XIV. for Mary de Mancini—Uneasiness of the Queen—Overtures of the Duchess of Savoy—M. de Vérue—The Lottery of the Cardinal—Insolence of Mazarin toward Anne of Austria—Influence of Mary de Mancini over the Mind of the King—Their literary Studies—Historical Misstatements relative to Louis XIV.—Mary de Mancini and Molière—Opposition of the Queen—Molière at Paris.

At this period Mademoiselle, who had succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with her father, after a formidable misunderstanding upon the subject of her property, of which, in delivering up his trust, he had made a violent effort to possess himself of a considerable portion, induced His Royal Highness to solicit her return to court, an application which met with immediate success; and her joy was great to hear from her friend the Count de Béthune, who had been the bearer of the letter, that both Their

Majesties and the cardinal had expressed their satisfaction at the prospect of her reappearance, coupled with the injunction for her to proceed to St. Cloud, where *Monsieur* would meet her, and there await the further directions of the minister, as the king was about to join the army, and it was necessary that she should delay her progress to La Fère* (where the court was then sojourning) until His Majesty's return, in order that one interview might suffice for the ceremony. Meanwhile, it greatly consoled the princess for this delay, to learn that every one was impatient to welcome her back to the royal circle; and that the Duke d'Anjou had declared he would resign his apartments to his cousin, until Mazarin had claimed that privilege, asserting that he was the proper person to do the honors of La Fère, being the governor of the castle.

At St. Cloud, MADEMOISELLE found a number of the court nobles awaiting her, and among the rest Madame de Nemours, Madame d'Entragues, and all the particular friends of Mazarin, including the Princess de Carignan and the Countess de Soissons. Enchanted by this unequivocal demonstration of his sincerity, she lost no time in writing, not only to Their Majesties, to acknowledge in grateful terms the welcome which she had already received, but also to the cardinal himself; who, in acquainting M. de Béthune with the receipt of MADEMOISELLE'S dispatches, stated that he apprehended Her Royal Highness was not aware that the King of Sweden addressed him as "Your Eminence," as she had omitted to give him a title which had been freely conceded by crowned heads, but that he was desirous to ascertain if the omission had been made intentionally.

* La Fère is the principal town of the district of the Aisne, and is situated at six leagues from Laon. In the 10th century it was a fortified place; and in 1592 some famous conferences were held there, at which the Spaniards proposed to the League to place a Spanish princess upon the throne of France.

This was a frightful dilemma for the punctilious princess, who dilates solemnly upon her embarrassment, as she had never yet accorded such an honor to any cardinal, and feared that by so doing in this case *Monsieur* might believe that she was humbled by her long exile. Her good angel M. de Béthune, however, came as usual to her assistance, by informing her that His Royal Highness himself conceded this title to the nephews of popes, and thus distinguished them from all others—an assurance which sufficed to satisfy the pride of MADEMOISELLE, who declared that as Mazarin was more useful, and of more consequence to her than the nephew of any pope, she should not hesitate to confer it in her turn upon him; and in order to impress upon his mind that she had simply failed through ignorance, she hastened to address a second letter to him on the following day.

A short time subsequently, intelligence arrived at St. Cloud that the court had left La Fère for Sedan,* in order to be nearer to Montmedy,† which was besieged by the Marshal de la Ferté,‡ and she was lamenting the fact as involving the delay of her return to court, when she re

* A very ancient fortified town on the right bank of the Meuse, possessing on the southeast a fortress, in which Turenne was born. It was formerly the capital of a small sovereign principality, belonging to the family of La Tour d'Auvergne, but was ceded to France by the Duke de Bouillon in 1642.

† Montmedy is one of the two fortified towns of the department of the Meuse, and stands on the right bank of the Chiers. Its fortifications were constructed by Vauban. It was given up to France by the treaty of the Pyrenees in 1657.

‡ Henry de Senectére, Marshal de la Ferté, was the descendant of a very ancient Auvergnese family, and distinguished himself greatly at the siege of La Rochelle (1626), at the taking of Moyenvic and Trèves, and at the battle of Avesnes. Appointed adjutant-general, he was conspicuous for his bravery at Rocroy and Sens, and defeated the Duke of Lorraine in 1650. When a marshal, in 1651, he saved Nancy, and took Chasté, Mirecourt, Vandrevrange, Montmedy, and Gravelines (1651–58). He died in 1681, at the age of eighty-two years.

ceived a communication from the cardinal, informing her that she was at liberty to proceed to Sedan whenever she pleased; only requesting that she would apprise him upon what day she would leave Paris and arrive at Rheims, in order that he might send her an escort.

Thus, overwhelmed with honors, she set forth; and when she reached the faubourg of Sedan, M. de Darnville was dispatched to a meadow where the queen was walking, in order to ascertain when MADEMOISELLE might pay her respects, and returned with the answer that Her Majesty was awaiting her. She consequently hastened forward, surrounded by a guard of gendarmes and light-horse, amid a flourish of trumpets, and alighted from her carriage when she was within twenty paces of the queen, who met her with kindness, assuring her that she had always retained an affection for her person, even when she had felt angered by her actions, and that she freely forgave the affair of Orleans, although, had the princess been in her power at the battle of the Porte St. Antoine, she could have strangled her; to which declaration MADEMOISELLE, with more courtliness than sincerity, replied that she deserved such a punishment since she had incurred the displeasure of Her Majesty; but that it had been her misfortune to find herself among persons who had compelled her to act as she had done. Anne of Austria then said that she had resolved to explain her feelings at once, and to declare what was in her heart; but that she should now dismiss the past from her memory, and never resume the subject, begging the princess to believe that thenceforward she should love her more than she had ever done. After this assurance, she presented to her the niece of the cardinal, Mary de Mancini, who was graciously received, and to whom MADEMOISELLE remarked that she was convinced when Mademoiselle de Mancini knew her she would love her—a fact of which, however, the king's new favorite was by no means convinced; for, well aware that the haugh-

princess had aspired to the hand of the king, she could not, without considerable uneasiness, witness her recall to court, although she was too politic to suffer such a feeling to appear.

After the reduction of Montmedy, the king arrived at Sedan; and, having traveled at speed, was so covered with mud and dirt, that the queen, who was watching his approach from a window, was anxious that MADEMOISELLE should not see him before he had changed his dress; the princess, however, who was desirous to terminate as soon as possible the ceremonial of her forgiveness, declared with great earnestness that she could not suffer such a consideration to delay their meeting. She accordingly remained in the apartment, which the king almost immediately entered; and despite the disorder of his attire, his handsome person produced upon her the most favorable impression. As Louis approached, the queen took the hand of the princess, and leading her toward him, said, with a smile, "Allow me, sir, to present to you a young lady who much regrets her ill conduct, and who will behave better in future." The king replied with a good-humored laugh; the royal cousins exchanged an embrace; and then, as completely reconciled, to all appearance, as though one had never turned the cannon of the Bastille against the other, Louis gave a description of the siege, until the dinner-hour terminated the conversation.

The most agreeable feature of her return was, however, to MADEMOISELLE, the impression produced upon her mind by the marked attentions of the Duke d'Anjou, that the court contemplated her marriage with her young cousin; to which she declares that she was by no means averse, considering that a prince of the blood-royal, of handsome person, was a match worthy of her.*

Meanwhile, the extraordinary letter of Christina had produced its effect; for, not feeling anxious to tilt against

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

so uncompromising an antagonist, Mazarin had advised that she should be permitted to remain unmolested at Fontainebleau, and that no further comment should be made upon the tragedy at which she had presided; this she accordingly did for a couple of months longer; after which, wearying of the monotony of her solitary residence, she so unequivocally declared her intention to visit the court, and to share in its gayeties, that the king found himself compelled, in order to render such an arrangement as little embarrassing as possible to all parties, to send her an invitation to attend a ballet which he was about to give in honor of Mary de Mancini, and in which he was himself to dance.

So alarmed was Mazarin, however, lest she should take up her abode in Paris, that in order to impress upon her the extent of the inconvenience to which he was subjected by her advent, and how little it was anticipated that she would prolong her visit, he gave up his apartments as her temporary residence.

The whole winter was spent in festivals, lotteries, and masquerades, from which the king absented himself whenever Mary de Mancini did not appear; or devoted himself entirely to her, enchanted by her wit, her intellect, and above all, her unconcealed affection for himself. His attachment was too palpable to escape the lynx-eyed courtiers, who looked with considerable apprehension on its rapid progress; for the strong good sense and quick discernment of Mary were so well known, that all those whose ambition led them to desire the overthrow of the minister, in order that they might in their turn exert an influence over the mind of the king, were aware that chance could not have opposed to them a more formidable adversary than this young girl; who, in addition to her mental superiority, was daily acquiring new beauty.

Happy, hopeful, and honored, Mary's eye became brighter, her complexion more vivid, and her step more elastic;

while the singular melody of her voice appeared to give an added and a potent power to the words of womanly wisdom which flowed as if instinctively from her lips. All the previous passions of Louis had merely afforded subject for a jest, for none of them had interfered with the interests of those about him: vanity on the part of the king, and gratified ambition on that of the young beauties whom he had distinguished, were the frail bonds by which they were temporarily linked together; and so unstable a tie could produce no moral effect calculated to excite apprehension; but the case was now widely different. Habituated to the servility and sycophancy of a time-serving crowd, where even the hearts over which he aspired to reign were subjected to the iron pressure of expediency, eyes had hitherto brightened, and lips smiled beneath his flattery, as policy, or family interests, or personal ambition dictated; and Louis had been equally deceived in believing that he loved and was beloved. Not one of these fair flutterers had acquired the most remote power over his mind; not one had been enabled to make him feel his deficiencies, or to incite him to higher and nobler aspirations than those of a mere sensual existence; while the words of the deep-thoughted and strongly-loving woman by whom he was now absorbed awakened him to higher and more worthy views and desires.

Anne of Austria, who had scarcely yet overcome her uneasiness at the preference of the king for the Countess de Soissons, which she had, as she flattered herself, terminated by the marriage of the lady, and his subsequent inclination for Mademoiselle d'Argencourt, which had been concluded by a cloister, now found herself plunged once more into a state of alarm, far better founded and more rational than ever. The coquetry and vanity of the countess had, in the one instance, acted as her allies; while the real or imputed treachery of the young lady of honor had still more unequivocally assisted her views in the other.

But neither vanity, coquetry, nor treachery were to be anticipated from a woman who was alike careless and unconscious of her own attractions, and who loved, with all the enthusiasm of a devoted heart, not the monarch before whom every knee bent and every head was bowed, but the man whom she had invested with an excellence that she worshiped with her whole soul.

The queen did sufficient justice to the high and earnest qualities of Mary de Mancini to feel this truth deeply; but Louis was no longer the mere stripling, who might be checked by a frown, or controlled by a menace; and she soon discovered that the marked coldness and neglect with which she affected to treat the niece of the cardinal only produced an increase of tenderness and deference on the part of the king himself, that evidently consoled Mary for a change which she simply considered as a caprice at once unjust and explicable. Satisfied in the present, without care or thought for the future, anxious only to see the idol of her heart equal in all respects to the vision of her own fancy, and preëminent in all manly virtues and dignity as he was in rank, she moved amid an atmosphere of light and love which blinded her to the clouds and vapors that were gathering about her path.

A word, a hint from the cardinal must have sufficed to awaken her from this bright dream; but the cardinal uttered neither word nor hint; and while the marriage of the king was his constant theme, he either did not see, or affected not to remark, the strong attachment which had grown up between the young monarch and his niece; and which could, in her case, only result in a regal diadem or a broken heart. Neither, as we have before remarked, did he evince the zeal in his actions which he exhibited in his speech. He proceeded, as he said, cautiously—but, as Anne of Austria was shrewd enough to perceive—languidly, and even with reluctance, in the marriage; and she no sooner became convinced of the fact, as well as sus-

picious of its motive, than she exerted all her influence to bring the alliance to a termination; while, although her ambition for her son, as well as her natural affection for her family, led her to desire an alliance with the daughter of Charles V., she still learned with undisguised satisfaction that the Duchess of Savoy had communicated to the cardinal her desire to see the Princess Marguerite the wife of the French king. Like himself, she was a descendant of Henry IV., and was allied to Mazarin through the Count de Soissons—a fact which, in default of allying his niece to Louis, must render the marriage most desirable as regarded his own interests; and strong in this conviction, she had dispatched a confidential person to Paris, ostensibly to solicit the hand of the sister of MADEMOISELLE for the young Duke of Savoy, but actually to treat secretly with the minister for the marriage of the king with the Princess Marguerite.

The former negotiation was not destined to succeed, the cardinal having declared that he would offer no opinion upon the subject, as should he advise *Monsieur* to conclude a marriage between his daughter and the Duke of Savoy, he might imagine that he desired to prevent her union with the king; although it was his sincere belief that His Royal Highness could not take a more prudent step, this being the most desirable match in Europe, while he was convinced that Louis XIV. had no affection for his cousin; but that he should absolutely refrain from tendering any advice—an excess of forbearance which was unhesitatingly attributed to his latent hope of seeing his niece Mary seated upon the French throne.

Finally, *Monsieur* declined the alliance, desiring the envoy to assure the Duchess of Savoy that he deeply felt the honor which she had done him, but that he could not suffer his daughter to marry while the king remained single—a reply which startled Anne of Austria, and excited her utmost indignation.

The envoy, who was a young Piedmontese count, was himself, meanwhile, no slight object of curiosity to the court —not only from his favor with the ducal family, but also from the fact that he had been deeply enamored of the beautiful Marquise de Calux, whose death by small-pox had affected him so deeply that, some time after her decease, he caused her coffin to be opened, and although the work of corruption was already rapidly progressing, remained beside her body above an hour, with his lips fastened upon one of her livid arms.*

M. de Vérue found a ready welcome from Mazarin; who, before his return to Turin, in order to impress him with an exalted idea of the magnificence of the nation with which his sovereign was anxious to form an alliance, gave a grand banquet, which was attended by the king, the Queen-Mother, the Duke d'Anjou, the Queen and Princess of England, MADEMOISELLE, and all the leading members of the court; and at this *fête*, despite the gravity of the prelate's rank and profession, the amusements terminated with a ball and supper, as the king never approved any festival at which he could not dance, while Anne of Austria was equally stringent on the subject of her card-table. Before the commencement of the ball, the cardinal conducted his royal and noble guests into a gallery filled with objects of art, precious gems and stuffs, Chinese wonders, and every description of costly toys, of which he had prepared a lottery, whose every ticket was a prize, and whence a cornet of gendarmes carried away a diamond ornament valued at four thousand crowns, and MADEMOISELLE another, estimated at the same number of livres.

This extraordinary magnificence, which had involved an outlay of between four and five hundred thousand livres, displayed by a minister who had arrived in France penniless, and which could consequently only be the result of excessive national depredations, did not pass without severe

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

comment on the part of the excluded; who, having no share in the profitable festivities, felt themselves at liberty to draw such deductions as they saw fit; but its success at court was so great that the king on several occasions imitated the example of the minister, to the benefit of the reigning favorite.

As regarded his acknowledged mission, M. de Vérue, however, quitted the court unsuccessful; but he had sped somewhat better in his secret undertaking, although nothing had been definitely decided; and meanwhile, as we have already stated, the cardinal was so well aware that all authority was gradually passing away from the queen, that he exerted all his subtilty to possess himself of the confidence and attachment of Louis, disregarding the mortification and displeasure which he generated by this change in the bosom of Anne of Austria; and even so far exhibiting his indifference to the fact, as to permit himself publicly to remark that she was deficient in good sense, and displayed more attachment to the house of Austria than to that of which by her marriage she had become a member; that the late king had been justified in the dislike and suspicion which he had exhibited toward her; and that her affected devotion was a mere matter of policy, as she had no taste for any thing save the pleasures of the table, and cared little for aught beyond them.*

All these insulting speeches were, as a natural consequence, repeated to the queen herself, and considerably augmented her alarm. Trammeled as she was by her marriage with Mazarin, expostulation was useless; nor would she condescend to employ it. She therefore summoned a secret assembly of the most distinguished councilors of state and eminent advocates, to ascertain whether, in the event of the king's marriage without her consent, i would be a valid one. The unanimous decision was in the negative; and M. de Brienne, who had been constantly in her

* Louis XIV, et son Siècle.

confidence, was intrusted with the important task of drawing up this act, and promised that he would cause it to be registered with closed doors by the parliament, in the event of a secret alliance between the king and Mary de Mancini.

Meanwhile, unconscious of the machinations of those about them, the lovers lived on in a paradise of their own creation, which was only darkened to the devoted girl by a constant recurrence of the fearful subject of the king's marriage. Some of the historians of the period have accused Mary of an ambitious desire to become queen of France; but others have rendered her more noble justice, and given her credit for being entirely absorbed by a passion which, despite the unpromising atmosphere amid which it was indulged, was at once too absorbing and too romantic to involve one thought of self. Certain it is, that even had she entertained so lofty an aspiration, she might fairly have been forgiven under the circumstances, for she was aware that her sister Olympia and the Duchess de Châtillon had both flattered themselves for a time that they should succeed in the same project; and that, too, at a period when Louis was under a stringent control, which he had since in a great degree flung off. But the whole anxiety of Mary appeared to center in her earnest desire to raise the tastes and the ambition of her royal lover, and to incite him to overcome, through the strength of his natural abilities, which she at once recognized to be great, the defects of his early education. To Mary de Mancini it was that Louis XIV. was indebted for his first appreciation of art and literature, and an acquaintance with the names of those men who were destined to illustrate his reign. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate this truth than the fact that Madame de Montespan, on her domestication in the "private apartments," makes the following statement:—

"The king had made under his preceptor Péréfixe merely superficial studies; because that prelate, by the express command of the Queen-Mother, had principally at-

tended to the health of his pupil, whom she wished should, above all things, possess a good constitution. 'The rest is easily acquired, where a prince has a proper appreciation of his duties, and an elevated mind,' was her frequent remark, and one which has been verified. I found a great number of Spanish and Italian books in the library of the private apartments; the *Pastor Fido*, the *Aminta*, and the *Jerusalem Delivered* appeared to me to have hitherto been the favorite works. After those came the letters of Voiture, the compositions of Malherbe* and Balzac,† the fables of La Fontaine,‡ the satires of Boileau,§ and the pretty

* Francis de Malherbe, a celebrated French poet, was born at Caen about 1556, of a noble and ancient family. He settled himself in Provence, where he became attached to the household of Henry of Angoulême, the natural son of Henry II., and married a young lady of the house of Coriolis. Henry IV. granted him a pension. He is considered as the father of French poety, of which he settled the rules. He was the first who elevated the genius of the language to the sublime, and to the majesty of the ode. His poetical works comprise odes, stanzas, sonnets, epigrams, songs, &c.; and, beside this, he left behind him a translation of several of the letters of Seneca, and another of the thirty-third book of the Roman History of Titus Livius. He died in 1620.

† John Louis Guez de Balzac was born at Angoulême in 1594. An elegant writer, and member of the French academy, he was one of the reformers of the language. Beside his *Literary Dissertations*, he published several treatises, such as *Aristippa*, *The Barbon*, *The Prince*, and the *Christian Socrates;* but he owes his reputation principally to his collected *Letters*. He died in 1655.

‡ John de la Fontaine, the famous fabulist, was a native of Chateau Thierry, where he was born in 1621. He was an indifferent scholar; but upon reading the Ode of Malherbe on the death of Henry IV., his talents became apparent to himself; and he forthwith applied himself to the study of Horace, Homer, Virgil, Terence, Plutarch, and Plato; after which he wrote his poem of *Adonis*, and his witty, but licentious *Stories*, principally versified upon the tales of the *Decameron*. He owes his reputation, however, to his *Fables;* although he also produced several other poems, such as *Psyche*, the *Quinquina*, and some operas. La Fontaine, throughout his life, devoted himself to pleasure, and was always embarrassed and needy. He died in 1695.

§ Nicholas Boileau Despréaux, the celebrated critic, was born at

comedies of Molière.* The tragedies of Corneille had been read also, but not frequently.

"Until my arrival at court, I had considered Peter Corneille as the first tragic dramatist in the world, and as the first both of our poets and writers. The king convinced me of my error. Book in hand he directed my attention to innumerable faults of expression, incoherent images, outrageous conceits, and sentiments almost always exaggerated and out of nature. * * La Fontaine pleased him more, on account of his intuitive ingenuousness. * * He declared him to possess wit without artifice, poetry without fallacies, satire without bitterness, gayety always well-timed, a great knowledge of the human heart, and a perpetual satire, from which he excluded neither the great nor merry.

"With Boileau he was pleased, he said, as with a necessary scourge, which could be opposed to inferior writers and to bad taste; that his satires, which were too personal, and consequently illiberal, he disapproved; but that, as he was aware of this, he would correct the habit in spite of himself; that he was engaged upon an *Art*

Paris, in the year 1636. His *Art of Poetry*, his *Epistles*, and his *Satires*, caused him to be called the master of Parnassus. He was occasionally illiberal in his judgments; but his natural disposition was nevertheless kind and generous. He was the friend of Racine, Molière, and La Fontaine. Louis XIV. appointed him his historiographer, conjointly with Racine, and settled upon him a pension of 2000 livres. Boileau was the author of the comic-heroic poem in six cantos, of *The Reading Desk;* and the translator of the *Treaty on the Sublime*, of Longinus. He died in 1711.

* Jean Baptiste Poquelin, *alias* Molière, the celebrated comic dramatist, was a Parisian, whose father occupied the situation of court upholsterer. He was born in 1620, and received his education under the Jesuits; but, carried away by his love of the drama, he disregarded the wishes of his family, and in the pursuit of his double profession of author and actor, became the favorite of Louis XIV., who gave him a pension of 1000 livres, and ultimately acquired the world-wide reputation which he now enjoys. He died in 1673.

of Poetry, after Horace, and that the little which he had read to him of his poem, led him to anticipate an important work, as the French language would improve by the aid of writings of this description; and that Boileau, merciless as he was, would immensely benefit those who followed the profession of letters."*

Thus it is fully evident that it was not to the "wit of the Mortemarts," celebrated as it was, that Louis owed his still limited, but nevertheless graceful, acquaintance with the most famous writers of his time; while it is equally certain that the gentle and devoted La Vallière, however well she loved the king during her interval of favor, was by no means calculated to obtain the same supremacy over his mind which she temporarily held over his heart; and that the more enlightened among the courtiers by whom he was surrounded were little likely to incur the loss of his favor by hinting at his mental deficiencies, even had they not been, moreover, aware that by such a line of conduct they must inevitably draw down upon themselves the enmity of the cardinal. On the other hand, it is, however, certain that posterity has, by some extraordinary chance, attributed to Louis XIV. an excess of ignorance, under which circumstances remain to prove that it was impossible he should have labored. Thus, for example, we read in an old and well-established English author:—

"I have been well assured that the illiterature of this grand monarque went so far, that to the last he could hardly write his name. He formed it out of six straight strokes, and a line of beauty, which first stood thus, IIIIIIS; these he afterwards perfected, as well as he was able. The second form was LOUIS."†

That this account has been given under a strange mis-

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

† Anecdotes of the English Language, &c, by Samuel Pegge, Esq., F.S.A. 3d edit. Edited by the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A. &c.

conception, is made manifest by the document still in existence in the original, where he authorized the arrest of the Cardinal de Retz, in December of 1652; of which the body is in the autograph of Le Tellier, the secretary of state, and where he added, in his own hand, the injunction, that the prelate should be secured living or dead. Louis was then only in his fourteenth year; and although the writing is stiff and ungraceful, it was even at that time very superior to that of many of his court, M. de Retz included; and fully equal to that of nine tenths of the French striplings of his age even in the present day. His correspondence with Mary de Mancini, moreover, exonerates him from the reproof of the utter ignorance which has been attributed to him; while there can be no doubt that the very epistolary commerce in question tended greatly to enlarge his mind, to elevate his ideas, and to purify his taste. In one instance we can trace this fact to its germ.

It was to Mary de Mancini that France was indebted for an early recognition of her immortal comic dramatist, Molière, with whose extraordinary talent she first became acquainted through the medium of her cousin, the Prince de Conti,* whom she was one day reproaching for his long and unaccountable absence in Languedoc, and who confessed to her that he had been lingering at Béziers, in order to enjoy the rich comic treat afforded by a company of strolling players, whose manager proved to be a certain Jean Baptiste Poquelin, his ancient class-fellow at the Jesuit College, whom he had only expected to meet again as the successor to his father's post in the king's household.

The account given by the prince of this marvelous genius excited the enthusiasm of Mary, who forthwith desired to see him, and said that he must come to Paris;

* It will be remembered that the Prince de Conti had married Anna Maria Martinozzi, one of the elder nieces of the cardinal.

to which M. de Conti replied, that he had himself been compelled to yield to the force of a talent which he had at first felt tempted to regret in a man in the position of Molière; and had, for a time, urged him to abandon so equivocal a career; while, in order to induce him to do this, he had even offered to make him his private secretary,* leaving him free to write for the stage; but finding that his inclination for his present profession was too decided to admit of his embracing any other, he had promised to forward his fortunes whenever an opportunity might occur to befriend him; though he dared not mention him to the king, as he felt convinced that the comedians of the Hôtel of Bourgoyne would revolt against the rivalry of a mere provincial company; and that poor Molière would only experience a bitter mortification, should he be compelled after such an attempt to quit the capital.

Mademoiselle de Mancini was not, however, to be deterred by this apprehension; but assured the prince that he might at once summon his *protégé* to Paris, where she would guaranty his establishment; and on the evening of the very day upon which this conversation took place, she informed M. de Conti that the king had given orders to his first gentleman of the chamber to send for Molière and his company.

It was in vain that the queen, who took a great interest in the performers of the Hôtel de Bourgoyne, represented that the new actors could not appear in the capital, as there was no theater in which they could represent their comedies; the objection was no sooner advanced than Louis ordered a stage to be erected in the guard-room of the old Louvre. On the arrival of Molière at Paris, the Prince de Conti presented him to the Duke d'Anjou, requesting for him his protection; and the young prince, delighted at once to have a company of his own, and to

* Vie de Molière, par M. Petitot.

have discovered a new source of amusement, received him most graciously; and, by permission of the king, who readily entered into his views, authorized him and his troop to assume the appellation of "The Company of *Monsieur*," to the extreme annoyance of the rival establishment.

On their first appearance the new performers found themselves honored by the attendance of the whole court; and, moreover, discovered among their audience all the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgoyne, who had hastened to satisfy themselves of the extent of the danger to which they were exposed by this unexpected invasion of their privileges. Molière, who, like many other comedians, flattered himself that he had a great talent for tragedy, made his debût in the *Nicodemus* of Corneille; and, according to the chronicles of the times, presented a very absurd figure. He redeemed himself, however, by the introduction at the close of the principal piece, of an entreaty for permission to "contribute to the amusement of the greatest monarch in the world, who had caused him and his followers to forget, in their eagerness to entertain him, that His Majesty had in his service excellent originals, of which they were only inefficient copies," by playing before him one of those light interludes which had acquired for them a certain reputation in the provinces.

This compliment to the artists of the Hôtel de Bourgoyne excited great applause; and the company, authorized by the assent of the king, enacted the *Docteur Amoureux*,* which delighted the courtly audience by its playfulness and wit; and thenceforward the custom was resumed of giving a farce after the principal drama.

The king, enchanted with this new acquisition, immediately desired Molière to establish himself in the capital; and gave up to him the hall of the Petit-Bourbon, which

* Vie de Molière, par Voltaire.

at that period occupied the space upon which the colonnade of the Louvre now stands; and had been previously ceded to the Italian company that the cardinal had brought to Paris, who continued to play there with him on alternate nights. His success was, however, so unequivocal, that he soon incurred the jealousy of the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgoyne; and two years subsequently, when the Petit-Bourbon was demolished, in order to give place to the new erections, he obtained a grant of the theater of the Palais-Royal, which had been fitted up at an immense outlay by the Cardinal de Richelieu.*

* Vie de Molière, par Petitot.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Success of Molière—Anxiety of the Queen for the King's Marriage—Hopes of Mazarin—Firm Opposition of Anne of Austria—Treason of Marshal d'Hocquincourt—Submission of the Duke de Beaufort—The King before Hesdin—Precautions of Mazarin—Serious Illness of the King—Mazarin conceals his Wealth—A Cabal—Madame de Fienne in the King's Ante-Chamber—Recovery of the King—Mary de Mancini in the Sick Room—Exile of the Conspirators—Journey of the Court to Lyons—Meeting of the Courts of France and Savoy—The Princess Marguerite—Coldness of the Royal Suitor—The Duke of Savoy—Determination of the King of Spain—The Hand of the Infanta offered to Louis XIV.—Departure of the Duke of Savoy—Rejection of the Princess Marguerite—Departure of Madame Royale and her Daughter

THENCEFORWARD the admirable dramatist progressed from triumph to triumph; while the impotent satires which were lanched against him from the rival estab fishment, and which were wanting in the raciness that

distinguished his own productions, rather tended to enhance than to detract from his increasing reputation.

Meanwhile, Anne of Austria could not suppress her alarm on perceiving that no amusement, however novel or exciting, could for an instant divert the affections of the king from Mary de Mancini; and while she resolved to conceal her uneasiness upon the subject from the cardinal, she, nevertheless, continued to urge him to greater exertion in the negotiations for the royal marriage; and was painfully startled upon one occasion, when she had been expressing her anxiety for the establishment of her son, to hear him allude with a laugh to the report which had been promulgated, that Louis XIV. contemplated a private marriage with his niece; whom he declared must be weak indeed should she place any faith in the pledges of a sovereign of twenty years of age; but he nevertheless jested at the idea in a tone which, to the excited fears of the queen, appeared rather meant to elicit her own sentiments than to condemn the ambition of Mary; and she accordingly hastened to reply coldly and haughtily, that she could not believe the king would be capable of so unbecoming an act; but that, were it possible he could entertain such a thought, she warned His Eminence that the whole of France would revolt against both him and his minister, while she would herself head the rebellion, and induce the Duke d'Anjou to imitate her.

It is asserted that Mazarin never forgave these bitter and determined words; but he was, nevertheless, wise enough to conceal his real feeling, and to protest his determination to separate the lovers by any means, however violent. Nor was it long ere he consoled himself by the conviction that he required no queen of his own blood to uphold his power; and that, in all probability, the resolute nature of Mary, coupled with the influence which she possessed over the king, might ultimately

have tended rather to overthrow his authority than to sustain it.

Not satisfied, however, with the declaration which she had made, the queen, a few days afterward, caused the protestation of the parliament to be communicated to the cardinal, who thenceforth found himself compelled to abandon the ambitious hope which he had ventured to encourage, and determined to renew his attempt to procure for Louis the hand of the Infanta of Spain, even while pursuing his negotiations with the court of Savoy, that, in the event of the failure of either, the other alliance might be accomplished; each being alike, although not equally advantageous to France; for while a marriage with the Princess Marguerite would afford the means of continuing the war, that with the Infanta was a sure method of securing peace.

Early in the ensuing year preparations were commenced for continuing the campaign, which, on this occasion, opened by an act of treason. The Marshal d'Hocquincourt was discovered to have entered into a treaty with Condé, and made an engagement to deliver up Péronne; to which dishonorable compact he was said to have been seduced by the bright eyes of Madame de Châtillon, who, after having numbered among her adorers, not only the king himself, but also the Duke de Nemours and the Prince de Condé, had amused the leisure of her exile by captivating the marshal, who had been unable to resist her fascinations, to which he had sacrificed his honor. The plot was, however, discovered before it had time to take effect, and the marshal was superseded in his command; but the dereliction of M. d'Hocquincourt was soon more fatally punished, for, having joined the enemy's forces and advanced to reconnoiter the lines at the siege of Dunkirk, he received a mortal wound, and expired, declaring his sincere regret for his fault, and requesting, as a last favor from the king, that he might be interred at

Nôtre-Dame de Liesse; a request which was at once conceded.

In consequence of this circumstance it was decided that Louis should join the army shortly after Lent; and, on the eve of his departure, the Duke de Beaufort, the *King of the Markets*, the champion of the people, the rabid enemy of the cardinal, and the rebel who had braved the throne, bent his knee in submission before the powers he had defied, and thus left only the prince and the Cardinal de Retz the declared foes of the monarchy.

To Louis his renewed allegiance was welcome, for the duke had compelled his respect by his dignified and firm bearing during his exile, and by the fact that he had never condescended to adopt any unworthy measures to shorten its duration; while to Mazarin it was equally acceptable, as he saw in him only the brother of his nephew, the Duke de Mercœur, and he was consequently anxious to number him among his friends; to effect which object, he bestowed upon him, on his reconciliation with the court, the survivorship of the admiralty which his father, the Duke de Vendôme, had held during the war.*

On Easter Monday, the necessary preparations being completed, the king left Paris, and, accompanied by the cardinal, presented himself in person against Hesdin, which had just declared for Condé; but finding that there was no hope of taking the town, Mazarin, being unwilling that Louis should be subjected to the humiliation of a defeat, resolved at once to proceed to Calais, in order to prepare for the capture of Dunkirk; in furtherance of which project, with a view of intimidating Spain, he had formed the alliance with Cromwell.

During the absence of the king with the army, the Duke d'Anjou, instead of accompanying him thither, remained with the Queen-Mother, who continued to pass her life as usual between the church and the card-table; while her son

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

amused himself by walking with her maids of honor on the sea-shore of Calais, where the court was then residing, and by immersing those around him in the salt water, as well as in purchasing ribbons and stuffs from England, of which the import had considerably augmented since the recognition of the Protector, who, during the visit of the court to Calais, sent Lord Falconbridge to present his respects to Their Majesties, which he accompanied by a present of some fine horses to the king, the Duke d'Anjou, and the cardinal.*

Dunkirk fell into the power of the royalist troops on the 14th of June, but the rejoicings consequent upon the event were abruptly terminated by the sudden indisposition of the king, who was attacked by scarlet fever so violently as to cause considerable apprehension for his life. In this emergency Louis gained the soothing conviction that a portion, at least, of the homage which he received came from the hearts of those who tendered it. The queen at once announced her intention of retiring to Val-de-Grâce, in the event of his death; and his brother refused to leave his bedside, although assured that the disease was contagious; while Mary de Mancini, who was forbidden the entrance of his chamber, spent hours of anguish, which were only solaced by the messages that passed between the royal invalid and herself through the medium of a confidential attendant. The Count de Guiche and the Prince de Marsillac were his constant companions; and, encouraged by their devotion, the young sovereign exerted himself to contend against the suffering by which he was prostrated alike in body and in mind.

This sympathy was, however, by no means general. Individual interests were involved in his danger, which proved more powerful than attachment to his person; and the example of worldly prudence was set by the cardinal himself, who, on the tenth day after the king's attack,

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

aware that he had nothing to hope from the Duke d'Anjou, dismantled his apartments of all their precious contents, and during the night dispatched his statues, his paintings, and his money to Vincennes, with an order that they should be deposited in one of the vaults of the fortress; after which he made advances to the Marshal Duplessis, the governor of the prince, and to the Count de Guiche, his favorite, in the hope of making better terms with *Monsieur*, should the evil which was anticipated indeed take place.*

During this time the saloon that joined the sick chamber, which only a day or two previously scarce sufficed to contain the throng of courtiers by which it was crowded, became almost deserted. The hourly bulletin, which was posted over the fireplace, attracted from time to time the anxious eye of a noble, but the visit was a brief one; for the atmosphere breathed of contagion, and there were, as we have shown, few indeed at court who were willing to subject themselves to its influence. The most constant attendant there was Madame de Fienne, the friend and confidant of Madame de Choisy,† who were both at the head of what was called the *cabal of Monsieur;* although there is every reason to believe that the young prince was utterly ignorant of the existence of any such party, as no action or expression had at this period betrayed the slightest desire on his part to inherit a crown, which, with all his amiable qualities, he was ill-calculated to wear with dignity; and which his aversion to every species of exertion, and his decided love of pleasure, would have rendered to him rather a trammel than a boon.

But if Philip experienced no desire to place himself upon the throne, his favorites were by no means so careless in his behalf. Easy, supple, and indolent as he was, tardy in taking offense, readily conciliated, and ever willing to

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

† The wife of the ex-chancellor of Gaston of Orleans, and mother of the Abbé de Choisy, the author of the *Memoires*.

repay a new pleasure by a new concession, they flattered themselves that they should govern under the ægis of his name; and already many of them were repining that Louis should linger so long upon what they presumed to be his death-bed, and thus delay the wished-for moment when they would be enabled to salute his brother as the King of France.

It was with the hope that she might chance to be the first to do this, that Madame de Fienne, on the pretext of an overwhelming anxiety for the young sovereign, came every hour throughout the day and night to the saloon already named, and watched, stretched along the ground, under the door of his chamber, to pry into the proceedings within. One night the king's nurse, chancing suddenly to leave the room, detected this over-zeal, of which she hastened to inform the queen; who, naturally incensed at such a proceeding, rose from her seat, declaring that the intruder should forthwith be flung out of the window. Fortunately, however, both for the safety of Madame de Fienne, and the dignity of Anne of Austria, the Duke de Créqui,* who chanced to be present, held her back, and afforded the offending party time to escape.†

Nor was this lady the only delinquent; for it was soon ascertained that, during the extremity of the king, Madame de Choisy had written to the Duke d'Anjou certain circumstances relating both to the queen and the cardinal, with a freedom highly unbecoming and offensive; while, at the same time, M. de Brissac (who had only recently received permission to return to Paris, in order that he might be treated for a lingering and dangerous disease under which he had been laboring), as well as M. de Jerzé, were intriguing with Madame de Choisy to secure the liberation of the Cardinal de Retz, which they hoped to

* Charles de Créqui, Prince de Poix, Governor of Paris, and ambassador to Rome in 1662. He died in 1687.

† Siècle de Louis XIV. *Voltaire.*

obtain through her influence over the mind of the Duke d'Anjou.

Meanwhile, all was dismay and despair in the sick chamber of the young king; the sacraments had been administered to him without eliciting one token of consciousness; and the priests, superseding the courtiers in his private apartments, were chanting their funeral anthems in saloons from which the decorations of the last festival had not yet been removed. His final recovery is, indeed, attributed to an empiric, who, learning that the court physicians had renounced all hope of saving his life, was furtively introduced to his bedside by Mary de Mancini and his nurse; and who, after having examined him with great attention, seated himself familiarly on the bed, exclaiming, "The lad is very ill, but he will not die of it."*

The prediction was verified: the directions of this singular physician were scrupulously obeyed; and the young king, who had been about to exchange the brilliant throne of the Louvre for the sombre vaults of St. Denis, rapidly progressed toward convalescence; and so soon as it was ascertained beyond all doubt that the danger was at an end, the queen directed the Prince de Marsillac to wait upon the Duke d'Anjou, and communicate the joyful intelligence; a mission in which the Duke de la Rouchefoucauld entreated that he might join his son; to which request the queen consented, on condition that, while the prince was delivering his message, the duke should carefully watch the countenances of Madame de Choisy and Madame de Fienne, and report to her the effect produced by so unexpected a piece of intelligence.

No commission could have been more acceptable to the caustic disposition of M. de la Rochefoucauld, who loved to study human nature under all its phases, and who had "ample room and verge enough" in the scene which was so soon before his eyes; for, with the exception of the

* Siècle de Louis XIV. *Voltaire.*

Duke d'Anjou himself, whose expressions of delight were earnest and genuine, every individual by whom he was surrounded received the intelligence as the undoubted herald of his own disgrace; so certain did they esteem it that even the least imprudent among them would be exiled under the legitimate indignation of the Queen-Mother; while not the slightest gratification which the Duke de la Rochefoucauld derived from the errand upon which he had been sent, was yielded by the opportunity which it afforded of expatiating to the pale and terror-stricken audience about him on all the details of the miraculous cure which had preserved the young sovereign to the love of his faithful subjects.

Couriers were immediately dispatched to Paris, and into all the provinces, to announce the happy event; and meanwhile Louis, prostrated by the voluptuous languor which so constantly succeeds violent and dangerous illness, found his best and most welcome resource in the conversation and care of Mary de Mancini, who seized so favorable an opportunity of introducing him to the literature of France and Italy, the delights of poetry, and the engrossing subject of history. "He amused himself by reading entertaining books during that period of leisure," says the author of the *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, "and particularly in reading them with the wife of the constable,* who, like her sisters, was full of intellect. He was partial to verses and romances, which, depicting gallantry and heroism, secretly flattered his propensities. . . . . The person who directed his education under the Marshal de Villeroy, his governor, was what it behooved him to be, learned and amiable; but the civil wars militated against his education; and the Cardinal Mazarin was willing that the king should not be enlightened. When he attached himself to Mary de Mancini, he learned Italian with facility for her sake."

Meanwhile the cardinal, who by no means approved of

* Mary de Mancini, afterward married to the Constable Colonna.

these perpetual studies, broke in upon them at every opportunity with the gossipry of the court circle, which was always sure to amuse the queen, but to which the royal convalescent lent slight attention, although he was induced by these means to sign an order of exile against M. and Madame de Brissac,* the Marquis de Jerzé, the President Perot (who was in the interests of the Prince de Condé), and the Countess de Fienne; while the queen herself dispatched a courier to Madame de Choisy, to inform her that as she was deeply involved in the misconduct of Madame de Fienne, she must at once retire to one of her estates in Normandy, an order which she received with uncontrolled mortification.

Immediately that the convalescence of the king admitted of such a measure, he was removed from Calais to Compiègne, and thence, after a short interval, to Paris, where his attachment to Mary de Mancini becoming every day more undisguised, the queen resolved upon hastening the journey to Lyons, which had been decided on early in the spring, and which had at once a declared and a hidden object. Its ostensible purpose was to bring the king into contact with the Princess Marguerite of Savoy, who was still talked of as the future queen of France; while its real intention was, by so decided a step, to urge the King of Spain to concede the hand of his daughter to his sister's son.

While this affair was pending, news arrived of the severe illness of the Prince de Condé, who was confined to his bed at Brussels; when the cardinal, who never forgot that he was of the blood-royal, and nearly connected with himself through the marriage of M. de Conti, eagerly seized this opportunity to effect a reconciliation, and forthwith dispatched his own physician to the assistance of the invalid, who, thanks to his care, was soon declared convalescent.

* Gabrielle Louise de St. Simon, Duchess de Brissac, sister of the Duke de St. Simon, author of the celebrated *Memoirs*.

The time which still remained before the court could leave Paris was constantly occupied in festivities of every description, of which Mary de Mancini continued to be the principal object to the king; but her heart was heavy, and tears rose unbidden to accompany her smiles. She knew the errand upon which Louis was bound; and she shuddered, as she acknowledged to herself, that the peal which rung out in honor of his bridal, must sound the knell of her own happiness. She made an earnest effort, in consequence, to avoid the necessity of following the queen on this, to her, ill-omened journey; but Anne of Austria was obdurate, gilding her cruelty with the assurance that she could ill spare the presence of Mademoiselle de Mancini, when she was anxious to impress Madame Royale with a high idea of the magnificence and beauty of her court.

The Abbé d'Ambreti, who had negotiated the affair for the Duchess of Savoy, left Paris some time before the royal party, in order to apprise his mistress of the period of their departure, it having been arranged that she should quit Turin on the same day; but his entreaties that he might carry with him a positive assent to the marriage, were only met by the reply that should the king, on seeing the Princess Marguerite, decide in favor of the alliance, it would take place, but that no pledge could be given; and with this indefinite answer he was compelled to take his leave.

During the journey Louis was in the most joyous spirits, and talked of his marriage with an interest which wrung the heart of Mary; although when at times, tempted by the fineness of the weather, he performed a portion of it on horseback, accompanied by MADEMOISELLE, some of the queen's ladies, and herself, he constantly rode by her side, and conversed with her with the utmost tenderness.* At Dijon the court halted, in consequence of a convocation of

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

the Chambers, which had been assembled more early than usual, in the hope that the presence of the king might induce them to vote a larger supply than they were accustomed to provide; and during his stay Louis had balls every night, while the Countess de Soissons, from whom he had long withdrawn his notice, attended the card-table of Anne of Austria. He also caused refreshments to be served as a part of the entertainment, by which means he exonerated himself from the necessity of supping with the queen, and thus left himself at liberty to converse with Mary and her sisters.

Every evening the amusements commenced with play, during which Hortensia de Mancini held the cards of the king while he retired to a distant seat to converse with her sister; and although a change in the weather supervened after the departure from Dijon, which obliged Mademoiselle de Mancini to confine herself to her coach, Louis continued to travel on horseback, and to devote himself to the unhappy girl, whose heart was breaking as she moved along at his side.

On reaching Lyons, where the troops were under arms, Their Majesties alighted at the church of St. John, and were received at the portal by the archbishop and the chapter, at that period the most magnificent in France, all the canons being men of quality, known as the Counts of St. John of Lyons, the king being the first canon, and the Duke of Savoy the second.

On the following day the queen received intelligence of the approach of Madame Royale, and all the court assembled, in her apartments, at an early hour. The cardinal advanced a considerable distance to meet her, being followed a quarter of an hour afterward by the Duke d'Anjou; and then, after a similar delay, the king and queen entered their coach, accompanied by MADEMOISELLE, and attended by Madame Noailles* and the Marshal de Ville-

* The Duchess de Noailles, wife of Adrien Maurice, Duke de Noailles, marshal of France and minister of state, whose original and col-

roy. When it was ascertained that Madame Royale was approaching, the king mounted his horse, and rode forward to meet her; but he soon returned, and springing from the saddle, approached the carriage of the queen with a face beaming with smiles. In reply to her inquiries, he stated that the Princess Marguerite was very agreeable, and very like the portraits that he had seen of her; a little tawny, he added, with a smile, but that did not prevent her from being well made.* Anne of Austria had scarcely time to express her satisfaction at the assurance, when the two carriages having met, both the queen and the duchess alighted; and the latter having kissed the hand of the queen, presented to her the Princess Maurice of Savoy, her eldest daughter, who was the widow of her uncle, and next the Princess Marguerite; after which all the party entered the royal coach, and the king took his place beside the younger princess, with whom he entered into a conversation which soon grew so animated and familiar as to astonish, and somewhat to disturb, the punctiliousness of MADEMOISELLE.

Mary de Mancini was, meanwhile, suffering martyrdom; for, occupying with her sisters one of the carriages in the queen's suite, she could not witness what took place between the king and the Princess Marguerite, and she consequently hastened, on the return of the court to Lyons (forgetful for the moment of all the pride by which she had hitherto been sustained, and which was, at that moment, prostrated by the agony of her suspense), to request of MADEMOISELLE, that, while the king was conducting Madame Royale to her apartments, she would inform her of the effect which the appearance of the princess had produced upon Louis. The haughty daughter of Gaston, to whom the prospect of seeing the sovereign of France, and her own cousin, united to the niece of a man who, how-

lected documents afforded material for the "Political and Military Memoirs to illustrate the Histories of Louis XIV. and Louis XV." of the Abbé Millot.

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville

ever she might find it expedient to secure his friendship, she still secretly considered as a mere Italian adventurer, was not sorry to assure her that His Majesty had declared himself highly pleased* both with her person and her conversation; a reply which overwhelmed poor Mary with despair, while it is, nevertheless, certain that she was fully justified in her reply, inasmuch as the vanity of Louis, satisfied by the flattery with which he was overwhelmed by the politic duchess, and the natural and easy grace of the princess her daughter, had found himself enabled to throw off his natural timidity with strangers, and to converse without the constraint which he had dreaded as the probable concomitant of such a meeting.

Thus, while Madame Royale, delighted by the reception which she had met from both the king and the Queen Mother, was congratulating herself upon what she conceived to be the undoubted success of her journey, and listening with proud complacency to the solicitations of the courtiers, who were eager to do homage to what they also considered as the rising sun; and even the Princess Marguerite herself, who had in vain implored her mother to forego her purpose, rather than expose her to the possibility of a humiliation at whose very idea she revolted, was abandoning herself to the hope that her ambition and her heart were both alike about to be satisfied by a union, not only with the most powerful, but also with the most fascinating monarch in Europe, Mary de Mancini retreated in silence to her obscure apartment, to weep in secret over a future upon which she did not dare to speculate.

On the morrow, however, a strange and startling change supervened. The queen had taken her precautions to prevent the meeting of the lovers; but it is to be presumed that they had proved ineffectual, as it is certain that the princess, refreshed by repose, and recovered from the fatigue by which she had been oppressed on the previous

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

evening, must have appeared to greater advantage than on the previous occasion, when both body and mind were in a state of suffering. MADEMOISELLE relates that she was short, well-made, and scarcely appeared to touch the ground when she walked; that her eyes were large and tolerably fine; her nose prominent; her mouth defective; her complexion very dark, although not unpleasantly so; her manner gentle, despite the haughtiness of her expression; that she had, moreover, considerable intellect, and, as her conduct afterward proved, that she was clever, and possessed great tact.

Nevertheless, as we have stated, a few hours had sufficed to produce a startling revolution in the feelings and manner of the king. He had, on the previous evening, warned his immediate suite to be in readiness to attend him to the apartments of the princess on the morrow; but it was remarked that he prepared for this visit with a gravity and listlessness which contrasted powerfully with the gayety of the preceding day. When he was announced he found the duchess and her attendants already awaiting him, and Madame Royale was instantly struck by the alteration which had taken place in his deportment, and looked mortified and ill at ease, while the Princess Marguerite retained all her self-possession, and appeared to be unconscious of the change; nor did she for a moment, during the whole of this trying interview, lose sight of what was due to her own dignity. The court, stupefied by so unexpected and sudden a coldness, at once felt that all idea of the marriage was at an end; but the royal visitors were, nevertheless, overwhelmed with demonstrations of courtesy and regard, the more conspicuous, in all probability, from the fact that they were a mere matter of hollow expediency.

What rendered the position of Madame Royale doubly painful in this emergency was the fact that the Duke of Savoy her son had refused to accompany her in her journey, or to appear at Lyons, until he had received assu-

rance of the success of her negotiation, and that, deceived by the warmth and courtesy of her welcome, she had, before she slept, on the night of her arrival, written to assure him of the happy issue of her hopes, and the certainty which she felt of soon seeing the Princess Marguerite seated on the throne of France; while the duke, who had impatiently awaited his mother's messenger, lost no time in setting forth for Lyons, in order to share in the triumphs of his sister, and, on the second day of the sojourn of the court of Savoy in that city, intelligence consequently arrived of his approach, which was no sooner communicated to the king than he advanced two leagues upon the road to meet him.

It was evening when he reached the gates; and, accompanied by his royal host, proceeded at once to the apartments of the queen, which were densely crowded; where he was no sooner announced than he sprung forward toward Her Majesty, thrusting the courtly throng to the right and left without preface or apology, and laughing, as he advanced beside the king, with a familiarity which astonished all who heard him. On reaching the spot where the queen stood, he bent his knee, but she raised and embraced him; he then kissed the hand of Madame Royale, who welcomed him with a forced and painful smile; after which he glanced rapidly around him, and having received the presentation of the principal persons assembled, requested that Hortensia de Mancini might be pointed out, paying a well-merited compliment to her beauty. His good looks and joyous spirits secured him the immediate admiration of the whole court, to whom such an apparition was at once novel and exciting, although his subsequent assumption of precedence over the Duke d'Anjou raised the resentment of the young prince to such a height that the queen found herself compelled to sooth his wounded dignity.

The most remarkable feature of this scene was, how-

ever, the extreme kindness and condescension with which Anne of Austria treated Mary de Mancini, who had anticipated at her hands a very different reception. Not content with beckoning her to her side, and herself presenting her to the royal guests, she addressed her so constantly and so familiarly, that Mary soon found herself involved in the conversation of Her Majesty and the Duke of Savoy; but even while thus engaged, she was lost in wonder at the beaming expression which lighted up the countenance of the queen, and formed so marked a contrast with the restless and struggling physiognomy of the Duchess of Savoy. Nor was the deportment of her uncle less mysteriously triumphant; he had resumed the confident, and almost insolent bearing of a minister who felt his power, and rejoiced in his impunity.

No wonder that the thoughts of Mary strayed from the brilliant scene before her to speculate upon the probable meaning of these extraordinary demonstrations. No wonder that wild hopes sprung up in her breast, as she marked this mysterious change—aware as she was, that it was principally with a view to estrange the king from herself that Anne of Austria had hastened this meeting with the Princess Marguerite. Her breath came thick; tears gathered in her eyes; a strange, dull sound, wherein all the voices by which she was surrounded were vaguely and hopelessly blended in her ears, made her brain whirl; and it was only by a strong effort that she saved herself from fainting.

There was indeed a mystery; but one of which the unhappy girl was far from entertaining a suspicion. The wily cardinal had been careful that early intelligence of the king's journey to Lyons, and the motive by which it was prompted, should reach Madrid, and penetrate even to the Escurial; where it had no sooner been made known, than Philip IV. exclaimed, on some allusion to the royal marriage: *Esto no puede ser, y no sera,* "that can not, and

shall not be;" and having uttered this declaration, he immediately dispatched Don Antonio Pimentelli* to the court of France, to offer the hand of the Infanta to Louis XIV.;† and this trusty messenger had so well profited by his time, that at the very moment in which the Duchess of Savoy was entering Lyons by the Turin road, he arrived at the opposite gate of the city; where, not having been allowed an opportunity to provide himself with proper passports, he was denied admission; and, owing to his pertinacity, only escaped arrest by an entreaty to be privately conveyed to the residence of the cardinal, to whom he asserted that he had been sent on a secret mission by a high personage;‡ but as some doubts were expressed on the accuracy of this statement, the envoy ultimately found himself compelled to add, that he had been promised access to the minister through a young man, named Colbert,§ who

* A privy councilor of Spain. † Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

‡ Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

§ Jean Baptiste Colbert was born at Rheims, in 1619, and was placed, in 1648, in the bureau of the secretary of state, Le Tellier; who relinquished him to Mazarin, by whom he was appointed his personal steward, and in 1660 intrusted with the office of secretary of the queen's commands (a title which formerly signified a person authorized by virtue of a verdict, or other executive act, to command, in the name of the law, the fulfillment of obligations or engagements announced in the said act; which, remaining unsatisfied after a lapse of three months, required renewal in order to render a seizure legal). By the cardinal he was subsequently recommended to the notice and favor of Louis XIV., who made him intendant of finance. After the dismissal of Fouquet, when this office was discontinued, Colbert retained the direction of the treasury, with the title of controller-general (1661). He wrought a reform successively in every branch of the revenue and public expenditure, diminished the taxes nearly one half, and succeeded, in the space of twenty-two years, in augmenting the revenue more than 28,000,000 livres. Intrusted, in 1664, with the superintendence of the public works, arts, and manufactures, he established chambers of insurance, increased the magazines, opened new roads, repaired the almost impracticable highways, and constructed the celebrated canal of Languedoc Under his administration fine cloths, costly silks, stain-

was confidentially employed in his bureau. On this assurance, he was conducted to the presence of Colbert, who, having ratified his statement, lost no time in introducing him to the minister, and the result of the interview was a visit from Mazarin to the queen, long after she had retired to rest. On his entrance, Anne of Austria rose on her pillow with a look of alarm, which was, however, quickly dispelled by the first exclamation that he uttered.

"I have come to tell you, madam, a piece of news which Your Majesty never anticipated, and which will astonish you amazingly."*

"Is peace proclaimed?" asked the queen, incredulously.

"More than peace," was the triumphant reply; "for the Infanta brings it in her hand as a portion of her dower."

This communication was made to Anne of Austria on the night of the 29th of November; and no more welcome event could have gladdened to her the close of the year 1658.

A delicate task remained, however, to be accomplished. The alliance with Spain was secured; and although the cardinal had winced at the condition annexed to this concession, which required the free and full pardon of the Prince de Condé and all those who had embraced his cause, the queen, absorbed by the one delightful idea that the dream of her ambition was about to become realized, had no regret to spare to so comparatively unimportant

ed leathers, ornamented earthenware, articles of tin and steel, and looking-glasses, were originally manufactured in France. It was he who founded the Academy of Literature (*Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*) in 1663; the Academy of Science in 1666; and the Academy of Architecture in 1671. Appointed to the ministry of the marine in 1669, he established the Indian companies; formed arsenals at Brest, Toulon, Dunkirk, and Havre; founded the port of Rochefort; organized the colonies of Cayenne and Madagascar, and accomplished many other great national works. He died in 1683.

* Dréux du Radier.

a consideration; while, even amid her joy, she was compelled to feel the embarrassment of her position toward the Duchess of Savoy, who, although she was too well trained to the manner of courts to entertain a doubt that her mission had failed, had as yet received no official intimation to that effect; and also to admit the prudence of the cardinal's suggestion, that, as the articles of the treaty would doubtless necessitate long deliberation, and that much would depend upon the court of France dissimulating their anxiety on the twofold subject of the marriage and the peace, she must make an effort to disguise her satisfaction, and the extent of the concessions which she appeared at that moment so willing to yield in order to secure them.

Having succeeded in impressing upon the conviction of Anne of Austria the immense importance of these points, Mazarin next undertook to relieve her from the ungracious task of communicating the change of purpose which had supervened since her arrival, to Madame Royale; to whom it was agreed that he should communicate, in strict confidence, that a vague hope had just presented itself of his being enabled to accomplish an alliance with Spain; in order to effect which, as the faithful minister of the French nation, he felt bound to exert all his energies; for, burdened as he was with the whole business of the state, he did not consider himself authorized to reject proposals which would insure to it an advantageous peace; but that, should the negotiations consequent upon the marriage involve insurmountable difficulty, he was to pledge his word to the court of Savoy, that he would use all his influence to conclude an alliance with the Princess Marguerite.

This was the solution of the enigma which had bewildered the unfortunate Mary de Mancini, and the true cause of the favor which she had suddenly experienced from the queen, who saw in the attachment of the cardinal's niece

an added pretext for breaking off a marriage which had become distasteful in her eyes, since it had offered even a momentary obstacle to the wish which was nearest to her heart—never pausing to reflect that the same passion might hereafter interfere with the very alliance upon which she now dwelt with mingled pride and joy.

The day succeeding that on which the Duke of Savoy joined the court, the city of Lyons gave a grand ball to Their Majesties at the Town-Hall, where the Count de Lausale, the provost of the merchants, received the royal and noble guests at the foot of the stair-case, and conducted them, in the blaze of a multitude of wax-lights, to the great hall, in which a magnificent banquet had been prepared.* The king first led out MADEMOISELLE, and subsequently the Princess Marguerite, with whom he had never entered into conversation since their first meeting; and having made this necessary concession to etiquet, he gave his hand to Mary de Mancini, near whom he continued throughout the remainder of the night. The Duke of Savoy declined dancing, as he would not yield precedence to *Monsieur*, who had already taken his place; but the ball was no sooner terminated than he seized an opportunity of declaring, in the hearing of MADEMOISELLE, that he had been dying to dance all the evening, and should immediately dispatch a courier to Chambery, with orders for a ball to take place there on the following night, that he might amuse himself in his turn. When the king and queen were preparing to retire, he took his leave, announcing his intention to quit Lyons on the morrow, to the great satisfaction of Anne of Austria, who thus saw one difficulty overcome—the impetuous nature of the duke, which was well known to her, having led her to apprehend the outbreak of his indignation when the failure of the king's marriage with his sister should be made public.

Early in the morning he accordingly left the city, after

* Gazette, 7th December, 1658.

having paid a brief visit to the Count and Countess de Soissons, and taken several turns in the Place Bellecour, where he amused himself by leaping over the low walls of the Mall; and on getting into his carriage to depart, he exclaimed, bitterly, "Farewell, France, forever! I leave you without one regret."* It was no secret that Madame Royale had acted throughout the affair contrary both to his own advice and that of his council; and when he found that no allusion was made throughout the day to the subject of her errand, either by the king or his minister, he at once concluded that it had failed, and determined not to await the affront which he perceived to be prepared for his family.

M. de Savoy had no sooner departed than the duchess, resolving to have an explicit understanding with Mazarin, who had been confined to his room for several days with gout, drove to his residence, and demanded an interview. Rumors had reached her of the arrival of the Spanish envoy, and she had also received hints of the mission with which he was intrusted. Accordingly, when she was introduced, she announced that she had come to request from His Eminence a definitive answer, relative to the proposed marriage between the king and her daughter, reproaching him, at the same time, with having induced her to leave Turin only to see him enter into a treaty with Spain.†

The undignified excitement which she exhibited at once induced the cardinal to profit by so valuable an opportunity of abridging the discussion; and he, consequently, without any preamble, avowed that she had been rightly informed, and that he had already commenced negotiations with Spain for the hand of the Infanta, as he considered it his imperative duty to secure to France, by any legitimate means, a peace which was so important to her interests.

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier. † Ib.

The calmness with which he made an acknowledgment so injurious to her pride aroused all the ire of the daughter of Henry IV., and the indignation of a mother insulted in her tenderest affections; and the mortification of Madame Royale, upon thus finding herself subjected to an affront which exposed her to the laughter of all Europe, was so great, that, in the excess of her passion, she at length beat her head against the wall near which she was seated—a violence which so alarmed the cardinal, that he hastened to pacify her by the assurance, previously agreed between the queen and himself, that in the event of any impediment to the Spanish alliance, the king should be considered as betrothed to the Princess Marguerite.

The duchess having, however, lost all faith in the promises of Mazarin, demanded a written declaration to that effect, to which the minister agreed; and a document was accordingly drawn up, setting forth, that should Louis XIV. not find himself compelled, for the welfare of Christianity and of his own kingdom, to marry the Infanta of Spain, he would ally himself to the Princess Marguerite of Savoy.

This paper was signed by the king himself, and some of the state secretaries; and when it was transmitted to Madame Royale, anxious either to conceal as much as possible the affront to which she had been subjected, or believing, like many others, that Philip IV. would accompany his concession with terms which the honor of France would compel the cardinal to refuse, she readily consented to suppress her annoyance, and to part upon friendly terms with her royal relatives. She could not, however, wholly conceal her chagrin, although she affected to display with great exultation a variety of jewels and perfumes which had been presented to her by Mazarin.

Far different was the demeanor of her daughter: throughout the day, which was to be the last of her residence with the French court, the Princess Marguerite preserved the

same graceful composure by which she had been characterized since her arrival; her courtesy to those around her continued undiminished; while she appeared rather like a mere spectator of the events which were taking place about her than one so vitally interested in their issue; and thus, although after their departure many witticisms were uttered on the subject of the duchess, the name of the princess was never mentioned save with admiration and respect.

END OF VOL. I.

BOOKHOUT S5

LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH,

AND

THE COURT OF FRANCE

IN

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY MISS PARDOE,

AUTHOR OF "THE CITY OF THE SULTAN" ETC

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II

NEW YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,

329 & 331 PEARL STREET

FRANKLIN SQUARE

1874.

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

1659.

Satisfaction of the King—Louis XIV. and Mary de Mancini—The Orgies at Roissi—Banishment of the Marquis de Mancini—Politic Lenity of Mazarin—Mary de Mancini and her Sister removed from the Court—Opposition of the King—Offers to marry Mary de Mancini—Refusal of the Cardinal—Parting Words of Mary—Representation of the Œdipus of Corneille—Departure of Mazarin for the Island of Pheasants; his Retinue—The Court move to the South—The King at Blois—Mortification of Mademoiselle—Disappointment of Mademoiselle d'Orleans—The Pheasants of Monsieur—the Meeting at St. Jean d'Angély—Tedious Negotiations—The Marriage Contract—The two Diplomatists—Treaty of the Pyrenees—The Marshal de Grammont at Madrid—Charles II. solicits an Interview with the Cardinal, and is refused—The Feast of the Barmecides—Restoration of the Prince de Condé to favor—Death of the Duke d'Orleans—Extraordinary Conduct of Madame—The Abbé de Rancé—The Head of Madame de Montbazon—Epigram of the Prince de Guiménée—Funeral of Monsieur, and Conversion of the Abbé de Rancé . . . PAGE 13

CHAPTER II.

1659, 60.

Postponement of the Royal Marriage—Journey of the Court to St. Jean de Luz—Marriage of Louis XIV.—Portrait of the Young Queen—Meeting of the Kings of France and Spain—Mary de Mancini at Brouage—The Marquis de Péguilain—Return of the Court toward Paris—The Prince Colonna asks the Hand of Mary de Mancini—She rejects his Suit—Mesdemoiselles de Mancini summoned to Fontainebleau—Indifference of the King at their Meeting—Marriage of Mary de Mancini and the Prince Colonna—Her subsequent Career . 35

CHAPTER III.

1660, 61.

The State-Entry into the Capital—Popularity of Mazarin—Marriage of the Princess Marguerite of Savoy and the Prince of Parma—Indignation of the French Court—A rival Court—The Saloons of Madame de Soissons—Fire at the Louvre—Mazarin condemned by his Physicians; his sudden Generosity; his Easy-Chair—Hortensia de Mancini affianced to the Duke de la Meilleraye; he assumes the Name of Mazarin—Marianne de Mancini affianced to the Duke de Bouillon—Improvidence of the Sisters—Remorse of the Cardinal—Mazarin and the Théatine Monk—The affected Donation—The Death-Toilet—Last Advice to the King—Presentation of Colbert—Death of Mazarin—Departure of Louis XIV. and the Queen-Mother for Paris—The King rules in his own Person—The Cardinal's Will—Indifference of his Family—Mazarin at the Gaming-Table—The Gambling-Debt 50

CHAPTER IV.

1661–66.

The Court-Mourning—Active Intrigues—Sudden Self-Assumption of Louis XIV.—The Three Ministers—Revelation of Colbert—Louis XIV. at three-and-twenty—Monsieur—Henrietta of England affianced to Monsieur—Departure of the English Princesses for London—Impatience of Monsieur—Anne of Austria retires from the Court; her Malady—Return of the Queen and Princess of England—The Princess Henrietta and the Duke of Buckingham—Marriage of the Duke d'Orleans—Daily Habits of Louis XIV.—Mutual Jealousy of the young Queen and Monsieur—Hidden Motives of Madame—The King attaches himself to Madame—Astonishment of Fouquet—The Duchess de Navailles; her Repartée—Mademoiselle d'Houdancourt—Highheartedness of Madame de Navailles—The Iron Gratings—Mademoiselle de la Vallière 67

CHAPTER V.

1661–66.

Girlhood of La Vallière; her Advent at Court—The Court-Ballet—Louis XIV. in a Greek Tunic—The Confidence in the Forest—Suavity of the King—Jealousy of the Count de Guiche—The Storm in the Park—The Double Secretary—The Lottery of the Queen-Mother—The Bracelets—Rivalry of Fouquet—The twenty thousand Pistoles—Indignation of La Vallière—Cabal against Fouquet; his

Tergiversations; Louis XIV. resolves on his Arrest—The Fête at Vaux—The Journey to Nantes—Arrest of Fouquet; his private Papers—Letter of Madame de Sévigné—Anne of Austria and La Vallière save the Life of Fouquet 89

CHAPTER VI.

1661-66.

Birth of a Dauphin—Prosperity of Louis XIV.—Favor of La Vallière—Court Festivals—Insult to the French Ambassador in London—Apology of Philip IV.—Rupture between France and Rome—Fall of La Vallière; her Remorse; exiled from the Court of the Queen-Mother; her Flight to the Carmelite Convent; tne Reconciliation; she returns to Court—Marriage of Marianne de Mancini—Commencement of Versailles; its Progress—Fête at Versailles—La Princesse d'Elide of Molière—Three first Acts of the Tartuffe; the Representation forbidden—Perseverance of Molière—National Monuments—The Knights of the Holy Ghost—The Blue Overcoats—M. de Condé a Courtier—Unhappiness of La Vallière—The surreptitious Letter—The Victims—The Conspiracy—The Letter intercepted—Treachery of the Marquis de Vardes—Severity of Madame to La Vallière—La Vallière becomes a Mother—Arrival of the Crown-Prince of Denmark—Mademoiselle wearies of her Exile—The Hand of Mademoiselle is offered by Louis XIV. to the Prince of Denmark; she returns to Court; she rejects the Prince—Declaration of the King—Depravity of the French Court—La Vallière received by the Queen-Mother; publicly acknowledged as the Mistress of the King—Passion of the Count de Guiche for Madame; he is sent to Lorraine to take the command of the Royal Forces . 116

CHAPTER VII.

1666.

Deaths of the Duke de Longueville and the Marshal de la Meilleraye—Increasing Danger of the Queen-Mother—Illness of the King and Queen—The King at St. Cloud—Arrival of the Pope's Legate; his Reception—Diplomacy of Louis XIV.—The Legate and the Dramatist—Condescension of Louis XIV. to Molière—Submission of the Duke de Lorraine—Jealousy of the Count de Guiche—Impetuosity of Madame—The Countess de Guiche—The King at Nancy—The extorted Confession—The Count de Guiche departs for Poland; his Gallantry—The Miniature—The King recalls M. de Guiche—Displeasure of Monsieur—The Chevalier de Lorraine—Insolence of M. de Vardes—Indignation of M. de Guiche—The Challenge—Madame betrays

the Countess de Soissons—The Conspiracy revealed—Banishment of Madame de Soissons—Imprisonment of M. de Vardes—M. de Guiche is sent to Holland—The Duke de Mazarin and St. Genevieve—The Visions of Louis XIV 144

CHAPTER VIII.

1666, 67.

Decline of Anne of Austria—Recovery of the young Queen—A Courtier's Compliment—Susceptibility of the Queen-Mother—Death of Philip IV. of Spain—Projects of Louis XIV.—Sufferings of Anne of Austria—Renewed Festivities at Court—The royal Death-Bed—Ill-timed Etiquet—The Holy Oils—Death of Anne of Austria—Condescension of Mademoiselle—The Archbishop and the Queen's Heart—The Royal Funeral at St. Denis—Birth of Mademoiselle de Blois—La Vallière created a Duchess—Legitimation of La Vallière's Children—Birth of Louis de Bourbon—Madame Colbert Governess to Mademoiselle de Blois and the Count de Vermandois—Reconciliation of La Vallière with her Mother—Distaste of Louis XIV. for Madame de St. Rémy—Decline of the King's Passion for La Vallière—A new Favorite 155

CHAPTER IX.

1667.

Mademoiselle de Tonnay-Charente—Lady of the Palace; her Superb Beauty—"The Wit of the Mortemars"—Her Subtilty—Humility of La Vallière—Ambition of her Rival—Marriage of Mademoiselle de Tonnay-Charente—The Marquis de Montespan—Horror of the Marquis at the Position of La Vallière—Madame de Montespan refuses to leave the Court—Departure of the Marquis; his Letters—Preparation for War—Sale of Dunkirk by Charles II.—Louis fortifies the City—Alliance with Portugal and the United Provinces—Admirable Condition of the Army—The Spanish Minister; his Arrogance; his Weakness—A Courtly Campaign—A luxurious Camp—Triumphant Progress of Louis XIV.—The King in the Trenches—The Veteran's Warning—Gratitude of Louis XIV.—The Cousin of M. de Charost—Alarm of the Citizens of Brussels—Increasing Favor of Madame de Montespan—La Vallière Insulted by the Queen—Departure of La Vallière for Paris; her Return; her Imprudence—Verbal Morality of Madame de Montespan—Misunderstanding between Louis and Maria Theresa—The wounded Arm—La Vallière in the Queen's Coach—The Montespan Correspondence—The Public Mourning—Accommodating Principles 164

CHAPTER X.

1667.

The Daughters of Gaston, Duke of Orleans—La Grande Mademoiselle—Mademoiselle de Valois, Duchess of Savoy—Mademoiselle d'Orleans, Grand Duchess of Tuscany—Mademoiselle d'Alençon, Duchess de Guise—Letter of Madame de Sévigné—Mademoiselle and the Duke de Lauzun; his Portrait by St. Simon; his Court-Favor; his Advancement; his Indiscretion; his Insolence; his Imprisonment in the Bastille; his Pardon—Mademoiselle becomes attached to him—Reluctance of Lauzun—Mademoiselle offers him her Hand—Preliminaries—Interview of Louis XIV. and Mademoiselle—The King consents to her Marriage with Lauzun—Consternation of the Court—Donation by Mademoiselle—Louis XIV. withdraws his Consent—Agony of Mademoiselle—Submission of Lauzun—The private Marriage—New Arrest of Lauzun; his Ingratitude 180

CHAPTER XI.

1667–70.

Death of the Duke de Beaufort in Candia—Birth of the Duke du Maine—Prosperity of the French Nation—Monsieur demands a Government and a Fauteuil—Insidious advice of the Chevalier de Lorraine—The vacant Abbey—Arrest of M. de Lorraine—Resentment of Monsieur—The Chevalier at If—Monsieur at Court—Louis XIV. resolves on the Conquest of Holland—Venality of Charles II.—A female Ambassadress—Royal Progress—Mademoiselle de Kerouralle—Successful Negotiation—The Court return to Paris—Court of Madame at St. Cloud—Discontent of Monsieur—Maria Theresa—Illness of Madame—The Succory Water—Death of Madame—The Poisoners—Indignation of the King—The Controller of the Household—Death of the Chevalier de Lorraine 195

CHAPTER XII.

1670.

Increasing Favor of Madame de Montespan—The Crown of Agrippina—Puerility of Monsieur—Madame Scarron—Generosity of Madame de Montespan—Madame Scarron Gouvernante—Disgust of Louis XIV. to St. Germain—Superstitious Terrors—Birth of the Duke du Maine—The Baby-Abbot—The new Marquise—Portrait of Madame de Maintenon by La Vallière—Wretchedness of La Vallière—Harshness of Louis XIV.—Second Flight of La Vallière to a Convent—A Night with the Carmelites—Mission of M. Colbert—Ostentation of

Madame de Montespan—Indignation of the Clergy—M. de Bossuet and the Favorite—The African Embassy—The "second" Wife of the Sovereign—The Missionaries—The Black Dwarf—Accouchement of the Queen—The new Duchess d'Orleans; her Reception at the French Court; her Portrait by her own Hand; her personal Habits; her Self-Respect—Lauzun at Pignerol—Fouquet and Lauzun—The Duke de Longueville 213

CHAPTER XIII.

1670–80.

Alarm of the Dutch—The Army of Louis XIV.—The secret Treaty—Appeal of the States-General—Haughty Reply of Louis XIV.—Pretext for War—The royal Household—The Prince of Orange—Advance of the French Army—The Passage of the Rhine—Imprudence of the Duke de Longueville—The Skirmish—Death of the Duke de Longueville—Wound of Condé—Dispersion of the Dutch Forces—Will of the Duke de Longueville—Legitimation of his natural Son—A convenient Precedent—High-spirited Reply of the Prince of Orange—Death of Turenne—Gallantry of the Count de Guiche; his Death—Third Son of Madame de Montespan—Abandonment of the Duchess de la Vallière; her projected Retirement from the Court—Opposition of the King—The Carmelite Convent—Bitter Mortification—Bossuet and the Penitent—Offer of Louis XIV.—The Queen and La Vallière—The fatal Day—Parting of the King and La Vallière; her Reception by the Community—A conventual Interior—Death of the Duke de Vermandois—Humility of the ennobled Novice; her Death—European Consequences of the Dutch Invasion—Progress of Literature in France—The Three Dramatists—Louis XIV. and Britannicus—The Chevalier de Rohan—The Conspiracy—Madame de Villars—Execution of the Conspirators—The Poisoners 238

CHAPTER XIV.

1680–84.

Discovery of the Criminals—The Marchioness de Brinvilliers—La Voisin and La Vigoreaux—Fiendish Association—Public Excitement—Arrest of suspected Persons—Wit of the Duchess de Bouillon—Flight of Madame de Soissons; her Arrival in Spain; Distrust of the Spanish Monarch; her Favor with the Queen—The Marriage of Maria Louisa d'Orleans and Charles II. of Spain; her Repugnance to the Alliance—Intimacy of Madame de Soissons and the German Ambassador—Death of the Queen by Poison—Evasion of Madame de Soissons; her Death at Brussels; her utter Destitution—Trial of the

Duke de Luxembourg; his noble Defense, and partial Acquittal—Execution of La Vigoreaux—Diabolical End of La Voisin—Family of Louis XIV.—The Dauphin; his Betrothal—Court Appointment of Madame de Maintenon—Inveteracy of Madame de Montespan—Indignation of the King—The old Favorite and the new one; their Interview—Household of the Dauphiness—Arrival of the Princess—The military Confessor—Portrait of the Dauphiness by Madame de Sévigné—The royal Marriage—Children of the Duchess de la Vallière—Mademoiselle de Blois; she marries the Prince de Conti—The Marriage—The Count de Vermandois; his Profligacy; his Imprisonment—Children of Madame de Montespan—The Count de Vexin—The Duke du Maine—Mademoiselle de Nantes—Mortifications of Madame de Montespan; her scandalous Revenge; her Protégée—Mademoiselle de Fontanges; her Portrait—Infatuation of the King—Gayety of the Court—Mademoiselle de Fontanges created a Duchess; her Levity and Exactions—Contempt of the Queen—Frivolous Ostentation of the new Mistress—Vindictiveness of Madame de Montespan—Père la Chaise—A royal Dilemma—The Mediatrix—Insolence of Madame de Fontanges; her Egotism—A King's Refuge—Accouchement of Madame de Fontanges; her Sickness; her Retreat; her Death—Indecent Joy of Madame de Montespan—Accusation against her—The Dead forgotten . . 258

CHAPTER XV.

1684.

Influence of Madame de Maintenon—Père la Chaise—Birth of the Duke de Bourgoyne—A delicate Mission—Court Cabal—Madame de Montespan—Madame de Richelieu—Indignation of the King—Generosity of Madame de Maintenon—Effects of the Conspiracy—Forebodings of Madame de Montespan—A Provisional Retreat—The Convent of St. Joseph—The Projected Palace—Birth of the Duke d'Anjou—The Journey to Flanders—Mortification of Madame de Montespan—Progress of the Court—Journey to Alsace—Illness of the Queen—Death of the Queen—The Ring—Character of the Queen—Emotion of Louis XIV.—The Lying in State—The Funeral—Heartlessness of the Dauphin—Accident of the King—Mademoiselle at Choisy—The royal Visit—The Liveries—Mademoiselle and the Duke du Maine—The Mission of Madame de Maintenon—Donation of Mademoiselle to the Duke du Maine—Partial Liberation of Lauzun; his Return to Pignerol; his Concession and Liberation his Discontent; his Pretensions—Coldness of the King toward his old Favorite—Ingratitude of Lauzun—Lauzun a Duke—Separation of Lauzun and Mademoiselle—Departure of Lauzun to England . 294

CHAPTER XVI.

1684, 85.

Death of Colbert; his Unpopularity; his noble Works; his Death-Bed his Funeral; his Successors; his Children—Policy of Louvois—The Bombardment of Genoa—Treaty of Peace—Submission of the Doge —Palace of Versailles—Reception of the Genoese Representatives—Mot of the Doge—Increased Gravity of the King—Change of Costume —Daily Etiquet—The Female Devotees—Influence of Madame de Maintenon; her Mental Attributes; her Court—The Office of Charity —Foundation of St. Cyr—The Monks of St. Denis—The Canonesses —Abbé de Fénélon—A forced Vocation—Position of Madame de Maintenon—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Abbé de Chayla; his Sufferings; his Cruelties—Signing of the Revocation . . . 322

CHAPTER XVII.

1685.

Court Annoyances—Resistance of Madame de Maintenon; her Influence on the Manners of the Court—Louis XIV. wearied of Madame de Montespan; her Banishment determined—The Duke de Vivonne—The Brother and Sister—The Drive to Clagny—Indignation of Madame de Montespan—The Pension—The Lettre-de-Cachet—Return of Madame de Montespan to Versailles—Interview of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan—Egotism of the Monarch —Intemperance of the Marchioness—Appearance of Madame de Maintenon—Madame de Montespan on a Sick-Bed—Threat of Madame de Maintenon—The Duke du Maine—Court Councilors —Interposition of the Dauphin—The unsuccessful Mission—The Court Physician—An indiscreet Inference—Mortification of Madame de Maintenon—Sudden Resolution of Louis XIV.—The Snow-Storm —The Primate of Paris—The Bridal Procession—Marriage of Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon—Departure of Madame de Montespan for Petit-Bourg; her Presentation to the Wife of Louis XIV. —The Tabouret—The Duke du Maine—Retribution—Final Departure of Madame de Montespan from Versailles 343

CHAPTER XVIII.

1685.

One day in the Life of Louis XIV.—Exclamation of Mad. Maintenon 354

CHAPTER XIX.

1685–88.

Interior Economy of Madame de Maintenon—Divisions in the Royal Family—The Palace Etiquet—Madame de Maintenon attempts her public Recognition—Opposition of Louvois—The Satires of Meudon —The English Letter—Death of Charles II. of England—The Prince

of Orange—Arrival of James II. and his Queen in France—The Duke de Lauzun—Munificence of Louis XIV.—Mary of Modena—Indisposition of Louis XIV.—Restlessness of Madame de Montespan—Marriage of Mademoiselle de Nantes and the Duke de Bourbon Condé—The Window of the Trianon—The Civil War in the Cevennes—Fête at Versailles—Departure of the young Nobility for the German Army—Prince Eugène—Imprudence of Louvois—Intercepted Letters—The Princess de Conti—Mademoiselle de Choin and M. de Clermont—Death of Condé—The "Hermitage" of Marly 376

CHAPTER XX.

1688, 89.

League of Augsburg—Intrigue of Louvois—First Campaign of the Dauphin—Burning of the Palatinate—Destruction of the French Fleet—The Upholsterer of Nôtre-Dame—Gallantry of the Duke de Chartres—Persecution of the Calvinists—Death of the Abbé de Chayla—Negotiation—Death of the Dauphiness—The Convent of St. Cyr—Racine's Esther—Jealousy of the Princesses—Proposed Marriage of the Duke de Chartres—Insolence of Louvois—The Fire-Tongs—National Apprehensions—Liberality of the Cities—Royal Plate sent to the Mint—Declining Influence of Louvois; his Death—Indifference of the King—The Royal Message—Suspicions of Poison . . . 416

CHAPTER XXI.

1689–92.

The Marquis de Pomponne—Industry of Louis XIV.—Social Advancement of the Ministers—Marriages of the Duke de Chartres and the Duke du Maine—Governors of the Duke de Chartres—The Abbé Dubois—Portrait of Philip d'Orleans—The royal Brothers—Frivolity of Monsieur; his Portrait; his Costume; his Insignificance—The Value of an additional Inch—Magnificence of Madame de Montespan—Madame de Maintenon and the new Duchess du Maine; her Arrogance—Stinging Rejoinder of the Duke d'Elbœuf—Cowardice of the Duke du Maine—Dutch Journal—Death of Mademoiselle—Presumption of M. de Lauzun—Capture of Namur—The Ghost-Seer—Madame Armond—A baffled Intrigue—Power of Madame de Maintenon—Distrust of the King—Equivocal Position of Mad. de Maintenon—The Monarch and the Court Ladies—Ambulatory Banquets 440

CHAPTER XXII.

1692–97.

Family Circle of Madame de Maintenon—The Count d'Aubigné; his Excesses—The Truncheon in Specie—The Marriage-Promise—His enforced Retirement; his Evasion—Marriage of the Duke de Lauzun—Disappointment of the Bride—Arrival of the Princess Adelaide

of Savoy in France—Treaty of Riswick—Death of James II.—Household of the future Duchess de Bourgoyne—Indisposition of the King—Advantages of a Tête-à-tête—Premature Salutations—Duchess de Lude—Reception of the Princess—Court at Versailles—Letter to the Duchess of Savoy—Madame de Maintenon educates the Princess; her Docility—Return of Mademoiselle de Choin to Meudon; her supposed Marriage with the Dauphin; her Harshness—Extravagant Preparations for the Marriage of the Duke de Bourgoyne; his Portrait—The King's Ball—Court Felons—The Hat-Bearer—The fatal Prophecy . . 467

CHAPTER XXIII.

1697–1700.

The Spanish Succession—Death of Leopold of Bavaria—The Duke d'Anjou called to the Throne of Spain—Declaration of Innocent XII.—Death of Charles II. of Spain—Reading of the Will—Duke d'Abrantes—Presentation of the Duke d'Anjou to the French Court as King of Spain—Leavetaking at Meudon—Madame de Montespan and the King—Literary Deaths at the Close of the 17th Century—Racine's last Mistake—Jean Baptiste Rousseau—Birth of Voltaire . . 489

CHAPTER XXIV.

1701.

Political Position of France—Illness of the Dauphin—Les Dames de la Halle—A new Campaign—Affront to the Duke de Chartres—His increased Libertinage—Regal Retorts—Quarrel of the King and Monsieur—Indisposition of Monsieur; his Death—Terror of Madame—Interview between Louis XIV. and the Duke de Chartres—Want of Feeling of the King—Grief of the Duchess de Bourgoyne—The Brelan Table—Novel Position of the Duke de Chartres—Late Court of Monsieur—Madame, and Madame de Maintenon 501

CHAPTER XXV.

1701–4.

Marriage of Philip V.—The young Sovereigns—Princess des Ursins—Cardinal d'Estrées—Court Flatteries—Death of the Iron Mask—Progress of the Persecutions in the Cevennes—Marshal de Villars—John Cavalier—Meeting of Louis XIV. and the Calvinist Leader—Flight of Cavalier from France—Decline of the Military Glory of the French Armies—Accusation against the Duchess de Bourgoyne; her Position at Court; her Errors—Death of Madame de Montespan; her last Hope; Occupation of her closing Years; Fate of her Remains 522

CHAPTER XXVI.

1704–11.

Anticipations of the Dauphin—The female Cabal—Prejudices of the Dauphin—Death of Père la Chaise—The new Confessor, Michel le

Tellier; his Portrait—Famine of 1709—Royal Plate once more sent to the Mint—Military Reverses—Egotism of Louis XIV.—The Duke de Fronsac—Children of the Duchess de Bourgoyne—Death of the Duke de Bourbon-Condé—Marriage of the Duke de Berri; his Portrait—Character of his Bride—The Union an unhappy one—The Children of the Duke du Maine created Princes of the Blood—An unpleasant Interview—Murmurs of the Courtiers—Victory of Villa Viciosa—Death of the Emperor Joseph—Public Joy—Illness and Death of the Dauphin—A Prince and his Mistress—Dispersion of the Meudon Cabal—The Duke de Bourgoyne Dauphin of France—Isolation of the Duchess de Bourbon 544

CHAPTER XXVII.

1711, 12.

Increasing Confidence of Louis XIV. in the Duke de Bourgoyne; its Effect upon his Character; his Court; his Mode of Life; his Political Liberality—Heedlessness and ready Wit of the Dauphiness—The fatal Present—The Dauphiness poisoned; her Death—Regrets of the Nation—Sickness and Death of the Dauphin—Despair of Louis XIV.—The Duke de Bretagne declared Dauphin; his Death—The treble Interment—The Duchess de Ventadour—Narrow Escape of the Duke d'Anjou—Death of the Duke de Berri—Accusation against the Duke d'Orleans—Popular Tumult—Court Factions—The Duke d'Orleans applies to be put on his Trial; is refused—Mediation of M. de Pontchartrain—Departure of the Duke from Paris—Unpopularity of Louis XIV.—Profligacy of the Duchess de Berri—Private Sorrows of the King 568

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1712–15.

Moral Lassitude of Louis XIV.—Indecision on the Question of the Regency—Persecutions of his Private Circle—The Duchess du Maine and her Children; they are declared eligible to succeed to the Crown—Retirement of M. de Pontchartrain; he is succeeded by M. Voisin—Party Arguments—Council of Regency—The Will concealed—Remorse of Louis XIV.—Reception of the Persian Ambassador—Illness of the King—Premature Dispatches—Review of the Household Troops—Anxiety of the King to conceal his Decay—Uneasiness of the Duchess du Maine—A Marriage refused—Tardy Confidence—Last Hours of Louis XIV.—Was Louis XIV. a Jesuit?—Indifference of the Nation to his Death—A parting Scene—Louis XIV. and his Successor—Madame de Maintenon and the Captain of the Body-Guard—Madame de Maintenon's Departure for St. Cyr—Last Agony—Death of Louis XIV.—"The King is dead! Long live the King!" . . . 589

ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.

	PAGE
Portrait of Madame de Maintenon	*Frontispiece*
Chateau Mazarin	13
Portrait of Corneille	34
Palace of Fontainebleau	50
St. Genevieve	67
Portrait of Le Brun	88
Chateau de Vaux le Vicomte	89
The Ceremony of Christening the Dauphin	116
Interior of St. Denis	155
Palais-Royal	180
Palace of Versailles	213
Convent of St. Jacques	238
Cathedral of Nôtre-Dame	253
Exterior of St. Denis	294
Parterre of Versailles	322
Clagni	343
Trianon of Versailles	376
Louis XIV. at the Siege of Cambray	416
Marly	440
St. Germain en Laye, from the Terrace	467
Fountain of the Pyramid at Versailles	489
Portrait of Racine	503
Palace of the Popes at Avignon	522
Fountain of Fame, at Versailles	544
The Cascades at Versailles	568
Fountain of the Star, at Versailles	589
Death of Louis XIV.	612

LOUIS XIV.

AND THE

COURT OF FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I.

Satisfaction of the King—Louis XIV. and Mary de Mancini—The Orgies at Roissi—Banishment of the Marquis de Mancini—Politic Lenity of Mazarin—Mary de Mancini and her Sister removed from the Court—Opposition of the King—Offers to marry Mary de Mancini—Refusal of the Cardinal—Parting Words of Mary—Representation of the Œdipus of Corneille—Departure of Mazarin for the Island of Pheasants; his Retinue—The Court move to the South—The King at Blois—Mortification of Mademoiselle—Disappointment of Mademoiselle d'Orleans—The Pheasants of Monsieur—The Meeting at St. Jean d'Angély—Tedious Negotiations—The Marriage Contract—The two Diplomatists—Treaty of the Pyrenees—The Marshal de Grammont at Madrid—Charles II. solicits an Interview with the Cardinal, and is refused—The Feast of the Barmecides—Restoration of the Prince de Condé to Favor—Death of the Duke d'Orleans—Extraordinary Conduct of Madame—The Abbé de Rancé—The Head of Madame de Montbazon—Epigram of the Prince de Guiménée—Funeral of Monsieur. and Conversion of the Abbé de Rancé.

The gratification of the king at this unhoped-for emancipation from a marriage which he had considered as inevitable, was earnest and undisguised; and the rather as having been kept in ignorance of the real progress of the negotiation with Spain, he believed that he was left free to indulge, for an indefinite period, in his attachment to Mademoiselle de Mancini; and while the continued illness of Mazarin detained the court at Paris, he amused himself in the tennis-court, in drilling the musketeers, or in visiting the cardinal during the morning; and devoted the remainder of the day to reading, or conversing with Mary, with whom he also generally took his luncheon. When the queen retired for the night, he conducted Mademoiselle de Mancini to her residence; contenting himself at first by following in another carriage, or driving the one she occupied; but ultimately, he threw off even this restraint, and seated himself beside her, profiting by the moonlight to drive for awhile in the Place Bellecour.

So great was the liberty which she enjoyed, that Mary at length began to feel seriously alarmed at the studied neutrality of the queen; and the more she reflected upon the circumstance the more she felt the importance of clearing up a mystery, of whose existence her good sense sufficed to assure her. In this difficulty she resolved to interrogate the Abbé Fouquet* upon the subject of the mysterious visitor whom the cardinal had received in disguise, and with whom he had been closeted at midnight—never doubting that this interview bore upon her present position. The abbé was, however, too cautious to betray the secrets of his patron, and evasively replied that he was one of those secret agents whom her uncle employed in foreign courts, and that he had been sent to inform him that the Queen of Spain had given birth to a son. Mary desired to hear no more; for in an instant the effect of this

* Abbé of Barbeaux and of Rigny, brother of Nicholas Fouquet, the superintendent of finance.

unanticipated event became manifest to her. Philip IV. assured of a male successor to the throne, was now free to dispose of the hand of his daughter, and to seal, by these means, a peace between the two countries; she could not disguise from herself the desirableness of such a reconciliation to two nations exhausted by a long and harassing war, and she at once felt that all was lost. Meanwhile, Don Antonio Pimentelli, concealed in the apartments of the cardinal, was engaged with him in preparing the different clauses of the treaty which was to secure the peace of Europe; but as nothing could be definitively arranged, save at a conference of the French and Spanish ministers, an interview was at length arranged between Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro. The meeting was to be held on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, and it only remained to be decided on which side of the river it should take place.

After a short tour in the southern provinces, the court returned to Paris; and still Mary de Mancini found herself treated with unlimited indulgence by the queen, who, satisfied with the progress of the secret negotiations, felt convinced that a passion for an inferior, however violent, could not militate in the mind of Louis against the interests of his kingdom, and the gratification of receiving the hand of the first princess in Europe. She had already forgotten her own youth, and the enthusiastic days when, wooed by the Duke of Buckingham, she had wept to remember that she was mated with a king.

The court had not long been established once more in the capital, and Mazarin was still occupied in discussing the various and conflicting claims of the two long-estranged nations, whose renewal of amity was to be effected by the gentle agency of a woman, ere he experienced a severe mortification, which he, however transmuted, with his usual ability, into a new source of personal honor. Several young noblemen had assembled, during the Holy Week, at Roissi, a chateau within a short distance of Paris; and there, while

all classes of the population were engaged in the devotions imperative at so sacred a season, they abandoned themselves to the grossest dissipation—indulging in orgies so profane and disreputable that they soon became the subject of public comment.

Among them was the Marquis de Mancini, the nephew of the cardinal, whose amiable qualities and personal advantages had greatly endeared him to the court; and the rumor of the disorders in which he had been an actor no sooner reached the ears of Mazarin, than, refusing to listen to the entreaties in his favor, which were poured forth on all sides, he immediately banished him from the capital; while he contented himself by simply remonstrating with his accomplices, who all belonged to the first families in the kingdom; and, after exhorting them to greater discretion in future, he dismissed them unpunished; by which means he conciliated the whole of the families of the young libertines, who, on witnessing his unrelenting severity toward a nephew to whom he was known to be deeply attached, had anticipated little mercy for those of their own blood.*

In like manner he sacrificed Mary to the exigencies of the Queen-Mother, who represented to him that so long as she remained within reach of the king, who would resist every effort that might be made to deprive him of her society and counsel, they could entertain no hope either of a peace, or the alliance of which it was a condition. For a moment, however, the cardinal hesitated; alledging that there was no reason to apprehend, should they act too suddenly, that the king might be roused to resistance; whereas, by proceeding calmly and gradually, and estranging the lovers almost imperceptibly, they might be enabled to carry their point without opposition.

An ironical smile played about the lips of Anne of Austria, as she remarked that the overmerciful policy lately

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

adopted by His Eminence might, perhaps, fail to produce the effect which he appeared to anticipate; and that he would do well to reflect upon the nature of the advice which his niece was accustomed to bestow upon the king; and the great probability there existed that, if it were allowed time to work, it would soon emancipate Louis altogether from the authority of both his mother and his minister.

The queen was well aware of the force of this reflection upon the mind of the cardinal, who dreaded nothing so much as the loss of power; and as she glanced toward him while pronouncing the remark, she saw, by the expression of his countenance, that she had struck home. He, nevertheless, affected to treat such a consideration lightly; and observed that the king was too well aware of the value of his services to dispense with them while they could be rendered available; upon which the queen, forgetful of the restraint which she had hitherto put upon her suspicions, accused him of still nourishing unseemly hopes, based upon what he considered to be the weakness of his sovereign; and renewed her declaration that she would sooner die than see her son commit the infamy of a marriage by which he must be degraded.*

Stung by the expression, Mazarin was about to withdraw; when the queen, instantly conscious of the error she had committed, prevented his purpose, and conjured him to overlook a few hasty words wrung from her in the excitement of a moment in which she felt that all her dearest interests were at stake; upon which, with his usual policy, he smiled away the insult he was never likely to forget, and declared that, in order to prove to Her Majesty how greatly she had wronged him by her suspicions, he would at once remove both Mary and her sisters to his chateau at Brouage.†

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

† Brouage is a fortified sea-port town in the department of the Lesser Charente, opposite the island of Oléron. It was founded in 1555 by

Having come to this resolution, he lost no time in summoning Madame de Venelle, the governess of Hortensia and Mary Anne de Mancini; and, after having directed her to watch all Mary's movements, gave her orders to prepare her charges for an immediate removal to Brouage. Louis, however, no sooner heard of the arrangement than he hastened to demand an explanation of the cardinal, and refused to permit the departure of Mademoiselle de Mancini from the court. Vainly did the minister represent the probable disgust of the Infanta, should she learn that, even while the negotiations of marriage were pending, the king retained near him a person to whom his attachment had long ceased to be problematical, the indignation of Philip IV., and the consequent continuance of a war which was rapidly exhausting the resources of the kingdom. Louis declared his determination not to sacrifice his personal happiness to such considerations; alledging that France was quite able to protect itself against Spain as it had hitherto done; that the war would afford him opportunities of convincing his people that he was worthy to be their sovereign; and that rather than be the cause of unhappiness to Mary, he was willing and anxious to raise her to the throne—an event which must secure to the cardinal a fixed and honorable position, of which no national disaffection could thenceforth deprive him.

Mazarin shook his head coldly and incredulously. "That person," he said, "has no regard for me; but, on the contrary, a vast deal of aversion, because I do not encourage her in her madness. Her ambition is beyond all bounds, and her spirit warped and violent. She despises every one,

James, Lord of Pons, and fortified during the religious wars. After the taking of La Rochelle, Richelieu renewed the fortifications, and erected it into a government, he being himself the first governor. It possessed an excellent harbor, which, in the 17th century, was blocked with mud. The environs of Brouage are covered by unwholesome marshes, and the finest salt works in France are found there.

throws off all restraint, and is always ready to commit a thousand extravagances. It is believed that I have secretly encouraged her, and this reflection overwhelms me. I neither eat nor sleep, and am wasting away with vexation and uneasiness. If things last much longer in this state, I will embark with all my family, and go and hide myself in some corner of Italy, where we shall never be heard of again."*

A few violent words did not, however, suffice to dissuade the young sovereign from his purpose; and he reiterated his resolution to marry Mary, and thus place her beyond the power of her enemies; but the cardinal remained firm; and although Louis wept, and, as some authors affirm, even knelt before the inexorable minister, to induce him to recall his verdict, he did so without effect. For an instant the indignant king even contemplated opposition; but as Mazarin, who had never for a moment laid aside his attitude of command, continued to expatiate upon the miseries to which his obstinacy upon this subject would expose, not not only the court but the whole kingdom, the unhappy young monarch, painfully conscious of his utter helplessness, and terrified by so fearful a prophecy, threw himself into a chair, and burying his face in his hands, fell into a stupor of despair.

The cardinal felt that he had conquered; and he had, indeed, obtained a double victory, over his own ambition, and the first serious affection which Louis had ever experienced. The departure of Mary was consequently decided on; and upon the previous evening the king paid his usual visit to the Queen-Mother in a state of wretchedness which he made no effort to conceal. He had no sooner entered her apartment than Anne of Austria, taking a flambeau from the table, retired with him to the bath-room, where they were closeted together for an hour, and on their reappearance both were evidently affected; the eyes of the

* Extract from a MS. collection of Letters written at Libourne.

king were red with weeping, and in a few moments he withdrew.*

The dreaded morrow arrived; and when the nieces of the cardinal had taken leave of the queen, Mary proceeded to the king's apartment, where she found him deluged in tears.

"Sire," she exclaimed, reproachfully, as, with a dry eye and a quivering lip, she approached his chair, and extended toward him her trembling hand, "you are a king—you weep—and yet I go!"

The only reply of Louis was a fresh burst of sorrow, as he suffered his head to fall upon the table, without the utterance of a syllable. But Mary needed no other answer. She at once felt that all was over between them; and her pride enabled her to withdraw from his presence without one attempt at reproach or expostulation. Her sisters were already seated in the carriage, and she took her place beside them, scarcely appearing to remark that she had been followed by the king, who remained standing upon the same spot until the carriage had disappeared, when he departed for Chantilly, in order to indulge his grief in solitude.

During this time the veteran Corneille had produced his Œdipus, and Molière was pursuing his representations at the theater of the Petit-Bourbon. Moreover, two other celebrities had appeared, although they were yet to acquire the undying fame which awaited them hereafter; one was La Fontaine, who at this period took up his abode at Paris; and the other, Bossuet; while Racine and Boileau began to give the promise of future excellence which their after career so fully realized.

Four days after the departure of his nieces the cardinal left Paris in his turn, with a princely retinue, for the Island of Pheasants,† which had been ultimately decided on as the

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

† The Island of Pheasants is a small Spanish islet formed by the Bidassoa, within a league of Fontarabia and the Gulf of Gascony.

rendezvous of the contracting parties for the royal marriage. In his suite he had two archbishops, four bishops, three marshals, and several nobles of the highest rank; as well as M. de Lyonne, the minister of state, who was to assist him in his labors. Don Antonio Pimentelli had already preceded him, to announce his approach to the Spanish minister; while, on the day of his arrival at St. Jean de Luz, the court left Fontainebleau for the south, although it was not generally known that the king had absolutely refused to undertake this journey until it had been conceded that in passing Cognac he should have an interview with Mary de Mancini. The arguments of the queen against this measure were at first vehement; but as Louis persisted in his purpose, it was ultimately arranged that the meeting should take place.

Great preparations were made by all those who had been selected to accompany the court; and the most magnificent apparel was prepared, in order to do honor to the royal nuptials; while as the illustrious *cortège* passed along the streets of Paris, the acclamations of the populace were loud and long; and a thousand blessings were called down upon the head of the young king, and a thousand prayers put up for the success and safety of his journey.

The Queen-Mother was accompanied by the Princess de Conti; the Princess-Palatine; the Countess de Flex, her lady of honor; and the Duchess d'Uzès. From Fontainebleau, the court first proceeded to Chambord, where *Monsieur* and *Madame* were then residing for a few days; and upon the road the king gayly remarked to MADEMOISELLE, who was also in the queen's coach, that he had not changed his dress nor untied his hair, because he apprehended that by increasing his good looks he should heighten the regret of his uncle, as well as that of *Madame*, and Mademoiselle d'Orleans, her sister, who had long been taught to consider herself as his future

wife; and that he had consequently disfigured himself as much as possible. Nor had *Monsieur* and *Madame* been wholly without misgivings on their side. *Madame* being not only mortified at the failure of a marriage with her daughter, of which she had so long contemplated the possibility, that she had finally considered it as certain; but also tormented with fearful visions of the outlay which would be necessitated by the royal visit; to which she had only become tolerably reconciled by the almost daily letters of MADEMOISELLE, which, in all probability, contained something more weighty than mere argument.

The uneasiness of *Monsieur*, although less squalid, was scarcely less peurile and undignified. He had amused himself since his sojourn at Blois by preserving pheasants, of which he possessed immense numbers, and which he never suffered to be destroyed; and the conviction that the king would not omit to profit by so excellent an opportunity of enjoying a favorite sport, made him perfectly wretched.

When the court arrived at Blois, Mesdemoiselles d'Orleans and de Valois received their royal relatives at the foot of the stairs, attended by their scanty train of ladies; and although each individual had made immense exertion to present a favorable appearance, the antiquated air of their costume afforded legitimate subject for merriment among the more modish attendants of the queen.

As he alighted, the king complimented *Madame* on the beauty of his cousin, Mademoiselle d'Orleans; whom, however, he saw at an unfortunate moment, her mortification upon hearing that he was about to form an alliance with the Infanta being legibly impressed upon her countenance; which, coupled with the fact that she was extremely disfigured by the bites of some gnats that had stung her during the night, robbed her of her brilliant complexion which is the greatest charm of youth. When the party had entered the palace, the courtiers dispersed

themselves through the apartments and galleries, criticising aloud the superannuated appearance of the furniture, and the obsolete dresses of the ladies; nor were they more conciliating during the dinner, of which they affected to be afraid to partake; while MADEMOISELLE sat by, trembling with mortification and annoyance.* Neither the king nor his mother disguised their anxiety to be gone; and they were no sooner again upon the road than they indulged in numerous mirthful reminiscences of their visit, which were gall and wormwood to the haughty spirit of MADEMOISELLE; who was, nevertheless, compelled to smile when Louis described to her the evident discomposure of her father at the destruction of the fourteen pheasants which he had killed while awaiting dinner.

It was with an aching heart that Mademoiselle de Mancini had received an order from the queen to proceed with her sisters to St. Jean d'Angély, to await the passage of the court, in order to pay their respects to Her Majesty; for the fact that the queen had herself commanded this meeting sufficed to assure Mary that she no longer dreaded her influence; and the idea of again seeing the king, only to look on him in the midst of a crowd of courtiers, tortured her almost beyond endurance. Proud in her own integrity, she nevertheless made a powerful effort to suppress all exhibition of her wretchedness, and entered the presence of the queen with a calm dignity which astonished all around her.

Her interview with the king was, however, a bitter one; for, divided between vanity and affection, Louis was at once less firm and less self-possessed than Mary. He wept bitterly, and bewailed the fetters by which he was shackled; but, as he remarked the change which nights of watching and of tears had made in her appearance, he felt half consoled; and the only result of this

* Mémoires de Madame de la Vallière.

meeting was to harrow the heart of the poor victim of political expediency, and to prove to her upon how unstable a foundation she had blindly built up her superstructure of hope.

From St. Jean d'Angély the court proceeded to Bordeaux, and thence to Toulouse, where they halted to await the conclusion of the treaty. The negotiation was a tedious one. The pardon of the Prince de Condé, and his restoration to all his honors, was a point which the cardinal was long in conceding; and this was no sooner arranged than fresh difficulties arose as to every city which was to be claimed or ceded. Weakened as he was in health, not only by the disease from which he was suffering, but also from the immense fatigue and want of rest which he was compelled to undergo, Mazarin nevertheless rallied all his energies, and refused to ratify the treaty until he had rendered it one of unequivocal advantage to the nation which he represented. It was then signed by both ministers in duplicate; after which they also appended their signatures to the marriage contract.

This contract insured to the Infanta a portion of five hundred thousand golden crowns, payable in three installments; in consideration of which sum she formally renounced "all other pretensions to the inheritance of her parents, it being clearly understood that neither she nor her children could succeed to any of the states of his Catholic Majesty, even in the event of his legitimate successors becoming extinct."

The Marshal de Grammont, who had only awaited the signing of the treaty, then took leave of Their Majesties, and hastened as ambassador-extraordinary to Madrid, to demand the hand of the Infanta; while the cardinal, worn out both in body and mind, arrived at Toulouse, after a three months' sojourn in the unwholesome air of the Island of Pheasants. Between the two ministers the

whole of the arrangements, as well as the treaty itself, had been one great diplomatic struggle; for although the marriage of the king and the general peace of Europe were the objects of the conference, more than a month was spent in settling the difficulties of precedence, and in regulating the ceremonies to be observed. The cardinals placed themselves on an equality with crowned heads, and France claimed preëminence over the other European powers; but Don Louis de Haro would concede neither of these assumptions, and refused to treat save on equal terms, both as regarded himself and the nation of which he was the representative. Mazarin brought to the strife all his usual dexterity and cunning; and Don Louis a slowness and deliberation which afforded him ample time to sift the policy of his opponent to the very dregs, although he refrained from offering any pledges, or holding out any promises; while the cardinal was lavish of both, although they were all equivocal. The aim of the Italian was to take his antagonist by surprise, that of the Spaniard to guard himself from an attempt which he had soon penetrated; and it was asserted that the latter had remarked of the cardinal, that his policy was very mistaken upon one point, for he was always seeking to deceive.

Be that as it might, it is certain that, save as regarded the peace, Mazarin obtained no actual advantage through this marriage. The portion of Maria Theresa which, as we have already stated, was nominally fixed at five hundred thousand gold crowns, would not, had it been forthwith paid into the treasury, have covered the outlay of the king's journey to the frontier to receive her. Nevertheless, these five hundred thousand crowns, equal at that period to two millions five hundred thousand livres, were a great subject of contestation between the ministers; and finally, France never received more of the dower than a hundred thousand francs.

Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, was, by this treaty

made to feel the vengeance of both the kingdoms against which he had borne arms; and he was sacrificed by each the more readily that he was no longer in a position to oppose their united verdict. France restored to him his principality, but demolished Nancy, and placed an interdict upon his maintaining armed troops; while, in the case of the Prince de Condé, against whom Louis XIV had even greater cause of complaint, Don Louis de Haro obliged the cardinal to give a pledge of his restoration to the favor of his monarch, by a threat that, should this article be rejected, Spain would continue to him the sovereignty of Rocroy, Câtelet, and other fortresses of which he was then in possession. By her concession upon this point, France consequently gained, not only the renewed fealty of her greatest general, but also the cities just named.*

Both these subtil ministers were, however, guilty of one act of policy, as short-sighted as it was contemptible. Charles II., at that period hopeless of regaining his throne through his own efforts, or those of his immediate friends, who had already fruitlessly exhausted both their blood and their resources in his cause, no sooner heard of the conference of the Pyrenees than he hastened to implore the help of Don Louis and Mazarin, flattering himself that their respective sovereigns, who were both his relatives, would, at last, upon the occasion of their alliance—Cromwell, moreover, being dead—revenge a cause in which all the crowned heads of Europe were individually interested; but neither Don Louis nor the cardinal would concede an interview to the unhappy and exiled king, fearing to rouse the resentment of the English ambassador, who was still at St. Jean de Luz.

Could Charles have foreseen that only a few weeks were destined to elapse ere he should be summoned by his own subjects to assume his birthright, and to ascend

* Le Siècle de Louis XIV. *Francheville*

the throne of his ancestors, without one helping hand from among the mighty potentates of Europe, he might have spared himself that last and useless humiliation. Certain it is that this unlooked-for event occurred so suddenly that he was in peaceful possession of his kingdom before the treaty of the Pyrenees was signed.

The reception of the Marshal de Grammont at Madrid had, meanwhile, been most triumphant. He had entered the city post, in order to testify the impatience of his master, magnificently attired in the garb of a courier, and followed by a splendid retinue;* and, on his arrival, the admiral of Castille had invited him to a gorgeous banquet; which, however, like the feast of the Barmecide, was meant rather for the eye than for the palate. Seven hundred dishes, emblazoned with the arms of the admiral, were served up, of which the contents were covered with saffron and gilding; but all were in succession carried away untouched, to the great discomfort of the guests, who were compelled to sit for four hours spectators of these unprofitable evolutions.*

The fêtes and galas given by the King of Spain, in honor of his arrival, revenged him, however, on the visionary banquet of the admiral, and left no doubt of the success of his mission.

As the court left Toulouse M. de Condé quitted Brussels, accompanied by his wife, his daughter, and his son; and at Coulommeirs he was met by the Duke and Duchess de Longueville; when, after a hasty greeting, the former went forward to announce his approach to the court, where the Prince de Conti had already arrived. Two days after-

* "The Marshal de Grammont left this city for St. Jean de Luz, and thence for Madrid, not only with the most attractive retinue, but also with an immense suite of persons of distinction, who were anxious to increase the splendor of an embassy of this importance.—*Bayonne Gazette of the 27th Sept.*, 1659.

† Mémoires du Maréchal de Grammont

ward Condé reached Aix in his turn; and when he was announced to the queen, MADEMOISELLE was in the apartment of Her Majesty, awaiting with anxiety the appearance of the illustrious rebel; but she was fated, for the present, to disappointment, as Anne of Austria had no sooner ascertained the identity of her visitor than she turned to the princess, and requested her to leave the room, asserting that M. de Condé had desired that their first meeting might take place without witnesses. MADEMOISELLE replied with a bitter smile that she was convinced the prince would consider her absence upon such an occasion very extraordinary. The queen, however, retorted in an angry tone, and MADEMOISELLE found herself compelled to obey, which she did with an ill grace; and proceeded forthwith to complain to the cardinal of the want of consideration which had been shown to her, declaring that, should she be subjected to a renewed affront of this nature, she would immediately withdraw from court. Mazarin made an ample apology, by which the haughty princess was appeased; and M. de Condé, having shortly afterward paid her a visit, she soon forgot her momentary mortification.*

The prince, meanwhile, relieved every one about him of the embarrassment which might have been felt upon the occasion of his reappearance, by the perfect self-possession which he exhibited, and by accosting each individual with whom he came in contact with the easy and indifferent air of one who had only parted from them the previous evening; and he had not been many hours in Aix ere the king was talking familiarly to him of all that he had accomplished both in France and Flanders, with as much interest as though he had performed all these exploits in the royal service.

On the evening succeeding the departure of the court for Toulon, as MADEMOISELLE was writing in her apart-

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

ment, a courier from Blois was announced, who proved to be a jester on the establishment of *Monsieur*, and who threw upon her table a large packet of papers, exclaiming that her father was not dead, nor did he believe that he was likely to die this time; and then, without explaining the meaning of this extraordinary announcement, asked if the cardinal were in the city, as he had a letter to deliver to him.

The princess, greatly alarmed, inquired into the motive of his journey; when he stated that *Monsieur* had been suffering from brain-fever, but that he was now better; and that his object was to inform the court of the circumstance. The letters of MADEMOISELLE, however, gave a less favorable opinion of the temporary convalescence of her father; and the certificate of the physicians, by which they were accompanied, left no doubt of the gravity of the attack, nor of their apprehensions as to the result which might supervene.

Under these circumstances, the princess lost no time in sending a messenger to the cardinal, stating her anxiety to start immediately for Blois; but Mazarin declared that he was not aware if her departure would be strictly according to etiquet, and that she must delay her purpose until he ascertained the fact. In obedience to this decision, MADEMOISELLE contented herself by ordering prayers to be put up in all the churches, and awaited, as patiently as she could, the permission of the court to assist in closing the eyes of her dying father. On returning from the evening service of the Fathers of the Oratory on the following Sunday, she found all her retinue assembled in her antechamber; and the truth flashed upon her at once —*Monsieur* was dead; and retiring to her closet she burst into tears.

MADEMOISELLE could not, however, even while she wept as a daughter, forget that she was also a princess; and, accordingly, she soon sufficiently controlled her filial emo-

tion to remember that it was her duty to inform the king of the death of his uncle. "These are dignified proceedings," she remarks, "in which we should never fail." She, therefore, sustained by this reflection, dried her tears, and wrote a letter to the cardinal, informing him that her grief would not allow her to address the king; but that as her duty obliged her to inform His Majesty of the death of *Monsieur*, she requested him to perform the office for her. She then sent a gentleman to wait upon the queen and the Duke d'Anjou with the melancholy tidings, and proceeded to write a second letter to the Prince de Conti, to inform him of her anxiety that he should succeed to the government of Languedoc, for which she strongly advised him to apply; but counseled him, at the same time, not to speak of any private government, in order that all such might be left to those upon whom *Monsieur* had himself bestowed them; after which she gave the necessary orders for her mourning, and then retired to rest, "occupied by a sincere regret at the death of *Monsieur*."

We have shown how MADEMOISELLE bore the loss of her last parent; let us now turn to the little court of Blois, and examine the effect produced by the demise of Gaston upon those by whom he was immediately surrounded.

Madame was not present when he expired; but he no sooner ceased to breathe than she demanded the keys of the presses, in which she locked up the dinner-services, the plate, and every thing that came under her hand; and having secured all articles of value, she discharged the whole of her household, retaining only a few Lorrainese attendants, who were as rapacious as herself. She next removed the sheets from the bed upon which *Monsieur* lay dead; and as there was, consequently, no linen left in which to shroud the corpse, it became necessary for some one to supply it; when Madame de Raré, the governess of his daughters, gave the last proof of her attachment to

her master by furnishing the death-sheet in which he was carried to his grave.* Moreover, the usual religious ceremonies were neglected, and scarcely a prayer was said for the son, the brother, and the uncle of three powerful sovereigns. The doors of the apartment in which he lay were closed every evening, and the priests left the body unattended during the night. Notwithstanding the severity of the cold, neither light nor fire was allowed in the room; and when, after having laid in state for several days, the body was finally removed to St. Denis, the funeral procession was composed only of a few pages and almoners.

Etiquet prescribed for *Madame* a retirement of forty days in an apartment hung with black, where she should have received the condolences of the public bodies, and of her own private friends; but Marguerite of Lorraine was not, as we have shown, a person to be influenced by common rules; and, although no princess had yet ventured to neglect this last ceremonial of mourning, she dispensed with the restraint and the expense alike, and at the end of eleven or twelve days reappeared in the midst of her diminished household, to the great scandal of all its members. Nor was this all; for, having arranged her affairs at Blois, she announced her intention of forthwith proceeding to Paris, to entreat the king in behalf of herself and her daughters; and when she set forth for this purpose, instead of traveling in a close coach, she selected an open carriage, by which means she was recognized in every town and village through which she passed.†

The curate of St. Savior of Blois had attended the prince

* It is a singular fact that a similar circumstance occurred at the death of *Madame* herself. After her body had been embalmed not one of her women would give a chemise for her to be buried in, but said that they did not possess any; and it was the Princess of Wirtemberg who supplied the linen necessary for her decent interment.

† Mémoires de Madame de la Vallière.

in his last moments, the principal of the Oratory, who was his confessor, not being upon the spot, while the Abbé de Rance,* the nephew of the archbishop of Tours, attached himself with exemplary devotion to His Royal Highness, and, until he expired, remained constantly by his bedside

Previously to that period he had been known only by his companionable qualities, his powers of intellect, and his utter disregard of the duties of his sacred profession; but the death-bed of *Monsieur*, as MADEMOISELLE relates, changed the whole tenor of his life. Conscious of the errors of his past career, beside the body of the almost forsaken prince, whose passage to the tomb he had so materially assisted to render happy, he formed the resolution of abandoning a world by which he had been so grievously misguided; and as he had the control of the Abbey of La Trappe, he at once determined that it should be the place of his penance, for which purpose he requested permission of the king to reform the community, and had no sooner received the royal sanction to that effect than he took the vows of the rigid order of St. Bernard, and was deputed by the whole body to proceed to Rome, where he succeeded admirably in his mission, and displayed so much piety and ability that he was soon regarded as a worthy successor to the saint whose garb he wore. On his return to France he reorganized his abbey, and placed it upon the same footing which it held in the time of its holy founder.

Other authorities, however, attribute the conversion of M. de Rancé to a very different cause. The whole of his youth had been devoted to dissipation; and among other women of rank to whom he had attached himself in a manner unbecoming his profession, was the beautiful but dissipated Duchess de Montbazon, from whom, on one occasion, he had been compelled to separate himself for a short

‡ Dom Armand John le Bouthillier, nephew of the superintendent of finance.

ame, and to whose residence he hastened immediately on his return from his journey, ignorant that she had died during his absence. Entering her apartment unannounced, he was horror-struck on seeing her head placed upright upon a dish, the leaden coffin which had been prepared having been found to short for the body; and this sight, for which he had been totally unprepared, produced so great an effect upon his mind, that it determined him to the retreat which has been already mentioned!*

Certain it is that this conversion created infinitely more sensation than the death by which it had been preceded, for Gaston left scarcely a regret behind him. Always disaffected and suspicious, he was perpetually in a state of moral revolt; and when circumstances occasionally compelled him to put his theories into practice, he unhesitatingly sacrificed all those who had been weak enough to trust to his honor, when by such measures he could insure his own safety. Not one of all his friends escaped some share of suffering for his sake: exile, imprisonment, and death had been alike the reward of their misplaced confidence in his principles; and his abandonment of their interests in the hour of need was so notorious, that, on one occasion, when at a public rejoicing, he extended his hand to the Prince de Guémenée, who had ascended some steps, the prince said, with a somewhat equivocal smile, "I thank Your Royal Highness the more sincerely for your help, as I am the first of your friends whom you ever assisted to descend from a scaffold:"† a bitter pleasantry, which must have smitten with momentary shame even Gaston of Orleans.

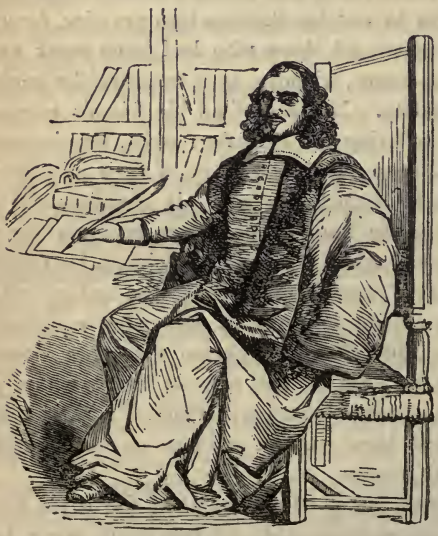
Neither the death of a member of the royal house, nor the conversion of an abbé of the court, were, however, events of sufficient importance to divert the thoughts of all classes for more than a very brief interval from the

* Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de Charles Saint-Laurent.

† Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

approaching marriage of the king; and, accordingly, Gaston was laid beside his illustrious kindred in the gloomy vaults of St. Denis, and the iron gates closed behind him, never again to revolve upon their hinges until they once more fell back to admit another inmate to this Necropolis of departed royalty, while De Rancé buried himself in the living tomb of La Trappe, to fast and pray, exist in eternal silence, and daily dig his grave with his own hands, without leaving any lasting impression upon the public mind.

Every eye was turned toward the Pyrenees.



CHAPTER I.

Postponement of the Royal Marriage—Journey of the Court to St. Jean de Luz—Marriage of Louis XIV.—Portrait of the Young Queen—Meeting of the Kings of France and Spain—Mary de Mancini at Brouage—The Marquis de Peguilain—Return of the Court toward Paris—The Prince Colonna asks the Hand of Mary de Mancini—She rejects his Suit—Mesdemoiselles de Mancini summoned to Fontainebleau—Indifference of the King at their meeting—Marriage of Mary de Mancini and the Prince Colonna—Her subsequent Career.

Considerable surprise was felt by the court when they received an intimation that the marriage of the sovereign was postponed until the following spring; the severity of the weather, and the consequent probability of a rigorous winter, being a pretext for this delay on the part of the King of Spain, who could not, as he asserted, expose himself without imprudence, at such a season, to a journey for which both his age and his infirmities unfitted him.

In the interval which consequently elapsed, intelligence reached the French court of the death of the second prince of Spain, and great alarm was felt both by the queen and Mazarin that this event would prevent the completion of the treaty; but, as peace had become quite as desirable for the one kingdom as for the other, their fears were not realized; and in the month of May, 1660, Louis XIV. and his court left Toulouse for Bayonne, and thence proceeded to St. Jean de Luz, where they were to be met by the King of Spain and the Infanta.

Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the preparations for this royal and nuptial interview. A temporary palace had been erected in the Isle of Pheasants, which was redolent of Spanish splendor and French elegance; a bridge connected the island with the main land on either

frontier; and infinite difficulties had been vanquished in order to place the two sovereigns on a perfect equality, even in the most minute details of accommodation and ornament. The bridges, forming covered galleries, were precisely similar, and led to two saloons splendidly furnished and decorated, having lateral chambers and dressing-rooms; while in the exact center, calculated to an inch of surface, was the grand hall of meeting, which was extremely spacious, and lighted only on the riverward side. Two doors of entrance, placed precisely opposite to each other, enabled the two great contracting parties to make a simultaneous entrance; while the floor, divided in a straight line across the center, was covered on the Spanish side with Persian carpets wrought on a ground of gold and silver; and the moiety which belonged to France was overspread with crimson Genoa velvet, laced with gold and silver. In each compartment were placed an arm-chair and a table; and upon the latter stood two inkstands and two timepieces; in short, not the slightest deviation, save in the material which covered the floor, was perceptible in the respective sides of the vast apartment.*

On the 3d of June, Don Louis de Haro, as the proxy of Louis XIV., having the Bishop of Fréjus as his witness, married the Infanta Maria-Theresa, daughter of Philip IV., King of Spain, in the church of Fontarabia, where the ceremony was conducted with the most stately and chilling gravity. MADEMOISELLE, who had with some difficulty obtained permission to attend the espousals *incognita*, relates that a dais of gold brocade, inclosed by curtains save on the side next the altar, had been prepared for the king in the tribune, and beside it was placed a seat for Don Louis de Haro, with, beyond this, a bench for the grandees of the kingdom on one side, and a second for the almoners directly opposite. All the French who were present occupied the steps of the altar.

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier

The king entered the church, preceded by a few Swiss guards, the larger portion of the troops remaining at the entrance; and immediately before him walked the Bishop of Pampeluna, with the whole of his clergy, in full sacerdotal costume. Philip IV. wore a gray coat embroidered with silver, and his hat looped with a large diamond, to which was attached a pendent pearl, both belonging to the crown jewels. He was followed by the Infanta, who walked alone, dressed in white satin, richly embroidered, and ornamented with small bows of silver serge, a quantity of ill-set gems, and a mass of false hair. Her train was carried by her first lady of the household.*

By some strange oversight, the Bishop of Fréjus was not apprised of the precise hour at which the marriage had been appointed to take place; and the service was actually about to commence when he was missed, and a messenger hastily dispatched to his residence, whence he arrived without delay totally unattended; and with evident chagrin reproached Don Louis for his neglect, as he passed on to take his place at the altar.

At the conclusion of the mass, Philip IV. seated himself in his chair of state, and the Infanta took her place upon her cushion; after which the bishop also seated himself, and Don Louis approached, and presented to him the procuration of the King of France, which the Bishop of Fréjus had just delivered into his hands. It was read by one of the assistant priests, as were also the Papal dispensations; after which the marriage service was performed; the king standing the whole time between the Infanta and Don Louis.

When the princess was called upon to make her affirm-

* *Camerièri Major* are persons who, in the Peninsular courts, have unlimited authority over the servants of the palace; dress and undress the king, or other member of the royal family whom they serve, and exercise their jurisdiction over all which relates to the internal economy of the household.

ative reply, she turned round and faced her father, making, when she had so done, a very profound curtsey, as if to solicit his permission to utter it, which was apparently conceded; she then slowly and gravely moved her lips, and answered in a low, firm tone. Throughout the whole of the ceremony, the Infanta never once gave her hand to Don Louis, nor did he present the ring to her. At the termination of the service she knelt before the king, and kissed his hand; after which Philip withdrew his hat, and embraced her. She then rose, placed herself on the king's right hand, and the whole train swept after them from the church.

Nothing could more thoroughly illustrate the different genius of the two nations than the manner in which they observed the royal marriage day. At Fontarabia not a vestige of rejoicing was to be detected; all was grave, and still, and monotonous as usual; while in France the people were profuse in outlay both of money and acclamation. Their joy amounted, indeed, almost to delirium.*

"The Infanta," says Madame de Motteville, who accompanied MADEMOISELLE to witness the marriage, "is short, but well made; we admired the extreme fairness of her complexion; her blue eyes appeared to us to be fine, and charmed us by their softness and brilliancy. We celebrated the beauty of her mouth, and of her somewhat full and roseate lips. The outline of her face is long, but being rounded at the chin, pleased us; her cheeks, rather large but handsome, had their share of our praise; her hair, of a very light auburn, accorded admirably with her fine complexion. To speak the truth, with more height, and handsomer teeth, she would deserve to be estimated as one of the most beautiful persons in Europe. Her bust appeared to be well formed and tolerably full; but her dress was horrible."†

* Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

† Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

On the following day, Anne of Austria, the King of Spain, and the royal bride met on the Island of Conference. The Queen-Mother arrived first, Philip IV. having been detained at Fontarabia by the visit of the Duke de Créqui, who waited upon him in the name of his royal master, to present to the young queen, not the jewels of the crown, but those which Louis offered as his marriage gift, and which were very fine. She was accompanied only by *Monsieur* (the Duke d'Anjou, now Duke d'Orleans), etiquet not permitting the young king to have an interview with his bride before a given moment, and attended by Mesdames de Flex and de Noailles. She was soon followed by her royal brother and the bride, and the meeting between these long-severed relatives was stately and dignified. Anne of Austria, indeed, in whom the sister for a moment overcame the sovereign, endeavored to salute the Spanish king upon the cheek; but he held back his head so rigidly that she could not succeed.

The young queen then threw herself upon her knees before her, and requested permission to kiss her hand; upon which Anne of Austria lifted her affectionately from the floor, and embraced her with great tenderness. The conversation that ensued was kind, heartfelt, and earnest on the part of the Queen-Mother; but Philip never relaxed for a moment in his stateliness. After some time had elapsed, the Cardinal Mazarin approached Their Majesties, and informed them that a stranger was at the door, who requested that it might be opened to him; when Anne of Austria, with the consent of the king her brother, desired that the visitor might be admitted.

Mazarin and Don Louis had left the door partially thrown back, in order that the king might see his bride; and as it was desirable that she should also see him, they were careful not to impede her view, which was the more easy as he was a head taller than either of the ministers. As her son approached, the color of the Queen-Mother rose,

and the Infanta having met his eye, blushed deeply; while Philip remarked, with a gracious smile, that he had a handsome son-in-law.

The suite of the Spanish king consisted of Don Louis de Haro, his prime minister; Don Pedro of Arragon, captain of the Bourgignon guard; the Marquis d'Aytonne; the Marquis de Malepique, grand master of the ceremonies; the Marshal de Leche and the Count de Monserci, both sons of Don Louis de Haro; Don Fernando Vonès-de Canto-Carrero, secretary of state; and Senhors Pimentel and Velasquez. Louis XIV. was accompanied by the Queen-Mother, *Monsieur* Duke d'Orleans, the Prince de Conti, Cardinal Mazarin, and numerous great officers of the crown and kingdom; among whom were the Vicomte de Turenne, who had recently been appointed marshal-general of the camps and armies of the king; and the marshal Duke de Grammont, who had visited Madrid to demand the hand of the Infanta.*

The Infanta-queen was attired in a robe of white satin, embroidered with bugles, and wore a hoop. Her hair was simply dressed, and adorned with a bouquet of pear-shaped emeralds mingled with brilliants, which were a present from her royal bridegroom. On casting his eyes over the suite of Louis, the King of Spain remarked M. de Turenne, and repeated several times, "There is a man who has caused me many uneasy hours:" a reminiscence which considerably annoyed the marshal.†

When Louis XIV. had advanced to the center of the saloon, the two kings placed themselves in front of their respective tables, and cushions were brought to each; after which the cardinal came forward, bearing a copy of the Gospel with a cross resting upon the volume, while the patriarch of India acted similarly on the Spanish side; both being in full costume. This done, the two sovereigns

* Le Comte Alexandre de Laborde.

† Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

knelt; M. de Brienne, French secretary of state, then took the treaty of peace, and Don Fernando Vonès-de Canto-Carrero, who held the same distinguished rank in Spain, did the same; and each read it aloud in his own language. At its conclusion, the royal allies laid their hands upon the Gospel, and took their oaths to observe its contents; after which they both rose, and advancing at an equal pace to the division of the apartment, exchanged an embrace, which Louis XIV. gracefully followed up by the assurance that he pledged himself, not only to peace, but to friendship. When some further courtesies had been reciprocated, they moved side by side to the upper end of the table, where Don Fernando Vonès presented the Spanish retinue to the King of France, and the cardinal made the French suite known to the King of Spain. At the close of this ceremony each monarch retired to his closet to sign the treaty, and reappeared in the great saloon, where Philip IV. remarked to the Queen-Mother, that as it was growing late, he would return to the island-palace on the following day at three o'clock. After this announcement the two courts separated.*

On the morrow the Queen-Mother returned alone to the island, desiring MADEMOISELLE and the ladies of her household to await her in her apartments, in order to receive the young queen, who was to reside with her for a couple of days; after which the marriage was celebrated in the church of St. Jean-de-Luz. A raised platform extended from the residence of Anne of Austria to the entrance of the church, which was richly carpeted. The young queen was robed in a royal mantle of violet-colored velvet, powdered with fleurs-de-lis, over a white dress, and wore a crown upon her head. Her train was carried by Mesdemoiselles d'Alençon and de Valois,† and the Princess de Carignan. After the ceremony the queen complained of

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

† The younger daughters of Gaston.

fatigue, and retired for a few hours to her chamber, where she dined alone. In the evening she received the court, dressed in the French style; and gold and silver tokens, commemorative of the royal marriage, were profusely showered from the windows of her apartment.

All her Spanish retinue, including the Countess de Pleigo, her camarara-mayor, then took their leave, and departed for Spain, with the exception of five individuals: her confessor, her physician, her surgeon, her first waiting-woman, Malina, who had served the queen her mother in the same capacity, and the nephew of the latter, who had married one of her femmes-de-chambre.

On the 15th of June the court left St. Jean-de-Luz for Paris; and at Toulouse the Duke de Grammont, after the successful termination of his mission to Madrid, received the compliments of the royal circle, and presented to the king the Marquis de Péguilain,* his nephew, a young officer who had distinguished himself in the last campaign. His personal advantages, his cheerful disposition, his brilliant conversation, and, above all, his tact in dispensing those frank and apparently unpremeditated flatteries which are so welcome to sovereigns, so won upon the young king, that Louis at once determined to attach him to his person by all the attractions of court favor.

At Amboise the royal party were met by the Prince de Condé, who came to present his son, the Duke d'Enghien. At Chambord the Duke de Longueville paid his respects in his turn; and lastly, at Fontainebleau, the Duke de Lorraine and the Duke de Guise awaited the arrival of the king and queen to pay their homage. Thence the illustrious *cortège* reached Vincennes, where they remained until the preparations were completed for their solemn entrance into the capital, which ultimately took place on the 26th of August.

On the occasion of his marriage the king had hastened

* Afterward Duke de Lauzun.

to recall from banishment both the Count de Vivonne and the Marquis de Mancini; and poor Mary, in her exile at Brouage, wept with joy to hear that her dearly beloved brother had been chosen for the honor of bearing the train of MADEMOISELLE, even although it was at the nuptials of the only man whom she had ever loved; for she saw in this distinction an earnest of his future favor.

For herself she had no longer any thing to hope; the past was as a brilliant dream from which the present was a mere troubled waking. She looked around upon the dreary state by which she was environed, and tried to condense her secret thoughts, and to fix them on the familiar objects amid which she tried to believe that she was destined to wear away her life. Until within a week of the royal marriage she had occasionally received letters from Louis; and if they were not what they had once been, still she struggled to close her eyes against the fact; but, since the Infanta had become Queen of France, no communication had reached her. This was as it should be, she argued to her own heart—the passion which had formerly been her glory could now only be her shame. It was right that he should forget her, as he had done. But when the bruised heart spoke in its turn, she buried her burning face in her spread hands, and thought what a boon it would be to die.

Mademoiselle de Mancini dwelt only on the broad outline of her misfortune—she did not waste a thought upon its details; and even had she heard of the new courtier whom the pleasure-loving Louis had attached to his train at Toulouse, she would not have suspected for an instant that he could possess the power further to embitter her destiny. And yet so it was: since the banishment of Vivonne and Mancini, the young king had only the faithful Prince de Marsillac about his person to whom he was willing to confide those secrets which at his age are considered as so important; and even this confidence availed him

little, for the prince could only listen and lament. He did not possess sufficient courage to offer an opinion which might chance to give offense; and thus Louis soon wearied of a sympathy which, however sincere, was never suggestive.

At such a moment, therefore, M. de Péguilain was doubly welcome; toward the two recently reconciled culprits the king was anxious not to exhibit a too marked attachment, lest by so doing he might create jealousy and disaffection among his other courtiers; while as regarded the new favorite he was under no such restriction; and as De Péguilain was too clever not to perceive in an instant the error of the Prince de Marsillac, he at once adopted a diametrically opposite line of conduct, whose very novelty increased the predilection of Louis in his favor. He even dared to blame where he disapproved; but he did it with a grace which invested the error with a sort of kingly virtue that flattered the vanity and self-appreciation of the young monarch, even although it convinced him of his fault; while, where he had only to applaud, he based his praises upon such high and dignified grounds that they assumed a double value.

It was not long, therefore, under these circumstances, ere Louis confided to him all the details of his passion for Mary de Mancini; a passion which, although chilled and diminished by recent circumstances, was still far from being wholly overcome; and the subtil Péguilain, desirous to remove so dangerous a rival from the mind and affections of his royal master, employed his most crafty arguments to uproot the lingering remains of so formidable a preference. He urged nothing on the ground of morality, for he felt that such a position was untenable in the atmosphere of a court; but he adduced his own example, and that of some of the most gallant nobles of the kingdom, to prove that constancy was a chimera fit only to be entertained by boys and prudes. Day after day these conver

sations were renewed; and if they failed to convince his auditor, they at least served to shake his faith both in his own sentiments and in the merits of Mademoiselle de Mancini; and hence the utter silence on his part which supervened.

Such was the position of the former lovers, when Madame de Venelle received an order from the cardinal to conduct his nieces to Paris; asserting that the Queen-Mother, who had graciously expressed her regret that Mary had not been present at the royal marriage, was anxious that she should at least partake of the festivities which were consequent upon them, as well as the entry of the young queen into the capital. To Mademoiselle de Mancini this order was like a death-pang; but she well knew that there was no possibility of resistance, and she accordingly set forth upon her journey with a heart full of despair and bitterness. As she advanced toward the capital, deaf to the joyous acclamations of her young sisters, to whom a return to the pleasures of the court was as the opening of a new paradise, she saw at the entrance of every town and hamlet the preparations which were making to welcome the young queen: the triumphal arches, the windows garlanded with flowers, and the many-colored lamps forming the cipher of the new deity; while, more than once, the crowd recognizing the livery of Mazarin, had stopped the carriage to ask tidings of the progress of the royal party.

The heart of Mary bled at every pore, and when at length she alighted at the new palace of the cardinal,* she hastened to shut herself into her apartment, in order to indulge her despair in solitude and silence.

Mazarin, anticipating some outbreak on the part of the unhappy girl, upon an occasion of such bitter trial, resolved to seize the opportunity of offering to her at that moment a brilliant marriage, which would place her beyond the com-

* Now the Royal Library.

ments of the court; and a letter was accordingly put into her hands, immediately after her arrival in Paris, in which he informed her that the constable, Prince Colonna, had asked her hand, and implored her to reflect seriously before she renounced the prospect of becoming one of the greatest ladies in Rome.

But Mazarin did not understand his niece. The moment which he had considered to be so favorable was precisely one in which Mary, who felt that her dignity had been compromised by others, was more than ever resolved to uphold it in her own person. She consequently lost no time in returning a cold and positive refusal to the proposition, and thus proved that she was equal to the emergency, cruel as it might be.

The communication of the cardinal was followed by a second from the Duchess de Noailles, in which she announced the arrival of the court at Fontainebleau, where the principal persons of the kingdom were to be presented to the young queen previously to her entry into Paris; and in this list the names of Mary and her sisters having been inscribed, the duchess wrote to inform her that they would have the honor of being presented by the Countess de Soissons, their sister, and the Princess de Conti, their cousin, on the ensuing Sunday, immediately after the high mass.

When Mademoiselle de Mancini reached Fontainebleau, every one was struck by the alteration in her person; they had one and all forgotten to estimate the extent of her sufferings; and, as though every thing conspired to render her trial the more difficult to bear, just as she had begun to congratulate herself on hearing that the king had walked into the park to inspect the recent improvements of Le Notre,* and had with tolerable firmness joined her sister,

* Andrew Le Notre, born at Paris in 1613, became architect and landscape-gardener to the king. He designed the grounds of Marly Trianon, Chantilly, St. Cloud, the Tuileries, and the Terrace of St

and advanced toward the queen, Louis entered the hall of audience to request Maria Theresa to accompany him in a second survey.

It chanced that at that precise moment the Countess de Soissons was in the act of presenting Mademoiselle de Mancini; and, as she was named, the king bowed without one vestige of emotion or sign of recognition; inquired after the health of the cardinal, who had been detained at Vincennes by the gout; exchanged a few words with Madame de Soissons; and then turned away to salute the other ladies who were passing before the queen, to each of whom he addressed some remark or compliment with the same condescending indifference.

Mary felt that she could bear no more. The whole brilliant scene swam before her eyes, but she could not distinguish objects; and, suddenly rousing herself from an emotion which she felt would expose her to the merciless railleries of the circle, she withdrew a little apart in order to rally her scattered senses. The affectionate greeting of the Queen-Mother added a fresh pang to her wretchedness; for it was so marked that she at once felt the security which it implied. She was no longer feared. Louis had then, indeed, ceased to love her.

When the presentations had terminated, the king invited all the ladies of the circle to attend the queen at a hunt in which she was about to join; and as every one rose, Mademoiselle de Mancini, eager to escape the scene of her torture, announced to the Princess de Conti that she had just received news of the aggravated illness of the cardinal, which compelled her immediately to depart for Vincennes.

At some distance from the chateau she was compelled to halt, in order to allow the queen and her train to pass; and thus she again saw Louis, who preceded the cavalcade

Germain. In 1675 Louis XIV. conferred upon him letters of nobility and the cross of St. Lazarus. He died in 1700.

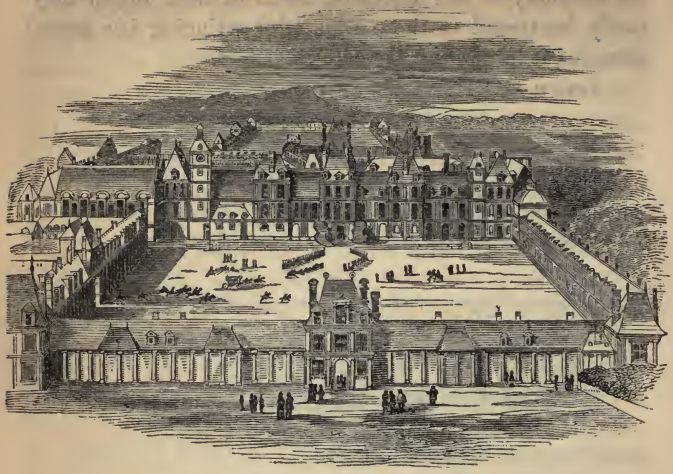
on horseback, surrounded by all the nobles of his court, and conversing with the Marquis de Péguilain. The heart of Mary throbbed almost to bursting; it was impossible that the king should not recognize the livery of her uncle —the carriage in which he had so often been seated by her side—he would not—he could not pass her by without one word. She deceived herself. His Majesty was laughing at some merry tale of his new favorite, by which he was so much engrossed that he rode on, without bestowing even a look upon the gilded coach and its heart-broken occupant.

On the morrow, pale, cold, and tearless, Mademoiselle de Mancini drove to Vincennes, where she announced to the cardinal that she was ready to give her hand to the Prince Colonna, provided the marriage took place immediately, and that he wrote without an hour's delay to ask the consent of the king. Mazarin, delighted to have thus carried his point after having despaired of success, at once promised to comply with her wishes; and Mary returned to Paris as self-sustained as she had left it, although, perhaps, not without a latent hope that her resolution would awaken some return of affection in the breast of Louis—induce some remonstrance—elicit some token of remembrance.

Again, however, she was the victim of her own hope. The royal consent was granted without a single comment, accompanied by valuable presents which she dared not decline; and Mary walked to the altar as she would have walked to the scaffold, carrying with her an annual dower of a hundred thousand livres, and perjuring herself by vows which she could not fulfill.

Her after-career we dare not trace. Suffice it that the ardent and enthusiastic spirit which would, had she been fated to happiness, have made her memory a triumph for her sex, embittered by falsehood, wrong, and treachery, involved her in errors over which both charity and propri

ety oblige us to draw a veil; and if all Europe rang with the enormity of her excesses, much of their origin may surely be traced to those who, after wringing her heart, trampled it in the dust beneath their feet.



CHAPTER III.

The State-Entry into the Capital—Popularity of Mazarin—Marriage of the Princess Marguerite of Savoy and the Prince of Parma—Indignation of the French Court—A rival Court—The Saloons of Madame de Soissons—Fire at the Louvre—Mazarin condemned by his Physicians; his sudden generosity; his Easy-Chair—Hortensia de Mancini affianced to the Duke de la Meilleraye; he assumes the name of Mazarin—Marianne de Mancini affianced to the Duke de Bouillon—Improvidence of the Sisters—Remorse of the Cardinal—Mazarin and the Théatine Monk—The affected Donation—The Death-Toilet—Last Advice to the King—Presentation of Colbert—Death of Mazarin—Departure of Louis XIV. and the Queen-Mother for Paris—The King rules in his own Person—The Cardinal's Will—Indifference of his Family—Mazarin at the Gaming-Table—The Gambling-Debt.

Shortly after the presentation at Fontainebleau, the king and queen entered Paris in state; and throughout the entire day the streets presented only one long, and brilliant, and unbroken procession. At four o'clock in

the morning, every one was astir; and at five, all the ladies were in full costume, wearing their mantles of cere mony, which they had no opportunity of throwing off until seven o'clock in the evening, notwithstanding the intense heat. The whole court was grouped about a throne which had been erected at the barrier, and on which the young queen received the salutations of the several bodies of the state, before making her entry into the city. Neither the form nor color of the houses before which the procession was to pass could be distinguished, so profusely were they decorated with hangings of tapestry and bright-tinted cloths; while the ground was thickly overstrown with flowers and sweet-scented herbs, upon which the carriages moved without noise, extracting, as their heavy wheels crushed out the juices of the perfumed carpet beneath them, a thousand delicate odors. The queen, in all the glory of her youth and beauty, glittering with jewels and beaming with smiles, was borne forward in an antique car blazing with gold, beside which rode her royal consort, attired in a suite of velvet embroidered with gems, estimated at between seven and eight millions.

The Queen-Mother, accompanied by the Queen of England and the Princess Henrietta, occupied the house of Madame de Beauvais, within the city, where they awaited the termination of the preparatory ceremonies. The most magnificent feature of the whole procession was, however, the household of the cardinal, which was numerous and splendid, totally eclipsing, by its marvelous pomp, that of *Monsieur;* in short, so regal in its profusion, that the Count d'Estrées,* not being altogether able to excuse its

* John d'Estrees, born in Picardy in 1624, originally embraced the military profession, and was appointed lieutenant-general in 1655. Created vice-admiral of France, duke and peer, he was commissioned to demand from the English an explanation of the spoliations which they were committing in the French possessions in America. In 1672, his vessels, in conjunction with those of England, overcame the naval forces

overwhelming assumption, could find no other terms in which to describe it, than by styling it a display of *ostentatious simplicity.*

This period must be considered as the culminating point of Mazarin's prosperity. The people by whom he had been driven from the capital, and who had put a price upon his head, received him with acclamations; the magistrates who had fulminated the decree hastened to offer him their homage; the king acquiesced in all his wishes with the docility of a pupil, conscious that he owed much of his present power to his able and zealous policy. He refused to give his hand to the princes of the blood in the third degree, as he had formerly done; and he who had been treated by Don Louis de Haro as an equal assumed to consider the Great Condé as an inferior. Like his predecessor, the Cardinal de Richelieu, he maintained the same military household as the king himself, and was surrounded by guards, gendarmes, and light-horse, with, moreover, the addition of a company of musketeers, which bore his name, all commanded by nobles, having young men of quality serving under them.* He was no longer accessible as he had once been; and any one who was ill-advised enough to ask a favor of the king personally was certain of failure; while the Queen-Mother, by whom he had so long been upheld, through good and evil fortune, against the whole sense of the kingdom, became a mere cipher from the moment in which he ceased to require her protection.

One check, however, the haughty cardinal was destined to receive, even in the hour of his triumph; and that one came from the long-persecuted Stuart. Charles II. had

of the Dutch admirals, Ruyter and Tromp. On his return from this expedition he was made Marshal of France, and dispatched in pursuit of the corsairs of Tunis and Tripoli. Ultimately he received the command of the coasts of Brittany, and died in 1707

* Mémoires du Duc de St. Simon.

solicited the hand of Mary de Mancini when he was a wandering exile, and it had been abruptly, and even superciliously denied. Mazarin had no sympathy with unthroned and wandering monarchs, but when the united voices of a great nation summoned Charles to take possession of his birthright, the spirit of the ambitious cardinal yearned to clutch the recovered crown, and to place it upon the head of one of his nieces. He accordingly made known his change of resolution to the English king, offering him, at the same time, a dower of five millions of livres if he would raise Mary to the throne of Engiand; but Charles spurned at the indelicacy of the proposal; and Mazarin forthwith encouraged the pretensions of the Roman prince, to whom he ultimately married his unhappy niece.

The position of Mazarin necessarily secured suitors to the remainder of those young girls, of whom, on their first appearance at court, the Marshal de Villeroy had uttered so brilliant a prophecy; and among these were the dukes of Lorraine and Savoy, who, alike careless of receiving a dower with their brides, asked only that one fortified town on the borders of each principality should be placed under his own authority. This proposition Mazarin, however, absolutely rejected, considering such a concession dangerous to the interests of France, and the princes accordingly withdrew their claim.

While the negotiations were proceeding at the Isle of Pheasants, a marriage had, however, taken place which excited great indignation at the French court. The Princess Marguerite of Savoy, smarting under the indignity which had been cast upon her at Lyons, and foreseeing that an alliance was inevitable between Louis XIV. and the Infanta, had, somewhat abruptly, bestowed her hand upon the Prince of Parma—an event which filled all the courtiers of France with astonishment. They could not comprehend how a princess who had ever entertained a

hope of sharing the throne of Louis XIV. could abase herself to marry a mere sovereign prince. They considered this step as an immense dereliction from dignity, corresponding but little with the haughty self-respect she had evinced upon the rupture of her marriage with the French king, and which had been a theme of general praise; and they at once decided that, after having been encouraged to raise her eyes to such a height as that of the French throne, she should never have condescended to marry elsewhere, and would have been better advised had she retired into a convent. They forgot that she possessed all the pride of a woman as well as the dignity of a princess, and that nothing remained to her save to prove that although she might have writhed under an insult it had failed to crush her.

In Paris, meanwhile, all was gayety and splendor; and the whole winter was consumed in one round of never-ceasing dissipation, of which the two queens were, however, the least interested partakers. Anne of Austria was gradually becoming more and more devout, and consequently less able to appreciate the pleasures of the world; while Maria Theresa, naturally timid, was ill at ease in the midst of a numerous and brilliant court. The natural consequence ensued: another circle more consonant to the tastes and habits of the fastidious courtiers was soon formed; and the most distinguished members of the nobility, both male and female, revenged themselves upon the monotonous and rigid ceremony of the royal festivals by constantly frequenting the saloons of the Countess de Soissons, who, as superintendent of the queen's household (to which exalted post she had been appointed by the cardinal at the period of the Infanta's marriage), had apartments in the Tuileries, where, by her profuse expenditure, her wit, and, above all, her unconquerable audacity, she soon succeeded in making her circle the center of gallantry, plotting, and intrigue.

The principal feature of her receptions was the perfect freedom which they permitted, all the guests being more or less connected, and all strangers resolutely excluded; and there Louis XIV., feeling, like his courtiers, the charm of an utter freedom from restraint, which he could never enjoy in his own apartments, spent evening after evening, unconsciously acquiring that grace and ease of manner by which he was so eminently distinguished in after-life.* His vanity and his ambition had been alike flattered by an alliance with the crown of Spain, and these, superadded to the youthful beauty of his wife, had deceived him for a time into the belief that he returned an affection which on her part was at once ardent and sincere; but he soon awakened from the happy illusion, and discovered that the void in his heart, left by the absence of Mary de Mancini, was by no means supplied.

In the midst of these courtly diversions, the cardinal, hourly sinking as he was in health, determined to invite the king and queen to a grand ballet, which should transcend all that had yet been seen at Paris; and he accordingly caused the Gallery of Kings to be decorated with columns of gold serge on a ground of red and green, which had been manufactured at Milan; but, in the course of hanging these costly draperies, they by some means took fire; and the magnificent roof of the gallery, painted by Fremine, and representing Henry IV. under the figure of Jupiter exterminating the Titans, was utterly destroyed, as well as all the royal portraits executed by Janet and Porbus.†

This shock overcame the cardinal, who considered it as an evil omen; and made no effort to escape, until he was

* Mémoires du Duc de St. Simon.

† Peter Porbus was a native of Ghent, who established himself at Bruges, where he acquired considerable reputation. The portrait of St. Hubert, at Ghent, and that of the Duke d'Alençon, at Antwerp, are esteemed as his best works. He died in 1583.

aroused from his stupor by the captain of his guard, who supported him with some difficulty from the room, pale, trembling, and terrified to such an excess, that those who saw him under the influence of this morbid horror at once felt that its result must be fatal. The apartment in which he had been sitting was in flames an instant after he had been removed. He was conveyed to the Mazarin palace, where his physician was instantly summoned, and had no sooner ascertained the state of his patient than he called in eleven of his professional brethren; and when the consultation had terminated, at once returned to the sick-chamber, and announced to the cardinal that although science might enable them to prolong his existence for a certain period, his malady was beyond cure, and must, ere very long, terminate fatally.

Mazarin received this intelligence with more firmness than could have been anticipated, and merely requested to be informed with equal frankness of the probable duration of his life. On being told that he might still survive a couple of months, he replied that two months would suffice for all that he had yet to accomplish; and bade the physician leave him, and during his absence consider how he could best further his fortunes; after which he retired to his closet to meditate upon the great change that awaited him.

Some days afterward he sent to request that *Monsieur* would pay him a visit, and during the interview presented him with fifty thousand crowns; and thenceforward every one was convinced that he felt his end to be rapidly approaching.

His weakness increased hour by hour, while the declaration of Guénaud that he had only two months more to live was continually present to him by day and haunted his dreams by night. On one occasion, when Brienne*

* Henry Augustus, Count de Brienne, who died in 1666, leaving behind him his Memoirs, commencing at the accession of Louis XIV.,

entered his chamber on tiptoe, the valet-de-chambre of His Eminence having warned him that his master was dozing in an arm-chair beside the fire, the visitor discovered that he was convulsed with agitation, although evidently in a profound sleep. His body rocked to and fro, impelled by its own weight; and his head swung from the back of his chair to his knees, as he flung himself to the right and left incessantly; and during the lapse of five minutes that M. de Brienne continued to watch his movements, he asserts that the pendulum of a clock did not vibrate more rapidly than the frame of the sufferer. At intervals he uttered a few words, but in so low and choked a voice that they were unintelligible; and at length Brienne, unable longer to endure so wretched a spectacle, and fearful lest the sick man should fall into the fire, summoned his attendant from the antechamber to his assistance.

As he was aroused from his troubled sleep, the cardinal betrayed the secret which was preying upon his vitals; the name of his physician and the period of existence which had been assigned to him were the first sounds that escaped his livid lips; and when those about him endeavored to cheer him by the remark that Guénaud was only mortal, and his judgment consequently fallible, he answered, with a heavy sigh, that Guénaud understood his trade!

Yet still, despite this moral and physical prostration, the indomitable minister turned his attention to the establishment of his remaining nieces, and affianced Hortensia, the most beautiful of the two, to the Duke de la Meilleraye, grand-master of the king's household, on condition that he should assume the name of Mazarin, with an annual income of fifteen hundred thousand livres, and immense personal effects. To Marianne, who was yet a child, he moreover bequeathed a sufficient dower to enable her to enter

and terminating at the death of Mazarin. Originally secretary to the cardinal, he afterward became an ambassador, and minister for foreign affairs.

the family of Bouillon when her age should permit her to do so; while, as regarded the Princess de Conti and the Countess de Soissons, he had already secured to the former the superintendence of the household of the Queen-Mother, and to the latter that of the reigning queen. Hortensia, to whom, despite the affection which he had long felt for her, he had always denied every thing beyond common necessaries, herself relates the delight which she experienced when, so soon as her marriage had been determined on, her uncle called her into his cabinet; and, in addition to a splendid *trousseau*, persented to her a casket containing ten thousand pistoles in gold. The cardinal had no sooner left her at liberty to examine her new acquisitions than she sent for her brother, the Marquis de Mancini, and her sister Marianne, and desired them to take what they pleased. All the trio then filled their pockets; and as, when they had done this, there still remained about three hundred louis in the casket, they opened the windows, and threw them into the court of the palace, in order that the lacqueys who were assembled there might scramble for the prize.

This adventure soon reached the ears of the cardinal, and the ingratitude and folly which it exhibited added another pang to his dying hours, which had already become embittered by a sudden remorse on the subject of his enormous wealth. The Cardinal de Richelieu, a man of high birth and ancient family, had felt that he had a right to possess a princely revenue; but Mazarin, whose origin was at best equivocal, and who had been the architect of his own fortunes, at whose extent he learned to shudder in the solitude of a death-chamber, became terrified as he reflected that he was able to bequeath more than forty millions to his family. His confessor, a conscientious Théatine monk,* startled like himself at the

* The Théatines were a religious order, instituted in 1524 by St Gaétan de Thienne, Peter Caraffa, bishop of Théato, afterward Pope

unheard-of amount of his wealth, which Mazarin mentioned in the course of his confession, allowing that he considered it as a sin; at once declared that His Eminence would be damned if he did not forthwith make restitution of that portion of the money which had been ill acquired; to which the cardinal rejoined that he owed all to the bounty of the king. The honest ecclesiastic was not to be deceived, however, by such a compromise with principle, and retorted, with the same firmness, that the cardinal must compel himself to distinguish between what he had actually received from the sovereign as a free gift and what he had himself appropriated; upon which Mazarin, in despair at such an announcement, declared that in that case he must restore the whole. He then reflected for an instant, and desired that M. Colbert might be immediately sent to his apartment.

When Colbert had obeyed the summons, the cardinal confided to him the difficulty which had arisen; and the former at once advised, in order to remove his scruples, and to prevent his immense fortune from passing away from his family, that he should make a donation of all that he possessed to the king, who would not fail in his royal generosity to annul the act at once. Mazarin approved

under the name of Paul IV., and several other distinguished persons. Clement VII. sanctioned the institution, in 1529, under the name of regular clerks: a novel description of priests, living in a community, and forming different societies or congregations, some of which exacted solemn vows, others merely simple ones, and others again from whom no vow whatever was required. The Théatines were the first community who bore the appellation. The name of Théatines was given to them in consequence of the Bishop of Théato having been one of their founders. They wore a black frock, a black cloke, and white stockings. They undertook to reform the clergy, to instruct the young, to nurse the sick, and to contend against heretics. Throughout all France they possessed only one establishment, which was situated in Paris. Their order was suppressed and their convent destroyed in 1790. The Théatines produced many individuals who distinguished themselves both by their science and their virtues.

the expedient; and on the 3d of March the necessary document was prepared; but three days having elapsed without the restoration of his property, he became the victim of a thousand fears; and as he sat in his chair he wrung his hands with agony. The wealth for which he had toiled and sinned—which he had wrenched alike from the voluptuous noble and the industrious artisan, had, as he believed, passed away from him forever. The labor of his life was rendered of none avail; and the curses which he had accumulated upon his own head had failed even to gild his tomb. "My poor family!" he exclaimed at intervals; "my poor family! They will be left without bread."

This bitter suspense was not, however, fated to be of long duration. On the third day from the transmission of the deed of gift, Colbert entered his chamber radiant with success, and placed the recovered document in his hands, with the intelligence that the king had definitively refused to accept the offering; and that he authorized the minister to dispose of all his property as he should see fit. On receiving this assurance, the worthy Théatine declared himself satisfied, and at once bestowed the absolution which he had previously withheld; and he had no sooner done so than Mazarin drew from beneath his bolster a will which he had already prepared, and delivered it to Colbert.

A week before his death a singular whim seized the sick man: he caused himself to be shaved, his mustaches to be trimmed, and covered his cheeks with red and white paint, to a degree which rendered his complexion more fresh and brilliant than it had ever been during his period of health. He then entered his chair, and made a tour of the gardens despite the cold February wind, to the great astonishment of the courtiers who were dispersed in the avenues; but the effort was beyond his strength, and he soon fell back upon his pillows, desiring that he might be conveyed to his apartment.*

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

Meanwhile the king continued to pursue his usual amusements, dancing in the different ballets, and supping with the Queen-Mother; but the illness of the minister at length became so grave that all business was suspended. The marriage of Hortensia had taken place, but necessarily without any of those festivities by which it would, under other circumstances, have been attended; and her husband had at once assumed the name of Duke de Mazarin.

From the time that the cardinal received the last sacraments, the courtiers were excluded from his chamber; and ingress was forbidden to all save the king, the queen, and M. de Colbert. During one of his visits, Louis entreated that the minister would give him whatever advice he might deem desirable, declaring his intention to profit by it to the utmost.

"Sire," said the dying man, "know how to respect yourself, and you will be respected: never have a prime minister; and employ M. de Colbert whenever you require the assistance of an adviser at once intelligent and devoted."

It was on this occasion also that he made use of nearly the same words in which, as we have mentioned elsewhere, he was himself presented by the Cardinal Bentivoglio to the Cardinal Barberino: "I owe every thing to you, Sire; but I believe that I cancel my obligation to Your Majesty by giving you Colbert."

Ultimately the cardinal expired early in the morning of the 9th of March, "more like a philosopher than a Christian,"* at the age of fifty-two, having ruled the kingdom of France during a period of eighteen years. He was scarcely regretted even by those whose fortunes he had founded; neither the king nor the Queen-Mother made any show of grief beyond the first few days; and so little was either really affected by the decease of the man who had, whatever might be the other vices of his administration,

* Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

raised France to a high and dignified station among the nations of Europe, that Louis, on awakening in the morning, no sooner ascertained his death than he immediately rose, and summoned Letellier, Fouquet, and Lionne to a secret council, in which he informed them of his future intentions; after which he had an interview with the Queen-Mother, with whom he dined, and subsequently left Vincennes, where the court was then residing, in a close carriage, for Paris; while Anne of Austria, twice widowed in fact, although not in heart, followed in a chair with bearers, attended by the Marquis de Beaufort, her first equery, and Nogent-Bautru, her jester, who enlivened her journey by their unceasing gayety.

The administration of the kingdom was regulated two days before the death of the cardinal according to his advice, and every arrangement had been already made when Harlai de Chanvalon, the president of the ecclesiastical assembly, waited upon the king to inquire to whom he must in future address himself on questions of public business, and received the concise reply, "*To Myself.*"

St. Simon asserts that it was, doubtless, the enormous wealth accumulated by the cardinal which decided Louis XIV. to dispense, throughout the remainder of his reign, with a prime minister, as well as to exclude all ecclesiastics from his council. Well, indeed, might he form such a resolution; for the fortune which Mazarin left behind him was colossal, and his will declared the disposal of fifty millions, while, at the same time, it strictly forbade an inventory of his personal effects.

His principal legatee was Armand Charles de Laporte, Marquis de la Meilleraye, Duke de Rethelois de Mazarin, to whom he bequeathed all that might remain of his property after the acquittal of the several legacies, and who never ascertained the exact amount of his inheritance in consequence of the interdict which the cardinal had laid upon the inventory, although he succeeded in convincing

himself that it ranged between thirty-five and forty millions The Princess de Conti, the Princess of Modena, the Princess de Vendôme, the Countess de Soissons, and the Princess Colonna, each received two hundred thousand crowns. The Marshal de Mancini, who had anticipated the entire inheritance of his uncle, and who was, consequently, dissatisfied with his bequest, had, for his portion, the Duchy of Nevers, nine hundred thousand crowns in ready money, a yearly income derived from his estate of Brouage, the moiety of his personal effects, and all his property in Rome. To the Marshal de Grammont he left a hundred thousand livres, and to Madame de Martinozzi, his sister, an annual income of eighteen thousand.

The special legacies were these: To the king, two cabinets filled with public records, in an unfinished state; to the Queen-Mother, a brilliant, estimated at a million of livres; to the reigning queen, a bouquet of diamonds; to *Monsieur*, sixty gold marks, a hanging of tapestry, and thirty emeralds; to Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish minister, a fine painting by Titian; to the Count de Feusaldagne, a large clock in a gold case; to His Holiness the Pope, six hundred thousand livres, to be employed in the war against the Turks; to the poor, six thousand francs; and finally, to the crown, eighteen large diamonds, to be called the Mazarins.*

Upon a survey of the enormous wealth thus amassed by one man, during an administration of twenty years, for a great portion of which period the nation had been drained of its resources both by foreign and intestine war, it is scarcely surprising that the cardinal should have been anxious to conceal, as far as possible, the exact amount of which he had pillaged the people.

In 1630 he had barely emerged from obscurity, and had, for all fortune, his diplomatic subtilty and his indomitable ambition; while, in 1661, he died possessed of a sum equal

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

to two hundred millions of the money of the present day. He died unmourned even by his own family, every member of which he had raised to rank and opulence; for his avarice had counteracted the effect of his exertions. Each felt that he was striving rather to exalt himself through them than to benefit their individual fortunes; while they resented the parsimony which, after decorating them with a rank requiring a corresponding expenditure, left them in a position that prevented their upholding it with dignity. The results of such a system might have been foreseen; the Princess de Conti and the Duchess de Mercœur, from the fact of their having married shortly after their arrival in France, escaped its effects; but M. de Mancini and his remaining nieces became, so soon as they acquired the means, improvident and careless to a degree exceeding belief.

In short, the avarice of Mazarin had passed into a proverb, and both friends and enemies were subjected to its withering effects. Every circumstance afforded him a pretext for augmenting his hoards; and his favorite axiom, whenever he was thwarted, of "They sing, they shall pay for it," was never once contradicted throughout his whole period of power. He is, moreover, accused, by more than one authority, of having stooped to measures degrading to his high rank, in order to increase his property, and is even suspected of having shared with the privateers the profits of their ocean forays, although this fact was never fully proved; but the Dutch did not hesitate to brand him with a moral degradation which they would never have assigned to the Cardinal de Richelieu.

Mazarin felt no compunction in cheating at cards, which were, at that period, the ruling passion of the court, and, miser as he was, habitually risked the gain or loss of fifty thousand livres in a night; while, as a natural consequence, his temper ebbed and flowed with his fortune.

Perhaps the most amusing anecdote connected with his

avarice, multitudinous as they were, was an equivoque which occurred only a few days before he breathed his last, and within an hour after he had obtained the absolution which his confessor had, for a time, withheld. The cardinal had just transmitted his will to Colbert when some one scratched at the door,* which having been interdicted, Bernouin, his confidential valet-de-chambre, dismissed the visitor.

"Who was there?" asked Mazarin, as his attendant returned to the bedside.

"It was M. de Tubeuf, the president of the chamber of accounts," replied Bernouin; "and I told him that Your Eminence could not be seen."

"Alas!" exclaimed the dying man, "what have you done? he owed me money; perhaps he came to pay it; call him back—call him back instantly."

M. de Tubeuf was overtaken in the anteroom and introduced. Nor had the cardinal deceived himself. He was, indeed, come to liquidate a heavy gambling debt, and Mazarin welcomed him with as bright a smile as though he had years of life before him in which to profit by his good fortune, took the hundred pistoles which he had brought in his hand, and asked for his jewel-casket, which was placed upon the bed, when he deposited the coins in one of the compartments, and then began to examine with great interest the valuable gems which it contained.

"You must give me leave, M. de Tubeuf," he said, with emphasis, as he lifted a fine brilliant and passed it rapidly across the light, "to offer to Madame de Tubeuf—"

The president of accounts, believing that the cardinal, in acknowledgment of the heavy sums which he had from time gained at the card-table, on his account, since he had been

* At this period bells were unknown in France, and every courtier carried, in the pocket of his vest, a small comb with steel teeth, with which he scratched against the door of the apartment where he desired to enter.

too ill to act for himself, was about to present him with the precious gem which he then held in his trembling fingers, moved a pace or two nearer to the bed with a smile upon his lips.

"To offer to Madame de Tubeuf—" repeated the dying miser, still gazing upon the jewel—"to offer to Madame de Tubeuf—my very best compliments." And, as he ceased speaking, he closed the casket, and made a sign that it should be removed.

Nothing remained for the discomfited courtier but to make his bow and depart, with the mortification of feeling that he had been, for an instant, so far the dupe of his own wishes, as to believe, that while he was yet alive, Jules de Mazarin could make up his mind to give away any thing for which he had no prospect of receiving an equivalent.*

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

CHAPTER IV.

The Court-Mourning—Active Intrigues—Sudden Self-Assumption of Louis XIV.—The Three Ministers—Revelation of Colbert—Louis XIV. at three-and-twenty—Monsieur—Henrietta of England affianced to Monsieur—Departure of the English Princesses for London—Impatience of Monsieur—Anne of Austria retires from the Court; her Malady—Return of the Queen and Princess of England—The Princess Henrietta and the Duke of Buckingham—Marriage of the Duke d'Orleans—Daily Habits of Louis XIV.—Mutual Jealousy of the young Queen and Monsieur—Hidden Motives of Madame—The King attaches himself to Madame—Astonishment of Fouquet—The Duchess de Navailles; her Repartée—Mademoiselle d'Houdancourt—Highheartedness of Madame de Navailles—The Iron Gratings—Mademoiselle de la Vallière.

In order to dissimulate as much as possible the general joy which was felt by all classes on the demise of the cardinal, the king resolved upon a general mourning. The order was unprecedented, for it compelled not only the court, but all the princes of the blood to assume a mourn-

ing garb for a minister who was himself neither a prince, nor related, in the most remote degree, to the royal family. There was, however, no alternative; for the king and the two queens having given the example, nothing remained but to follow it; and the court was, accordingly, crowded with sable garments and smiling faces, producing an anomaly as striking as it was inconsistent.

The death of Mazarin filled the court with the wildest hopes and the most active intrigue. The pretty women who figured in the royal circle flattered themselves that a prince of two-and-twenty, who had once been sufficiently the slave of his passions to offer his crown to a subject, might be easily governed under the influence of a new attachment; the younger of the courtiers indulged the belief that the reign of favoritism was about to recommence, while each of the ministers anticipated individual supremacy. Not one among all those who were the most intimately interested in the progress of events suspected for a moment that Louis XIV., the deity of the court ballets, the slave of etiquet, and the unquestioning and supine pupil of an ambitious minister, would suddenly rouse himself from his moral lethargy, and take upon him the burden of the government.

Nothing could more distinctly prove the error under which all the great functionaries labored with regard to their young monarch than the fact that not one of them demanded a personal audience of His Majesty, but that each inquired to whom he was in future to address himself. We have already stated that his answer was, "*To* MYSELF;" but even startled as they were by such a reply, they never anticipated that he would persevere in a resolution so dissonant to his habits. They had been accustomed to consider him only as the votary of pleasure, and they had yet to learn that for some time past he had tried his strength, and resolved to fill worthily the exalted station which providence had assigned to him as a birthright. Determined to be-

come in fact, as well as in name, the sovereign of France, and remembering that, both by precept and example, Mazarin had warned him never again to subject himself to the despotism of a prime minister, he stringently defined the limits beyond which no public functionary might presume to act, and indicated to each the particular hour at which he was to report his proceedings to himself, giving to all the necessary power which alone could render their ministry effective, but watching over each with a tenacity of attention that rendered any abuse of authority impossible, or at least dangerous.

We have already stated that, immediately on ascertaining the demise of Mazarin, Louis XIV. had summoned to his presence Le Tellier, Lionne, and Fouquet; and they are personages too important to be passed over without a formal introduction to the reader.

Michel le Tellier, the war minister, was a man of handsome exterior and winning manners, timid in domestic life, but courageous and enterprising in politics—tolerably firm in pursuing measures once adopted, but, nevertheless, better calculated to follow than to lead. His greatest dread was that of becoming unpopular; and he was, perhaps, encouraged in this somewhat weak alarm by the consciousness that he was himself a dangerous enemy. He was mild and insinuating, always profuse in promises, which he was equally ready to forget, and eminently courteous and accessible; but his regard did not extend beyond these professions. His utter want of ambition was exhibited in a piece of advice which he offered to the king on the subject of the Chancellor Seguier, who was anxious to be elevated to the rank of a duke and peer: "Such exalted dignity, sire," he replied, when consulted by Louis XIV., "does not beseem the learned professions, it is good policy to accord them only to military prowess:" a decision which blighted all the exertions and hopes of his eldest son (Louvois), who never succeeded, despite his

eminent services, in effacing from the mind of his royal master the remark made by his father, who had assuredly never reflected on the probable consequences of such an opinion in his own family. Louvois was the victim of this unguarded aphorism; but Seguier was eventually exempted from its influence, for he ultimately obtained the coveted rank which was denied to the able son of the minister.*

Hughes de Lionne was a gentleman of Dauphiny, and a more able diplomatist than his colleague, Le Tellier, a fact which was so well known to all the foreign ministers that they redoubled their caution when compelled to treat with him personally. Whenever a necessity for exertion arose De Lionne was indefatigable, and fulfilled his arduous duties with a zeal and an ability almost unequalled; but the crisis once passed, he again turned all his energies toward those sensual pleasures to which he was a willing slave, and sacrificed without hesitation his fortune, his health, and even his natural indolence, to the gaming-table, the banquet, and other still more questionable vices.†

* Michel le Tellier was the son of a councilor of the *Cour des Aide* (exchequer), and was born in Paris in the year 1603. He was, in the first place, a councilor of the grand council, then (in 1631) king's advocate at the Chatelet of Paris, and master of requests. Appointed steward of Piedmont in 1640, he secured the favor of Mazarin, who made him war secretary of state, and to whose interests he remained attached throughout the whole of the civil war. He was intrusted with all the negotiations between the court and the rebel princes, especially Gaston d'Orleans and the Prince de Condé; and it was by his influence that the treaty of Ruel was ultimately concluded. After having been the minister of Anne of Austria during her regency, he continued to serve Louis XIV. in the same capacity. He coöperated with Colbert in the overthrow of the superintendent Fouquet, and obtained for his son, the Marquis de Louvois, the survivorship of his office as secretary of state. In 1677 he was made chancellor and keeper of the seals, and in this trust he exhibited a zeal both vigilant and active. He was one of the principal movers of the revocation of the edict of Nantes. He died in 1685.

† Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV. *Choisy.*

Nicholas Fouquet, whose name became famous, owing to his extraordinary reverse of fortune, was a man whose genius was essentially diplomatic. Full of resources, of which he never hesitated to avail himself to the utmost, he frequently discovered a mean of successful enterprise in the very circumstances which to others appeared pregnant only with danger, and hopeless from their entanglement. Learned in the law, well read in polite literature, and an amateur of art—brilliant in conversation, high-bred in his deportment, and magnificent in all his ideas, he no sooner conferred a service than he at once placed the person whom he had obliged in the position of a friend, and confided in his reciprocal esteem without one misgiving that it would fail. He possessed, preëminently, moreover, the rare and difficult talent of listening, not only with patience, but with apparent interest, to the most dull and vapid communications, and always replying at the right moment and in the most agreeable manner, by which means he generally contrived to dismiss those to whom he had given audience more than half satisfied, though they had not succeeded in inducing him to admit their claims. A finished voluptuary, he never suffered the duties of his ministry to interfere with the pleasures to which he was addicted; but affecting to retire to his villa at St. Maude, in order that he might work without interruption, he was accustomed to leave a crowd of courtiers in his antechamber, loud in their admiration of the indefatigable labor to which so great a man devoted himself without comment or reluctance, and to descend by a secret stair to a small garden, where he abandoned himself to a most degrading dissipation, in the society of some of the most beautiful and high-born women of Paris, who, seduced by his gold, and careless of their own honor, became the shameful partners of his disgraceful orgies.

Liberal to an excess toward literary men, whom he was able to appreciate and anxious to reward, he became the

friend of Racine, La Fontaine, and Molière, the Mæcenas of Le Brun* and Le Notre; and he pleased himself with the belief that he should be enabled to govern the young king by directing at the same time his official labors and his private pleasures. He deceived himself, however; for, as we have already shown, Louis XIV. had resolved henceforward to act by and of himself.

Such were the three individuals to whom, two hours after the death of Mazarin, the king announced his intention to become his own prime minister; and while Le Tellier and Lionne merely bowed somewhat incredulously, a smile played upon the lip of Fouquet. He held the key of the public chest; and accustomed as he was to guide all around him with a golden rein, he never doubted that in his case, at least, the royal purpose must soon be rescinded.† Hitherto, whenever Louis had applied to him for a supply, he had contented himself by replying, "Sire, the treasury of Your Majesty is empty; but His Eminence will, no doubt, advance you a loan." Now, however, no further appeal could be made to the equivocal liberality of the cardinal, and Fouquet felt that he was himself all-powerful upon the question of finance, while the profuse expenditure and uncalculating magnificence of the pomp-loving young sovereign left him little doubt that his assistance would soon become imperative.

Accident, that providence of princes, had, however, ordained otherwise. After a brief conference with his ministers, Louis had forthwith proceeded to the Louvre; when, on entering his cabinet, the first person whom he encountered was Colbert, who had been awaiting him for

* Charles le Brun, an historical painter, and one of the heads of the French School of Art, was born in Paris in 1619. He was laden with honors and generosity by Louis XIV. His most famous works are the *Battles of Alexander*, the *Penitent Magdalen*, the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, &c. He also executed a great number of frescoes in the chateau of Fouquet. He died in 1690.

† Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

the last two hours, and who requested a private audience upon the instant. Startled by the urgency of his manner, the king at once retired with him into the deep recess of the window, beyond the hearing of the courtiers, where Colbert informed him that he came to indicate to His Majesty the different places in which Mazarin had concealed or buried nearly fifteen millions of ready money, of which no mention had been made in his will, and which he (Colbert) consequently imagined had been intended by the cardinal to replenish the treasury of His Majesty, which was at that time utterly exhausted. The young sovereign listened with astonishment, and demanded to know if he were certain of the extraordinary fact that he advanced; to which Colbert replied by furnishing him with proofs of his assertion.

No circumstance could have occurred at that particular moment so welcome to Louis XIV. as the discovery of this hidden treasure, which at once, and for a long period, rendered him independent of the superintendent of finance; nor was the revelation less important to the fortunes of Colbert himself.

Immediate measures were concerted for the recovery of the various sums designated by the zealous and fortunate young secretary, and with almost universal success. At Sedan five millions were found, two at Brisac, six at La Fère, and between five and six at Vincennes. A considerable sum had also been secreted in the Louvre; but although the spot where it had been deposited was found, the money had disappeared; and it was then remembered that Bernouin, the confidential attendant of the cardinal had left the place on the previous evening for more than two hours before the death of his master, and it at once became apparent how the interval had been employed.

Despite this subtraction, however, Louis XIV. at once found himself one of the richest monarchs of Christendom; for his private funds amounted to no less than from eighteen

to twenty millions, of which the value was greatly enhanced by the fact that no one, not even Fouquet himself, was aware of the extent of his resources.

His first and most anxious care was to regulate the etiquet of his court, which had been necessarily invaded during the extreme and sudden changes to which his reign had hitherto been subjected; for even at this early period Louis XIV. began to manifest that respect for his own individuality which he was not long in exacting from all by whom he was surrounded. He was then in his twenty-third year; and although the cardinal had, as a matter of personal policy, caused his education to be so neglected as to expose him to the frequent mortification of feeling his incapacity to enforce opinions of whose validity he was himself convinced, but which he could not put forth with the propriety exacted from him by a sense of his own dignity, he was, nevertheless, in society, the model of an accomplished gentleman. Of middling height, but admirably proportioned, he increased his stature by the adoption of high-heeled shoes, which raised him some inches. His hair was magnificent, and he wore it in masses upon his shoulders, after the fashion of earlier times; his nose was large and well formed, his mouth agreeable in its expression, his eyes of a deep blue, and his mode of utterance slow and strongly accentuated, lending to all he said a gravity incompatible with his years, but which produced an effect admirably in accordance with the impression that he studied to produce.

No contrast could be greater than that which existed between the royal brothers, both physically and morally. Philip of France was a prince of gentle, or, rather, of effeminate manners; of ardent, but merely impulsive courage, and a perfect type of the luxurious and chivalric nobility by whom the last of the Valois had been surrounded, and who had served to distinguish his reign alike by their vices and their daring; while, with these qualities, it will be

readily understood that Philip had long supported, with undisguised disgust, the superiority assumed by a brother who sought to crush, by his overweening arrogance, all those who were subservient to him. The whole boyhood of the two princes had consequently been one perpetual struggle; but for the last few years the younger had ceased to contend beneath the iron hand which had ascertained the extent of its own strength.

Before the death of the cardinal, *Monsieur* had solicited the Queen-Mother to obtain the consent of the king to his marriage with the Princess Henrietta of England; and Anne of Austria, who was tenderly attached to the young princess, readily undertook the mission. Its accomplishment, however, proved to be a matter of more serious difficuly than she had anticipated; for Louis had never overcome his boyish prejudice against the daughter of Charles I., and excused himself by alledging that an alliance with the English would be displeasing to the French people; nor was Mazarin less repugnant to the marriage; for he had still to resent the refusal of Charles II. to receive the hand of his niece, forgetting that the monarch was never likely, on his side, to forget that his alliance had been coldly declined when he was in misfortune. Nevertheless, the arguments of the queen at length prevailed over the distaste of her son; and it was agreed between Anne of Austria and Henrietta-Maria, that the marriage of their children should take place immediately after the return of the latter from England, whither she was about to proceed with her daughter, in order to enjoy the happiness of seeing Charles II. at length peaceably in possession of the throne of his ancestors.

A short time subsequently to the arrangement, she accordingly took leave of the court, to the great mortification of *Monsieur*, who was vehement in his entreaties that she would shorten her visit for his sake; and on arriving in London she found the Duke of Buckingham, the son of

him to whom Anne of Austria was indebted for the most romantic episode of her life, enamored of her widowed daughter, the princess-royal; but as, like his father, he professed but little constancy in his attachments, he had no sooner been presented to the Princess Henrietta than he became madly in love with this new divinity.

To the young and amiable princess, the transition from an existence of constraint, monotony, and privation, to the glitter and gallantry of a court like that of Charles II., was perfect enchantment; and she began for the first time to experience a happy consciousness of her own individual importance, which was enhanced by the constant receipt of letters from *Monsieur* to the queen, urging her early return to Paris, and the accomplishment of her promise.

The prince was, indeed, most anxious to terminate the marriage, not from any overweening attachment to his promised bride, for he was incapable of violent passion, but because he regarded it as an event which, by creating for him an independent position, must in some degree emancipate him from the authority of his brother; while Henrietta-Maria was the more inclined to comply with his entreaties from the desire which she felt to conduce to the comfort and consolation of Anne of Austria, who, after having seen herself all-powerful during the regency, had lived to witness the gradual decline of her influence, and to feel herself a mere cipher in the brilliant court which had once bowed down before her.

At the death of Mazarin she had made an effort to recover her lost authority; but Louis XIV. had no sooner detected the latent intention than he gave her to understand, what he had already declared to his ministers, that he would brook no rival near his throne; and, moreover that this was no sudden resolution, fated to be rescinded as lightly as it had been made, but a firm determination, long formed, and which would admit of neither expostulation nor argument.

The Queen-Mother bowed beneath this last disappointment with a patient dignity which astonished all those who were conversant with the inherent haughtiness and impetuosity of her character, and began to prepare at her favorite Val-de-Grâce a retreat, in which the culture of flowers became her principal amusement. Few were yet aware that the fearful malady, to which she ultimately fell a victim, was already making fearful inroads on her constitution, and exposing her to concealed but terrible suffering. Under these circumstances, therefore, the English queen decided upon leaving London without further delay, despite the inclemency of the season; and the Duke of Buckingham, at his earnest entreaty, received permission from Charles II. to escort herself and the Princess Henrietta to Paris.

During the voyage, the vessel in which they were embarked struck upon the sands, and was for a time in imminent danger of going to pieces; and it was during that awful interval that the duke, utterly careless of himself, but maddened by the idea of the peril to which the Princess Henrietta was exposed, put so little constraint upon his passion that it soon ceased to be a secret to those about him. At length the vessel was, with considerable difficulty, rescued from its perilous position, but so much damaged that it was found necessary to put in to the nearest port, where it had no sooner arrived than the princess was attacked by measles. At this new calamity the duke became outrageous in his despair, and committed such excesses that the royal party had no sooner anchored at Havre, where they were to remain a few days in order that the invalid might recruit her strength, than the queen insisted that Buckingham should immediately set out for Paris to announce their arrival. Resistance was of course impossible, and on the evening of the same day the duke proceeded on his mission.

Within a week he was followed by the royal travelers,

who were met by *Monsieur* at a considerable distance from the capital, with all the eagerness of a lover—although, as we have seen, his demonstrations were in reality due to an influence less flattering to the princess than that of her own charms. In his suite was the Count de Guiche, who had become his most intimate friend and favorite, and who was one of the most elegant nobles of the court, and had, moreover, secured in the heart of Henrietta a feeling of gratitude for his gallant championship during the most cruel trial of her girlhood.

Buckingham's first folly in the capital was to parade his jealousy of the Count de Guiche; and he did this with so little discretion that *Monsieur* was soon informed of the circumstance, and made a formal complaint to the two queens, who affected to laugh at his uneasiness—the Queen of England, strong in the virtue of her daughter, and Anne of Austria in the belief that the power which she had possessed over the father would prove equally influential over the son.

Philip was, nevertheless, not to be appeased so easily: a rumor of the headlong passion with which the Princess Henrietta had inspired Buckingham had long been rife in Paris; and she who had, during so many years, been totally overlooked and utterly unappreciated, suddenly became the object of universal curiosity and interest. The jealousy of *Monsieur*, which was easily aroused, would have required no further stimulus than this one fact, even without the presence of the original culprit; but this annoyance, superadded to the other, was too much for his powers of endurance; and he consequently exacted that, after a brief sojourn at the French court, sufficient to enable him to fulfill the necessary formalities of his mission, the duke should be invited to return to England.

Meanwhile the preparations for the marriage were in active progress; and the king presented to his brother, as a wedding present, the appanage of the late Duke d'Or-

leans, with the exception of Blois and Chambord; while the arrival of the English princess, to the great delight of the court, put an abrupt conclusion to the mourning for the cardinal, which gave place to the fashions which she introduced.

From an interesting child, Henrietta, embellished by happiness, and by a consciousness of her exalted rank, had suddenly been transformed into a lovely and dignified woman. Tall and graceful, with a complexion of the most exquisite beauty, and possessed of a refined taste, which taught her to profit by her personal and acquired advantages, she saw herself at once the principal ornament of the most supercilious court in Europe, and the model upon which all the great ladies of the royal circle strove to fashion both their dress and their deportment. The revolution was a startling one; nor was the king himself exempted from its influence.

The austerities of Lent not permitting the celebration of any great public festivities, it was decided that the marriage of *Monsieur* should take place privately at the Palais-royal, in the presence only of the royal family, and the persons of their immediate retinue. On the 31st of March it was, consequently, performed by the Bishop of Valence, having for its principal witnesses the king and queen, the Queen-Mother, the Queen of England, the daughters of the late Duke d'Orleans, the Prince de Condé, and the Duke of Buckingham; and a few days subsequently the latter left the court of France in a state of mind bordering upon distraction.

At this period the king commenced the system of regularity upon which he had already decided, and which became ere long the undeviating etiquet of the court. He rose at eight o'clock, performed his devotions, dressed himself, and then read for an hour, at the close of which time he partook of a light breakfast; left his chamber at ten, attended the council, and at midday heard mass; during the

interval which remained until the dinner hour, he appeared in public, or went to the apartments of the two queens; and after the repast he generally remained a considerable time with the royal family. He then closeted himself with his ministers, either collectively or separately; gave audiences, during which he exhibited great urbanity and patience; and received petitions, to which he replied on days previously reserved for that purpose. The rest of the afternoon he passed in conversation with the queen and the Queen-Mother, or in the little court of the Countess de Soissons; at the card-table, but never for a heavy stake, or at a mere game of chance; in driving, or at the theater, according to the season; and this routine was never interrupted save during the hunting-season, or on the occasion of some extraordinary festivity. Finally, at supper, which was his favorite repast, he collected about him all the princesses and their ladies of honor, and terminated the evening by ballets or assemblies.

At the end of April, the court removed to Fontainebleau, where they were followed by the Prince de Condé and the Duke de Beaufort, who had become two of the most assiduous and popular members of the royal circle; and a month had been spent in perpetual fêtes, when the harmony which had hitherto subsisted between all the members of the illustrious family was suddenly interrupted by the awakened jealousy of the young queen, who one day threw herself at the feet of Anne of Austria, bathed in tears and trembling with emotion, and confided to her, in the anguish of her heart, that the king had fallen in love with *Madame*.

The Queen-Mother was more grieved than surprised by this communication; for *Monsieur*, jealous on his side, had already complained of the same fact; and Anne of Austria had found herself unable, from internal conviction, to advance arguments sufficiently powerful to remove the impression from his mind.

There was, indeed, too much reason for the uneasiness of both parties; for the king, who, during her infancy, had not only felt, but unhesitatingly expressed, his contempt for the English princess—and who, when for a moment her marriage with himself had been mooted by the cardinal, had declared that she was too thin, that she did not please him, and that it was impossible for him ever to love her—had discovered, from the moment in which she became the wife of his brother, that all their tastes and feelings assimilated, and had attached himself to her society with a tenacity that excited universal remark.

Nor was the princess, on her side, altogether blameless. The depreciating remarks of the king had been repeated to her during her girlhood, and had not only produced a dangerous influence over her mind, but become, unconsciously to herself, the motive of her actions. Had any one ventured to tell her that, in accepting the hand of *Monsieur*, when she might have commanded that of one of the reigning sovereigns of Europe, she was impelled by the hope of forcing Louis to recant his opinions and to confess the power of the attractions which he had previously affected to despise, she would have been indignant at the accusation, while such was, nevertheless, the impulse under which she acted.

For this unacknowledged purpose—unacknowledged, doubtlessly even to her own heart—she had studied to become a proficient in all the graces which adorn a court; in all the endearing qualities which are the best charm of woman, whatever may be her worldly rank; and in those intellectual qualities which could elevate her character, and render her superior to the mere butterflies by whom she was surrounded; and she had succeeded only too well in her attempt. Such combined attractions, both of person and mind, could not fail in their effect upon so susceptible a nature as that of Louis XIV.; and an intimacy an-

sued which, although perfectly warranted by the closeness of their family connection, was not without considerable danger to both parties.

There was a bitter exultation mingled with the triumph of the princess, which can be appreciated only by those who, like herself, have been subjected to intense humiliation, and at last experience the power of revenging it upon its author. Henrietta did not believe for an instant that she could love the king; but she nevertheless rejoiced in the conviction that she could sway at will the feelings of the haughty sovereign before whose insults she had formerly quailed; and she consequently left no effort untried to render her circle the center of pleasure and attraction: the favorite amusements of Louis were those of most frequent recurrence in her apartments; the friends whom she selected were precisely those the best calculated to interest and occupy him. In short, ever bearing in remembrance that he had once ventured to underrate her merits and to reject her hand, she experienced a cruel satisfaction in perceiving that she had established her power over the heart of the king.*

As Louis held his court sometimes in her apartments, and sometimes in those of the Countess de Soissons, a close friendship was soon formed between them; but the young queen resolutely refused to become a sharer in their amusements. Sincerely attached to Anne of Austria, whom she rarely quitted; rigid in her devotional duties, and more retiring in her habits than was consistent with her rank, she could ill brook the partial desertion to which the difference in their habits condemned her; and she began to suspect a truth which was well calculated to imbitter her existence.

Despite the beauty of Maria Theresa, upon which Louis XIV. had congratulated himself at their first interview, he had never for an instant loved her. His heart was yet unweaned from a first and serious attachment, and no

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

stranger could replace its object. He treated her, indeed, with the greatest consideration, both as a princess of Spain and as the Queen of France; but so cold a feeling could not satisfy a young and enthusiastic nature. Moreover, Maria Theresa was unfortunate enough to love her husband with all the ardor of her country; and she found herself estranged from his society, and compelled to seek her only amusement in speaking the language, and in dwelling upon the memories of her lost home with the Queen-Mother. As a sense of her moral isolation grew upon her, she shrunk more and more resolutely from the overpowering gayeties of the court, and sought to escape the harrowing spectacle of the gallantries bestowed by Louis upon the bevy of beauties by whom he was estranged from her society—thus unconsciously widening the gulf between them, and rendering the very estrangement over which she wept in secret the more habitual and hopeless.

And while the young queen thus mourned with bitter tears the loss of an illusion which had rendered the period of her marriage one proud and triumphant dream, each day appeared to strengthen the attachment between the fickle monarch and his brother's wife, although no word of passion had polluted the lips of either. Neither the remonstrances of the Queen-Mother, the prospect of the early birth of a dauphin, nor the arduous labors of the state to which he had condemned himself, diverted the attention of Louis XIV. from his devotion to *Madame;* and the magnificent fêtes which he instituted in her honor were a source of such enormous outlay that Fouquet was lost in astonishment as to whence the sovereign could derive the means of sustaining so profuse and uncalculating an expenditure, and awaited with some anxiety the exhaustion of his resources, in order that he might at last attain the coveted ascendency over his mind through the medium of his necessities.

It was probably with a view to remove the too legitimate suspicions of the queen, by diverting them into another channel, that Louis, about this time, affected a violent inclination for Mademoiselle de la Motte Houdancourt, one of her maids of honor. These ladies were under the guardianship of the Duchess de Navailles,* who owed her place at court to the cardinal. Some privileges, contested between herself and the superintendent, excited the indignation of Madame de Soissons, who, in common with her sisters, had shown the greatest indifference on the death of the cardinal; but who, nevertheless, taunted the duchess by the remark, that in opposing the niece she was guilty of ingratitude toward the uncle; to which Madame de Navailles replied with calm dignity, that, could His Eminence return to earth, he would be more satisfied of her gratitude than of that of the Countess de Soissons.†

The position of the high-principled and scrupulous Duchess de Navailles was already sufficiently arduous before she raised up so powerful an enemy as the heartless and vindictive countess, who never forgave the stinging rejoinder which we have just quoted; for a spirit of gallantry had become diffused over the royal antechamber, which rendered her office by no means a sinecure. Nevertheless, Madame de Navailles continued to struggle against, not only the intrigues of the young

* Wife of Philip de Montault, Duke de Navailles, and de la Valette, peer and marshal of France; originally of Bigorre, where his family traced their descent from the 14th century. Born in 1621, he entered the household of the Cardinal de Richelieu as a page in 1635, abjured the Protestant religion, and attained to the highest military grades. He commanded the right wing of the cavalry at the battle of Senef, in 1674; and, in the following year, received the bâton of Marshal of France. He afterward obtained the ribbon of the order of the Holy Ghost, and the post of governor of the Duke d'Orleans. He died in 1684, without male issue.

† Souvenirs de Madame de Caylus.

nobles who enjoyed her perplexity, but also the folly of the giddy maids of honor themselves, who were but too willing to second their enterprise; for she felt that the dignity of her royal mistress was compromised by the levity of her charge, and she resolved at any sacrifice to enforce regularity and order.

Madame de Soissons had consequently a double motive for encouraging the coquetries of Mademoiselle Houdancourt; as, by so doing, she screened *Madame* on the one hand, and exasperated the Duchess de Navailles on the other; and the pupil whom she had selected proved so apt, that, ere long, Madame de Navailles had reason to apprehend that Louis contemplated an invasion of her apartments. The rumor had no sooner reached her, therefore, than she hastened to request a private audience of the king, with whom she expostulated both as a Christian and as a husband, about to bring disgrace beneath the roof of a young and virtuous wife; and for a time he supported her harangue with so much urbanity, that she began to hope she had convinced him of his error. She was, however, premature in her judgment. The imperious nature of Louis XIV., which lothed even the semblance of opposition, and his extreme selfishness, which led him to disregard every consideration that clashed with his own self-indulgence, soon prompted him to hint to the zealous duchess that she was incurring a great risk of exciting his displeasure; to which she respectfully, but unhesitatingly replied, that she had already reflected upon the probability that such would be the case, and was aware of all the misfortunes which the loss of his royal favor must inevitably entail upon her; being conscious that it was to His Majesty both her husband and herself owed alike their fortune and their position—he the lieutenancy of the light-horse, and she her situation as lady of honor, of both which His Majesty could in a moment deprive them; but that this fact, urgent as it was, could not alter her resolution

to fulfill her duties conscientiously; and then, throwing herself at his feet, she implored him to respect the household of the queen, and to remember that he was himself its master.

The king dismissed her angrily; but, on the morrow, chancing to find her in the circle of the Queen-Mother, he advanced and greeted her with a smile and an extended hand; and Madame de Navailles flattered herself that peace had thus tacitly been signed between them.* If, however, Louis were really sincere at the moment, this better feeling did not long endure; for, having detailed the scene to Madame de Soissons, she sarcastically congratulated him upon his patience; and the vanity of the king at once led him to pursue an adventure from which his better sense would have dissuaded him; and by thus making himself the tool of an ambitious woman, who was only anxious to mortify a rival, he subjected himself to a mortification unworthy of his exalted rank, and of the example which it enforced him to offer to the giddy courtiers about him.

On the other hand, the conscientious lady of honor, feeling, as she had frankly confessed to the king, that the prosperity of her family depended upon his favor; and anxious not to ruin her husband, save on valid and sufficient grounds, consulted her confessor, explaining the difficulty in which she found herself, and her determination to abide by his decision. It was soon given; for he at once declared that, as a Christian, she was called upon to sacrifice all worldly advantages rather than fail in her duty by an unworthy concession. The alternative was, nevertheless, a bitter one; and it was not without a great struggle that Madame de Navailles saw herself compelled to disregard all worldly considerations, in order to prove herself worthy of the confidence which was reposed in her; and the rather, as her resistance against aggression

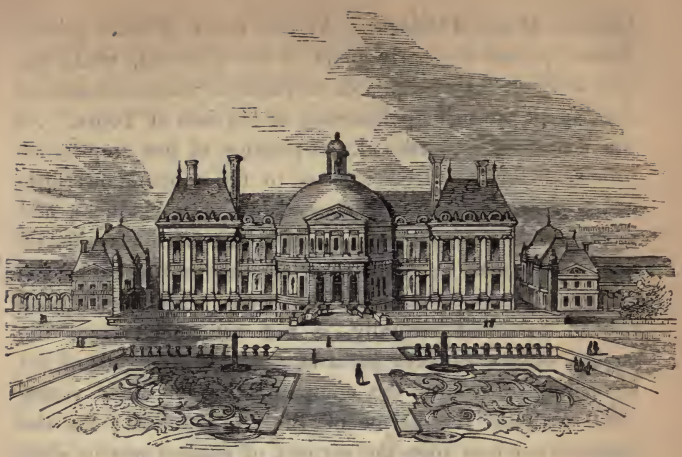
* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.

involved not only herself but her husband, whose position was also one of trust and dignity; but she never wavered; and, finding her best consolation in the conviction that she could only suffer in a good cause, she remained firm in her resolution; and, being given to understand that she must place no faith in the apparent repentance of the king, she immediately caused iron gratings to be placed outside the windows of the apartments of the maids of honor.

This extreme step did not, however, entail all the consequences which she had apprehended; for Louis contented himself by dismissing her from her guardianship of the very troublesome office to which she had been appointed, and conferring it upon the superintendent, who would, as he had good reason to know, prove less unaccommodating. This result, which formed a subject of conversation for all the court, sufficed to terminate a fancy which had never, upon the part of Louis, been a serious one; for even at the period when it commenced, his attention had already been attracted by Mademoiselle de la Vallière—that La Vallière, whose name was destined to become famous throughout Europe, and whose gentleness and devotion almost excused the errors which have thrown a veil of reproach over her name.

There never was, in all probability, an autobiography written, either by man or woman, which bore so thoroughly the stamp of truth and feeling as that of Mademoiselle de la Vallière; and there is no attempt, from the first page to the last, to palliate her fault, of which no one was a more severe critic than herself. Never for a moment deceived as to the extent of her error, it imbittered even the most brilliant moments of her existence; and nothing, save the intense affection which she lavished upon the king —not as a sovereign, but as a man—not as the monarch

of France, but as the one and only individual who ever touched her heart—could have induced her so long to disregard the reproaches of a conscience which neither pomp nor passion had ever power to silence for an hour.



CHAPTER V.

Girlhood of La Valliere; her Advent at Court—The Court-Ballet—Louis XIV. in a Greek Tunic—The Confidence in the Forest—Suavity of the King—Jealousy of the Count de Guiche The Storm in the Park—The Double Secretary—The Lottery of the Queen-Mother—The Bracelets—Rivalry of Fouquet—The twenty thousand Pistoles—Indignation of La Vallière—Cabal against Fouquet; his Tergiversations; Louis XIV. resolves on his Arrest—The Fête at Vaux—The Journey to Nantes—Arrest of Fouquet; his private Papers—Letter of Madame de Sévigné—Anne of Austria and La Vallière save the Life of Fouquet.

Louise-Françoise de la Baume de Blanc, the daughter of the Marquis de la Vallière, was born at Tours in the year 1644. She lost her father almost in her infancy; and her mother, who was the daughter of the Seigneur de la Coutellaie, equery of the king's state stable, was left with a proud name and an inadequate income, which induced her to form a second marriage with M. de St. Rémy, who held the situation of controller of the household of

Gaston, Duke d'Orleans. At the court of that prince, Louise passed the early years of her girlhood, while her only brother, the Marquis de la Vallière, whom she seldom saw, spent the principal portion of his time at Tours. As she advanced to girlhood, the position of her step-father procured for her free ingress to the monotonous little court of *Madame*, who welcomed her with kindness, and where, without becoming officially one of her maids of honor, she was invested with all the privileges of the office, and passed most of her time. The circle of a prince, banished virtually, if not ostensibly, from the capital, offered no very great attractions to persons of her age; but to Louise the companionship of other young girls rendered the palace of Blois a paradise; for she guessed not how soon the serpent of passion was to glide among the roses of her peaceful Eden.

We have already recorded the brief visit paid to Blois by Louis XIV., when on his way to the frontier to claim the hand of the Infanta: a visit apparently so unimportant, and yet so fraught with consequence to at least two individuals, that it could not be passed over in silence. During the few hours of its continuance, Mademoiselle d'Orleans lost the last glimpse of the hope to which she had so fondly clung of seeing herself one day upon the throne of France; while Louise de la Vallière learned that the idolized and powerful sovereign of whom she had always thought with awe almost amounting to alarm, had, on his departure from Blois, awakened her to the existence of a new world of feeling, in which she found herself alone, hopeless, and bewildered. Now, for the first time, she began to understand the conversations which were daily taking place in the anteroom among her weary and discontented companions, who were constantly bewailing their exile from the courtly festivities of Paris. Now she began to comprehend that life might indeed present objects of greater interest than her birds, her flowers, or her

sports; but the conviction was confused: she never entertained an idea that she loved the king; she merely pictured to herself the happiness which must arise from seeing him, listening to his voice, and existing in his presence; and her own misery in being exiled, as she believed forever, from such a privilege.

And meanwhile Louis was on his way to Fontarabia, criticising the old-fashioned little court of Blois, and unconscious of the very existence of the fair and bashful girl whose whole being was absorbed in the memory of his transitory visit.

The illness and subsequent death of *Monsieur* supervened; and while she wept over the loss of her protector, Louise de la Vallière little suspected the effect which it would produce on her own fortunes. The result to her family was, indeed, sufficiently serious to absorb her attention, even at that early age; for, by this event, M. de St. Rémy was deprived of his office, and his pecuniary resources were painfully affected. On the dispersion of the regal establishment, some months subsequently, Louise, with an overburdened heart, walked to the palace to take leave of Mademoiselle de Montalais, her favorite friend, who had been appointed to a place in the household of the Princess Henrietta, then betrothed to the king's brother; and the departure of this lady was so bitter a trial that she was faint with weeping when she arrived at the chateau, and found herself in the presence of Madame de Choisy. Her grief was so evident and so sincere that the wife of the chancellor was touched by her emotion, and inquired if she would like to share the fortunes of her old companion by entering the household of the princess.

Louise smiled amid her tears. "In that case," said Madame de Choisy, "wipe your eyes; for all the arrangements are not yet made, and there will be room for you."

The promise was fulfilled. At the termination of a fortnight the appointment arrived; and a week was allowed

to the young maid of honor for the necessary preparations. Within that week the marriage of *Madame* took place; but Mademoiselle de la Vallière only entered upon her duties previous to the departure of the court for Fontainebleau, where she was suddenly lanched into a world of dissipation, splendor, and intrigue. She was soon remarked by the Count de Guiche; but although she received his attentions with gratitude, she repulsed his gallantries and avoided his society.

At this period she had just attained her seventeenth year; and, even while eclipsed in beauty by many of those about her, the charm of her unaffected modesty, the retiring timidity of her manner, the extreme purity of her complexion, her large and languishing blue eyes, and the profusion of flaxen hair which shaded her brow and bosom, gave a singular loveliness to her appearance, of which she alone was unconscious. Her figure, which was not yet formed, and a slight lameness, occasioned by a fall during her girlhood, were the only defects which even her enemies could discern in her appearance, save, perhaps, a slight trace of small-pox, which had in some degree impaired the smoothness of her skin; and, meanwhile, her peculiarly unobtrusive habits exempted her on all sides from either jealousy or suspicion.

Among the festivities at Fontainebleau a ballet took place, in which both the king and *Madame* bore an active part; Louis XIV. figured on the occasion as Ceres; and the *Grand Monarque*, who resented the most trifling want of respect from those around him, made his appearance in a Greek tunic and a coronet of golden wheat-ears; declaimed his own praises in the rhymes of Benserade; and, finally, figured in this unregal costume before the eyes of the whole court.* At the termination of the ballet, the company dispersed themselves about the park, where they

* "The ballet of *The Seasons* was danced by His Majesty, at Fontainebleau, on the 23d of July."—*Gazette de* 1661.

found in every direction tables sumptuously provided, of which the honors were done by nymphs and forest deities, crowned with ivy; but all these magnificent arrangements were almost unheeded by Mademoiselle de la Vallière, who was absorbed by the image of the king-goddess, whom she had so lately seen exhibiting the graces of his person amid applauding crowds; and she at length felt the gayety by which she was surrounded so oppressive that she suggested to Mesdemoiselles de Chalais, de Tonnay-Charente,* and de Montalais, that they should walk into the forest and repose themselves for a time in one of its dim recesses.

To this proposal they willingly consented; and after strolling for awhile, listening to the nightingales and watching the stars, which from time to time peeped through the foliage as it swayed beneath the voluptuous breeze of evening, they finally seated themselves under a large tree upon the border of the wood, and began to discuss anew the pleasures of the day and the chief actors in the gay scene which had formed their principal feature. For a time Louise bore no share in the conversation; but she was at length startled from her silence by an appeal to her judgment, when she unguardedly declared that she could give no opinion upon the subject discussed, and was only surprised that any man should be remarked beside the king.

This reply drew down upon her, as a natural consequence, the sarcasm of the whole party, who accused her of being so difficult that nothing save a crowned head would satisfy her vanity; when the poor girl, anxious to exculpate herself from a charge which she felt must overwhelm her with ridicule, should it become the gossip of the court, hastily exclaimed that they did her injustice; for that his crown could add nothing to his natural advantages; but was, on the contrary, the safeguard of those about him, as without it he would indeed be doubly dangerous.

* Afterward Madame de Montespan

She had no sooner made this unwise rejoinder than she became aware of the extent of her imprudence; and while her three companions remained silent in astonishment, she sprung from the ground to escape, and discovered that two men were partially concealed behind the tree against which she had been leaning. A faint shriek instantly directed the attention of the whole party to the fact, and, terrified beyond control, they simultaneously fled in the direction of the chateau, where they arrived panting and breathless.

Once alone in her apartment, whither she immediately hastened, Louise de la Vallière wept bitterly over the folly of which she had been guilty. It was the first time that she had ventured to express her feelings, and the long-pent-up secret had escaped her she knew not how, although she was painfully conscious of the ridicule with which it was calculated to overwhelm her. In the agony of her repentance she flung herself upon her knees, and earnestly prayed that the consequences of her fault might be averted; but her emotion and alarm were, nevertheless, so great, that for a couple of days she was unable to perform her duties, or even to leave her room. Now, for the first time, she felt in their full force the difficulties of the position which she had coveted; and she trembled as she looked forward to again appearing before the malicious eyes of the court. There was, however, no alternative; and she was at length compelled to make the trial.

Montalais was, as she well knew, the greatest gossip-monger in the whole city; while Mademoiselle de Tonnay-Charente, who piqued herself upon her wit, was not likely to suffer so favorable an opportunity for its display to remain unimproved; and thus, beset on all sides, and only too well aware of her own want of self-possession, the poor girl stole from her chamber on the evening of the third day to take her place in the saloon of *Madame*. She traversed the anteroom without exciting either word or look which implied the betrayal of her secret; and for a mo-

ment she began to entertain the hope that she had wronged her companions, and that her folly was undivulged; but a remark from the Duke de Roquelaure, who chanced to be in the circle of *Madame* when she entered, soon undeceived her; and the shock was so great that she staggered, and would have fallen, had not Mademoiselle de Tonnay-Charente promptly come to her assistance, attributing her sudden faintness to fatigue: a plea of which she readily availed herself to request her dismission for the evening.

When she found herself again alone, the unhappy girl more than ever saw the necessity of struggling against a weakness which could only tend to increase the difficulty of her position, and, at whatever cost, to combat the terror and shame by which she was oppressed. Having formed this resolution, she entered the apartments of *Madame*, on the following day, with an apparent composure which belied her real feelings.

As she had anticipated, the king was already there, and engaged in conversation with the different ladies of the suite, carefully addressing a few words to each as he passed down the room. He was yet at some distance from the door near which she sat, and thus she saw him slowly approach, and began to comprehend that she should probably be spoken to in her turn: an honor which had never yet occurred to her, and which caused her heart to beat with mingled joy and apprehension. At length, as she had anticipated, he paused before her, and inquired what she had thought of the ballet of the previous Saturday, if, indeed, she still remembered it?

With some difficulty she compelled herself to answer; but her agitation was increased by remarking that the king started as he heard her voice, and looked at her with a marked attention which drew upon them the observation of all by whom they were immediately surrounded. After remaining a few seconds with his eyes steadily fixed upon her, Louis, with a profound bow to the blushing and be-

wildered girl, prepared to leave the room; but, before he did so, he again turned more than once toward the spot where she was sitting.

Thenceforward Mademoiselle de la Vallière found herself the marked object of the attentions of the king; and, fortunately for her composure, she continued unaware that His Majesty had been one of the eavesdroppers of the wood of Fontainebleau, induced to this somewhat treacherous indiscretion by the suggestion of M. de Beringhen, who, seeing the four fair girls retire from the brilliant scene around them to hold a conference in the forest, had laughingly remarked, that they were about to confide to each other the secrets of their hearts, and that the opportunity was a favorable one for ascertaining the identity of their favorite cavaliers. The king had entered willingly into the jest; but as it was too dark to permit either himself or his companion to discover who were the fugitives, they were compelled to trust to their after-penetration to divine this important point; and thus it was that Louis XIV., jealous above all things of being loved for his own sake, had the gratification of discovering that one heart at least acknowledged the power of his attractions, not as a monarch, but as a man. The sequel of the incident we have already shown; and when he recognized the voice of Mademoiselle de la Vallière, it was scarcely wonderful that he should examine with attention the person of whose attachment he had obtained such unequivocal testimony.

The delight of Louise was consequently great, when she perceived that the king looked upon her with an eye of favor; while his manner was at the same time so guarded, and so respectful, and he so carefully abstained from any allusion which could lead her to look beyond the present moment, or to imagine that his courtesy was intended to imply more than a mere generous interest, that she soon found herself enabled to converse with him with easy and graceful composure; and thus to exhibit all the charm of a young

pure heart, still uncontaminated by its commerce with a court.

Every evening, when he joined the circle of *Madame*, after having paid his respects to the princess and the principal ladies of her circle, he contrived to secure a brief conversation with Mademoiselle de la Vallière; and as the passion of Louis for *Madame Henriette* was at least suspected, it became a matter of general belief that it was for her sake alone he made his visits so long and so continuous: a faith which Louise entertained in common with those about her, and which blinded her to the peril to which she was exposed.

One individual alone was not, however, to be so deceived, and that one was the Count de Guiche, who, as we have already stated, had been attracted by the modest graces of La Vallière from her first appearance at Fontainebleau; and conscious that should this new caprice of the king gain strength by time, he could no longer entertain the hope of succeeding in his own suit, he resolved at least to ascertain its effect upon the mind of Louise herself; for which purpose he paid a visit to her apartments, where he exhibited a jealousy which terrified the poor girl into a remonstrance upon the unreasonableness of his reproaches, unmerited on her part, as she had never felt or affected toward him a warmer feeling than that of respectful esteem. Nevertheless the count was not to be appeased; and conscious of the weakness of his cause, he overwhelmed her with the most stinging sarcasms, and finally withdrew, declaring that although she had despised his passion, he doubted not but it would prove acceptable elsewhere.

This outbreak of offended vanity in a man whom she had avoided was a sincere annoyance to Mademoiselle de la Vallière, who had the greatest reason to apprehend the effects of his enmity from the fact that he had latterly attached himself exclusively to *Madame*, while there could not exist a doubt but the same circumstance which had

excited the annoyance of M. de Guiche must have awakened the indignation of the princess, and that the sudden alliance which had been formed between them owed its existence to their mutual mortification. Be this as it may, however, it is certain that the intimacy thus commenced ultimately led to the unfortunate attachment which endured throughout their lives.

Only a few days subsequent to the visit of the Count de Guiche a great hunt took place, at which all the ladies of the court were present; and at the termination of the sport, tables were spread under the trees in the park, at a considerable distance from the chateau, about which the whole party assembled. The repast was a gay one, but the heat excessive, while the clouds which were gathering above their heads foretold a storm. Nevertheless, heedless of the warning, the feast proceeded; nor did it suffer any interruption until the large drops that had been for some time plashing heavily upon the leaves, suddenly gave place to a burst of rain, which descended in such torrents that all idea of etiquet was forgotten; and the different individuals of the royal party rushed away in every direction to shelter themselves as best they might.

In the confusion, Mademoiselle de la Vallière was running she knew not where, when she found the king beside her, who, politely taking her hand, hurried her toward a large tree, whose massy foliage offered a sure protection from the storm. Grateful for such distinguished care, but conscious of the observation it would not fail to create, Louise would have retired; but the first words of the king, full of grave reproach, arrested her purpose; and throughout the whole of the two long hours that the storm endured, remorsely pouring down upon feathered toques and satin draperies, it was remarked by those who were sufficiently near to note the circumstance, that Louis remained bareheaded, with his plumed hat in his hand; and that he maintained an earnest and animated conversation with his

fair companion, to which only one interpretation could be given.

Thenceforward the king avoided all particular notice of Mademoiselle de la Vallière, when they met in the apartments of *Madame;* but when, in the evening, the ladies drove through the different avenues of the park, he quitted after a time the carriage of the princess, and mounting his horse, soon stationed himself beside the window of that which was occupied by Louise—while not content with thus expressing the increase of his passion, he sustained with her a daily correspondence, which convinced her only too well, had such a conviction still been wanting, of the extent of his attachment and the refinement of his mind.

Alarmed by the extreme beauty and eloquence of the letters which she thus received, lest the comparative imperfections of her own style should shock the taste of her royal admirer, Mademoiselle de la Vallière at length decided, after painful misgivings and an almost unconquerable reluctance, to apply to the Marquis de Dangeau* to undertake the task of replying to them, little suspecting that those which had so much excited her apprehension proceeded from the same pen. Nor, strange to say, would this fact ever have transpired had not La Vallière herself, on an occasion when she felt oppressed by the compliments

* Philip de Courcillon, Marquis de Dangeau, was born in La Beauce in 1638. He commanded a troop of cavalry under Turenne, and distinguished himself in Flanders in 1658. After the peace of the Pyrenees, he offered his services to Spain, which was then endeavoring to reconquer Portugal; and, on his return to France in 1667, he served throughout the campaign of Lille, and attended the king in all his expeditions as aide-de-camp. In 1673–4, he was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the electors of the Rhine, governor of Touraine, and councilor of state. His talents also caused him to be elected a member of the French Academy, and of the Academy of Science. Dangeau died in 1720, leaving behind him his *Memoirs,* and a *Journal of the Court of Louis XIV.*, in 53 quarto vols. MS.

of the king on her rare talent, confessed to him with a trembling heart that she was unworthy of his praises, and revealed the name of their true author. To her great relief, Louis was equally frank, and they were enabled to laugh together over their mutual misgivings. This little incident, however, trifling as it was in itself, exhibited, in their common friend, a discretion so rare at court, that it founded the fortunes of M. de Dangeau.*

At that period the fashion of lotteries had obtained greatly at court, and the Queen-Mother, who, despite her increasing malady, was anxious not to be altogether overlooked, although unable to leave her own apartments, was one of the most constant in providing these entertainments, to which, having only a small circle of her own, she was careful to invite *Madame* and her immediate friends and retinue. On one occasion the king drew the principal prize, which was a pair of bracelets of great value, when an immediate anxiety was felt to ascertain to whom they would be offered, although little doubt was entertained that they would become the property of *Madame Henriette;* and, accordingly, all eyes were turned in her direction, to detect at once the mingled pleasure and triumph with which she must welcome such an offering.

Meanwhile, Mademoiselle de la Vallière stood apart, thinking not of the ornaments, but of the hand which held them, and anxious merely for the moment when, released from the trammels of her service, she should once more see the king at her side, and listen to his words addressed only to herself. For a moment Louis sat motionless with the glittering baubles in his hand, as his keen eye swept the circle, and then slowly rising, he made his way through the throng of ladies, and presented them to La Vallière, who, having attentively examined their workmanship, returned them with a profound courtesy, remarking that they were indeed extremely beautiful.

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

"In that case, Mademoiselle," said the king, graciously, "they are in hands too fair to resign them;" and, with a salutation as stately as her own, he returned to his seat.

Madame bit her lip and turned pale; but she soon recovered her self-possession, and made her acknowledgments most gracefully for the honor conferred upon one of her own suite, while the queen looked on with a quiet smile, utterly unsuspicious of the truth. Feelingly does La Vallière exclaim, as she records this incident of her life, "That confidence was a sad misfortune for us all. One tear from her would have saved me!"*

While the passion of Louis was augmenting from day to day, heightened by jealousy of every one who approached its object, a new candidate for the favor of the fair maid of honor presented himself in the person of the superintendent of finance, Nicholas Fouquet, who, accustomed to see every thing yield before the power of his gold, never doubted for an instant that he should be as successful in his pursuit of Mademoiselle de la Vallière as he had proved with so many other ladies of the court; and, accordingly, proceeded with little scruple and less delicacy to make his designs known to her, and to solicit her affections. He was, however, so coldly and sternly repulsed, that any other suitor would have comprehended at once that his pursuit was hopeless; but Fouquet was unaccustomed to opposition, and disdained to perceive discouragement in the frowns of an indignant woman. Merely, therefore, changing his tactics, he deputed Madame du Plessis-Bellièvre, who was one of his fastest friends, to mention to his new idol that he had at her service the sum of twenty thousand pistoles, if she would condescend to accept it. Outraged by the proposal, La Vallière fixed her eyes steadily upon the unworthy messenger, and, in a voice audible to all the circle, she desired that M. Fouquet might be informed all further advances on his part were

* Mémoires de Madame de la Vallière.

needless, as twenty millions would not induce her so to degrade herself.

It is believed that this circumstance, which soon reached the ears of the king, contributed, in no trifling degree, to hasten the fall of the depraved minister; but Louis XIV. was by no means the only individual in his empire who had vowed the ruin of the licentious superintendent. M. de Laigues, who had privately married Madame de Chevreuse, and who was dissatisfied with Fouquet upon his own account, urged the duchess to injure him in the estimation of the Queen-Mother; upon which Madame de Chevreuse, whose love of intrigue we have already mentioned, at once invited Anne of Austria to visit her at Dampierre, where she was met by Le Tellier and Colbert, and it was there arranged that she should ascertain, if possible, the feeling of her son toward the offending minister.

As for some time past the king had refused to grant every favor solicited by the Queen-Mother, he was delighted, on the present occasion, to appear as if convinced by her arguments upon a point long decided in his own mind, and it was soon resolved between them that the superintendent should be arrested; but as he had a strong party in Paris, it was not deemed prudent to attempt his seizure in the capital, and a journey to Nantes was ultimately determined on, in order that Fouquet might be made prisoner in that city, at the same time that the island of Belleisle, which the minister had lately purchased, and which he was reported to be at that moment engaged in fortifying, should be taken possession of in the king's name.

Louis XIV. had, even from the very appointment of Fouquet, looked upon him with an unfavorable eye. We have already mentioned that during the life of Mazarin he rendered the sovereign more dependent than ever upon His Eminence, by compelling him to submit to the mortification of receiving, as a loan at his hands, the sums necessary to his ordinary expenditure, which should at once have

been delivered to him by the superintendent himself. Nor was the feeling of distrust lessened by the dying words of the cardinal, who, while he expatiated to his royal master upon the official talents of Fouquet, at the same time warned him against his cupidity and licentiousness, which were rendered only the more obnoxious by the intemperate conduct of the abbé his brother, who, although he did not scruple to profit by his relationship to the profligate minister, nevertheless exposed his vices and betrayed his confidence.

The king acted in this emergency with both wisdom and indulgence. He took an early opportunity of informing Fouquet that he was aware of his extortions, and the uses to which he had applied their proceeds; but declared that he was willing to forget the past, and to retain him in office, provided he were disposed to do his duty with fidelity for the future; that he was resolved to ascertain the state of the public finances, as the most important feature of his government; and that as Fouquet was the only person who could afford him the necessary information, he entreated him to do so without disguise or subterfuge; assuring him, moreover, that he would find it difficult to deceive him, and that any such attempt would inevitably subject him to the most condign disgrace.

Somewhat startled by such an address, the superintendent had no sooner returned home than he consulted some of his friends as to the most prudent steps which he could adopt under circumstances so stringent, when they unanimously advised him to profit by the warning of the king, who had been forbearing enough to leave him an opportunity of retrieving himself while it was yet time; but Fouquet, after having listened to their arguments, still remained of a different opinion. He could not bring himself to believe that a young sovereign of three-and-twenty would willingly imprison himself in his cabinet for hours together, day after day, in order to examine dry reports and intri-

cate calculations, when he could command pleasure and festivity without. He entertained no doubt that Louis would become disgusted by so arid an occupation long before he had obtained one glimpse through the complicated labyrinth; and even should it prove otherwise, Fouquet still flattered himself that he should find it an easy task to mystify and mislead a mere novice, and to compel him to renounce his undertaking, more than ever impressed with his dependence upon a minister able enough to regulate the movements of so stupendous a piece of machinery.

It is more than probable that the crafty superintendent would, in fact, have succeeded in his purpose, had not the king secretly confided to Colbert every evening the returns and reports furnished to him daily by Fouquet, which the young secretary was employed throughout the night in examining with untiring zeal, in order that he might be enabled to point out their errors, and to explain their perfidy. He laid bare before the king alike the exaggerations and deficiencies which were necessary to blind him to the extent of the rapine committed on his treasury; and, on the morrow, Louis addressed such observations to the superintendent as were calculated to convince him that he did not for a moment lose sight of his object, his aim being, if possible, to induce him to act with sincerity, although he soon lost all hope of being enabled to accomplish so desirable an object.*

Thus had several months elapsed, Fouquet striving to deceive, Louis appearing to be deceived, and Colbert preventing him from being so, when the insult offered to Mademoiselle de la Vallière, and the representations of the Queen-Mother, determined the king to rid himself of so dishonest a minister; and we have shown the precaution which it was considered necessary to take in order to accomplish this end.

Fouquet had so long held sole control over the finances

* Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

of the kingdom, and had been so little scrupulous in its expenditure, that there was scarcely an individual of the court who had not received from him either a present or a pension; he was said to have numerous partisans in Brittany, his birthplace, so zealous in his cause that they could raise all Provence at his slightest bidding; while the island of Belleisle was represented as his intended retreat should he ever incur the displeasure of the king, where, secure within his bristling walls and guarded ramparts, he might either defy the royal power or deliver the island to the English, as the price of an asylum in that country.

It was, consequently, not surprising that the king should be anxious to avoid all chance of failure in his attempt to secure the person of the superintendent, who, although his subject, had, in a great degree, emancipated himself from his authority by his own precautions; and the first step upon which he resolved was that of marching troops into Brittany, on the pretext of certain seditious movements, in consequence of a demand which he had made that the province should raise a sum of money as a gratuitous gift to the crown, and the next that of proceeding there himself, and of causing Fouquet to bear him company.

The superintendent was, at the moment when this proposition was made to him, suffering from an attack of fever; but he made no plea of illness, being anxious to let the king see and understand the extent of his influence in Brittany, feeling convinced that it would secure to him the twofold advantage of throwing Colbert into the background, and of impressing upon Louis the importance of his own support.

Still it would appear that Fouquet was not altogether free from apprehension; for on the arrival of the august party at Nantes, which was the term of the journey, he established himself in a residence at the extreme end of the town, whence, as it was afterward ascertained, a subterranean passage opened upon the Loire, where a boat,

thoroughly equipped, victualed, and provided with excellent rowers capable of overcoming all obstacles, was prepared to transport him, on any alarm, to Belleisle.

He had, moreover, caused couriers to be posted at different stations on the high road, with relays so disposed, that, without being either seen or prevented, he could gain whatever place of safety he might select. Nevertheless, it is equally certain that he did not apprehend immediate danger, as he declared that he confided in the king, who was aware that during the lifetime of Mazarin he had acted on many occasions in obedience to the express orders of that minister, while, in what had subsequently occurred, he had been sincere and faithful; and the king had appeared so satisfied with his explication that he firmly believed he had nothing to fear.

Rocking himself in this delusion, he was unguarded enough to invite Louis and all his court to a fête at his chateau at Vaux, upon which he had expended the enormous sum of fifteen millions.* No step could have been more weak or ill-advised; for the king was little likely to forget, as he looked upon the splendor of Vaux (by which that of Fontainebleau and St. Germain was utterly eclipsed), that its owner had derived all his wealth from the public coffers, and that it had been accumulating at a period when

* The palace of Vaux le Vicomte, now called Vaux-Praslin, or, simply, Praslin, is a dependence of Maincy, a small village about a league from Melun. When purchased by Fouquet it was merely an obscure seigneurial residence; and a short time after his disgrace it became the property of Marshal Villars, and thence received the name of Vaux Villars. The son of the marshal suffered the ornamental water to run to waste, destroyed the gardens, and finally sold the estate to the Duke de Praslin, from whom it derived its new alias, and in whose family it still remains. It is surrounded by a moat filled with running water; the great entrance-court is ornamented with porticoes, the subordinate buildings are spacious and magnificent, and the paintings which decorate the apartments in excellent preservation. The park is of considerable extent.

he was himself in need of the funds which had here been so profusely lavished.

Every one who bore a distinguished name in France was bidden to this princely festival, which was destined to be commemorated by La Fontaine and Benserade, and where a prologue by Pélisson* was to be spoken, and a comedy by Molière to be played. The king arrived at the chateau, accompanied by an escort of musketeers, and was received at the gates by his imprudent host, who had no sooner welcomed him than he entered the park, followed by the whole court, and found himself surrounded by a scene of enchantment, for which, despite all that he had heard of the gorgeous palace of his minister, he was still far from being prepared. A cloud passed over his brow, and the smile was very bitter with which he turned toward Fouquet, and remarked, "I shall never again, sir, venture to invite you to visit me; you would find yourself inconvenienced."

The epigram was too pointed to fail in its effect, and for a moment Fouquet turned pale; but he soon rallied, and persisted in doing the honors of his sumptuous home to the mortified sovereign, with an ostentatious detail which left no one of its marvels unremarked.

The first surprise was the sudden play of the fountains, a luxury at that period almost unknown in France, where a solitary attempt of this description had been made by

* Paul Pélisson Tontanier was a native of Béziers, and was born in 1624. He was the descendant of a Protestant family long distinguished in the legal profession. He fixed his residence in Paris in 1652, and purchased the charge of royal secretary; became a state councilor in 1660, and head clerk of Fouquet, of whom he shared all the fortunes. When imprisoned in the Bastille he compiled, in defense of his friend, three Memorials, which are considered to be master-pieces of judicial eloquence, and monuments of the most unalterable friendship. After a captivity of five years he was liberated by order of Louis XIV., who honored his consistency, and appointed him historiographer to the crown. In 1693 he died, a member of the French Academy.

Henry IV. at St. Germain. The astonished admiration of the spectators may therefore be imagined, when it is stated that the superintendent had purchased and pulled down three villages, in order that the water by which they were supplied might be conducted, from a distance of five leagues in every direction, into vast reservoirs of marble, manufactured in Italy.

As twilight deepened, the waters suddenly ceased their play, and a splendid banquet supervened; after which the *Fâcheux* of Molière was represented, and succeeded by a splendid pyrotechnic display; while the ball, which terminated the amusements, was protracted until daylight. Before its commencement Louis made a tour of the chateau, accompanied by its owner, and was compelled to acknowledge that nothing, in all probability, existed throughout Europe which could compete with it in magnificence.

During the ball Mademoiselle de la Vallière, having danced several *courantes* with the king, became fatigued by the noise and excitement, and expressed a wish to retire for a time from the saloon; upon which Louis, drawing her arm through his, led her, in her turn, through the splendid suite of rooms by which he had been at once astonished and offended, and bade her remark the ostentation with which M. Fouquet had introduced his armorial bearings on all sides, and in every compartment of the ceilings. The shield bore a squirrel, with the motto, *Quò non ascendam?* and, as she was engaged in reading it, Colbert chanced to enter the apartment, of whom she inquired its meaning.

"It signifies, 'To what height may I not attain?' madam; and it is understood by those who know the boldness of the squirrel, or that of his master," replied the secretary, with marked emphasis.

Louis bit his lip.

At that particular moment M. Pélisson chanced to pass, and overhearing the rejoinder, he remarked, with a pro-

found bow, as he fixed his eyes steadily upon Colbert, while he addressed the king, "Your Majesty has probably not remarked that, in every instance, the squirrel is pursued by an adder;" and then, with a second salutation, he disappeared.

Colbert turned pale and his eyes flashed, while the anger of the king was so violent that he desired the captain of his musketeers might be instantly ordered to attend him.

Mademoiselle de la Vallière, who understood only too well the meaning of this summons, immediately threw herself at his feet, and entreated that he would not compromise his dignity by arresting a man who was his host, whatever might be his crime, or terminate a fête, given in his own honor, by making it the medium of an act of violence. Fortunately, she at the moment caught sight of the Queen-Mother, who was entering a lateral apartment, and hastily springing from her knees, she hurried to inform her of the king's intentions, and besought her interference. Not a moment was lost; and with considerable difficulty Louis was at length induced to delay his vengeance, and to return to Fontainebleau, only in part consoled for the humiliation to which he had been subjected by a firm determination that the insult should never be repeated.

A fortnight after the ill-omened fête at Vaux, the court proceeded to Nantes, the king pretexting the state of his health, and his anxiety to show so fine a city to the queen. He was preceded by the three ministers—Fouquet and his friend Lionne in one barge impelled by eight rowers, and Colbert in a second similarly provided; and as they passed along the river, each endeavoring to pass the other, a courtier remarked that one of the two would suffer shipwreck at Nantes. The king arrived on the following day, having traveled post, attended by several of his confidential friends, among whom was the Marquis de Péguilain, whose fever continued undiminished, and his first question was if Le Tellier had preceded him. On being answered in the

affirmative, he desired that inquiries might be made as to the health of M. Fouquet, whose fever had augmented, and how he had borne the journey, as he wished to see him in the course of the day.

The messenger, however, met the superintendent on his way to his castle of Nantes to pay his respects to His Majesty; but on the morrow the same ceremony was observed, when M. de Brienne found him much worse in health, but in high spirits; and after he had acquitted himself of his embassy, and was taking his leave, the invalid inquired, in a cheerful tone, what were the news at court.

"That you are about to be arrested," was the reply.

"You are misinformed, my good friend," said Fouquet, with a smile; "it is Colbert who is about to be arrested, and not myself."

"Are you sure of this?" asked Brienne.

"Perfectly; for it was I who gave the order for him to be conducted to the castle of Angers, and it was Pélisson who paid the workmen intrusted to place the prison beyond all chance of successful assault."

On his return, Louis XIV. questioned the young secretary very minutely with regard to the health of the superintendent, who was attacked by his malady on alternate days; but his manner convinced Brienne that the minister was lost, as, in speaking of him, the king no longer styled him M Fouquet, but simply Fouquet; and when he was at length dismissed, Louis desired him to be in attendance at an early hour on the following morning, and to bring Fouquet with him, as he was going to hunt.

He was, however, again anticipated by the superintendent, who having been informed that the king desired to see him before he left the castle, was in attendance at six o'clock, little suspecting that all was prepared for his arrest; and, after a conference of half an hour, he was returning quietly through the gallery, when he was met by M. de la

Feuillade,* who told him in a low voice to be cautious, as orders had been issued against him.

For the first time Fouquet began to quail, as he could not conceal from himself that the manner of the king had been constrained and absent; and this fact, coupled with the hint of the duke, induced him, when he gained the court-yard, to throw himself into the carriage of one of his friends, instead of his own, with the intention of making his escape. He had already succeeded in passing the gates and entering the town, when Artagnan, who commanded the musketeers, and to whom his arrest had been intrusted, seized him as he was about to turn into a lateral street, transferred him to his own coach, and conveyed him, without stopping either day or night, to the castle of Angers, which he had caused to be prepared for the reception of Colbert; and thus this modern Haman found that the pains which he had taken to strengthen the external fortifications of the prison only rendered his own prospect of escape utterly hopeless. His wife and children were at the same time removed to Limoges, and seals placed upon all his property; while an attendant, who was present at his arrest, hastened to secure one of the private relays which had been prepared in case of emergency, and made the journey to Paris with such speed that the news of his capture was known to all the friends of the fallen

* Francis d'Aubusson, Duke de la Feuillade, was a descendant of the dukes of Aubusson; served under Louis XIV., and became a marshal of France and colonel of the French guards. In 1664 he commanded the French forces at the battle of St. Gothard, and was created Duke de Roanne. In 1668 he went to the relief of Candia, then besieged by Achmet-Kioperli. He made the campaign of Holland; followed the king in Franche-Comté, and terminated the conquest of that province by the capture of Dôle, Salins, &c. In 1676 he commanded the army in Flanders; and in 1678 he was at the head of the navy. In 1691 he obtained the government of Dauphiny, and ultimately died in 1681. He erected, at his own expense, a statue of Louis XIV., in the *Place des Victoires*.

minister twelve hours before the arrival of the courier dispatched to the Queen-Mother.

During this interval many of Fouquet's papers might have been secured, especially in his house at St. Maude, where he had deposited a vast number; and the abbé, his brother, suggested that, without delaying to examine them, they should at once be collected and burned to the last fragment, declaring that the value of what would be thus destroyed on the one hand would bear no proportion to the benefit of that which would be annihilated on the other. Madame Duplessis-Bellièvre, however, who was the fast friend and confidant of the minister, objected to so extreme a measure, feeling convinced that, in the anxiety of mind which he had lately suffered, he could not have failed to obliterate every thing which might injure either himself or others. She was, however, unfortunately mistaken. The superintendent was in the habit of preserving every communication which he received, whatever might be its nature—proposals, requests, acknowledgments, propositions, billets-doux; nothing was destroyed; and the result of such a system, pursued by such a man as Fouquet, may be readily understood. All these multitudinous papers were rigidly examined by the king and the Queen-Mother; and a great and well-founded terror spread through the court when this fact was ascertained; for numerous were the hitherto fair and noble names which were destined to be forever sullied by the disclosures they contained.

Few there were, either married or single, says Madame de Motteville, who had not sacrificed to the golden calf; and it was proved that the poets well understood their vocation when they wrote the fable of Danaë and the Shower of Gold.

After the arrest of Fouquet the royal party had immediately returned to Fontainebleau; and while the examinations were pending, all his friends became greatly alarmed for the result; and the rather as being principally artists

and men of letters, without any interest at court, they were unable to make an effort in his behalf. It was soon rumored that among his female correspondents the superintendent had numbered Madame de Sévigné, whose letters had, like the rest, passed through the hands of the king; and more than one of those who knew themselves to be compromised rejoiced at the idea of being partially excused by the companionship of this hitherto irreproachable name. Their triumph was, however, of short duration.

The life of Madame de Sévigné, despite the buoyancy of heart which she retained until her death, had been one of suffering and difficulty. Married in youth to a profligate, who eventually lost his life in a duel, disgraceful to his memory both as a husband and a father—a widow at five-and-twenty, agreeable in person and accomplished in mind, Madame de Sévigné had withstood every temptation to a second alliance, devoting herself to the care and education of her children with a tenderness and perseverance perfectly exemplary; while that she did not meet with all the support and encouragement from her own family which she might justly have claimed under these circumstances, is sufficiently evident from a letter addressed to her by her cousin, Bussy-Rabutin, so early as the year 1654, in which that shallow-hearted and libertine nobleman, who was aware that both Fouquet and the Prince de Conti had made dishonorable advances to Madame de Sévigné, and who feared that from her continued resistance they would become wearied of their pursuit, attacked her by arguments as disgraceful as they were revolting, in order to induce her to comply with their proposals.

He did not, however, estimate at its just value the noble nature which he strove to abase. The wages of immorality had no attraction in the eyes of Madame de Sévigné. Her path of duty lay well defined before her, and the thorns and briers by which it was beset she was content to pluck away as she advanced, strengthened in the

heaviest hour of her toil by the aid of an approving conscience.

It was stated that both Anne of Austria and her son were startled when the signature of Marie Rabutin Chantal met their eyes; but their consternation was not of long continuance; while the subject of her communication, and her own perfect and womanly feelings on learning the discovery of her letters among the private papers of Fouquet, are admirably developed in the following note to M. de Pomponne:*

"At the Rocks, this 11th Oct., 1661

"There is nothing more true than that friendship becomes more warm when people are interested in the same subject; you have so obligingly written to me to that effect, that I can make you no better reply than by the assurance that I have the same sentiments toward yourself which you entertain for me; and that, in one word, I both honor and esteem you in a high degree. But what say you of all that has been found in these caskets? Should you ever have believed that my poor letters, full of the marriage of M. de la Trousse, and all the affairs of his family, would have been discovered so mysteriously situated? I assure you that, whatever credit I may derive from those who do me justice for having had with him no other commerce than this, I am nevertheless painfully wounded to find that I am compelled to justify myself, and perhaps very uselessly, toward a thousand people who will never comprehend the fact. I think that you will easily understand the grief caused by such a necessity to a heart like mine. I beseech you to say all you know upon this point; I can not have friends enougn upon such an occasion."†

Strong in her innocence, Madame de Sévigné did not, consequently, hesitate to accompany Mademoiselle de Scu

* Simon Arnauld, Marquis de Pomponne, afterward minister for foreign affairs.

† Lettres de Madame de Sévigné.

déry,* when she declared her intention of waiting upon La Vallière, to solicit her interest in favor of the condemned minister; and they found a willing coadjutor in the gentle Louise, who was as anxious to preserve the life of Fouquet as the warmest of his friends, and who exerted all her influence over the mind of the king to induce his mercy: an attempt in which, seconded by the Queen-Mother (who, amid all her indignation, was desirous that he should not suffer the extreme penalty of his offenses), she happily succeeded.

* Madelaine de Scudéry was born at Havre, in 1607, and went at an early age to Paris, where she became an authoress, from necessity: a fact which did not, however, militate against her admission to the best society, while her wit made her a welcome addition to all the literary circles of the time. Her novels are numerous, and obtained great success, although they are wanting in nature, and essentially French as regards the persons described. Her principal works are *Cyrus, Clelia, Ibrahim, Matilda of Aquilar. Almahida, Célanira*, &c. She died in 1701

CHAPTER VI.

Birth of a Dauphin—Prosperity of Louis XIV.—Favor of La Vallière—Court Festivals—Insult to the French Ambassador in London—Apology of Philip IV.—Rupture between France and Rome—Fall of La Vallière; her Remorse; exiled from the Court of the Queen Mother; her Flight to the Carmelite Convent; the Reconciliation, she returns to Court—Marriage of Marianne de Mancini—Commencement of Versailles; its Progress—Fête at Versailles—La Princesse d'Élide of Molière—Three first Acts of the Tartuffe; the Representation forbidden—Perseverance of Molière—National Monuments—The Knights of the Holy Ghost—The Blue Over-coats—M. de Condé a Courtier—Unhappiness of La Vallière—The surreptitious Letter—The Victims—The Conspiracy—The Letter intercepted—Treachery of the Marquis de Vardes—Severity of Madame to La Vallière—La Vallière becomes a Mother—Arrival of the Crown-Prince of Denmark—Mademoiselle wearies of her Exile—The Hand of Mademoiselle is offered by Louis XIV. to the Prince of Denmark; she returns to Court; she rejects the Prince—Declaration of the King—Depravity of the French Court—La Vallière received by the Queen-Mother; publicly acknowledged as the Mistress of the King—Passion of the Count de Guiche for Madame; he is sent to Lorraine to take the command of the Royal Forces.

The pleasures of Fontainebleau soon effaced all memory of the imprisoned superintendent; and the birth of a dauphin, which took place on the 1st of November (1661), completed the happiness of Louis XIV. Every thing by which he could be affected appeared subject to the influence of his will: the treaty of the Pyrenees had terminated a long and exhausting war; Mazarin, by whose authority he had been oppressed, was in his grave; Fouquet, by whom he had been rivaled in the magnificence upon which he prided himself, was his prisoner; the queen, to whom he was indifferent, had given him an heir to the throne; and Mademoiselle de la Vallière, whom he loved, already began to resist less steadily the encroachments of his passion; while the religious struggle, which was fated to recommence hereafter was for the moment appeased by the dispossession of the Calvinists of all the privileges which the Edict of Nantes was intended to secure to them, and who only continued their opposition through the medium of a secret system of proselytism, destined on a future day to convulse once more the whole face of the kingdom. This was, moreover, so cautiously pursued, that no suspicion of its extent disturbed, even for a moment, the apparent calm; and Louis, satisfied that he had at length accomplished a general pacification which he should be enabled to maintain, resigned himself wholly to a career of pleasure.

Every festival had Mademoiselle de la Vallière for its object; and although it professed to have no view save that of gratifying the queen, it was not only a homage offered by the king to the reigning favorite, but it also conduced to the aggrandizement of royalty, by weakening the resources of that haughty nobility which, since the reign of Francis II., had perpetually disturbed the repose of France; for, in order to compete with the magnificence of the monarch, the greater portion of those around him mortgaged and even dissipated their patrimony, and, when these measures were no longer practicable, became involved in debt;

and, once ruined, found themselves entirely dependent upon the sovereign; while the extraordinary number of foreigners who were attracted to Paris by the perpetual fêtes produced a revenue from the customs which exceeded that disbursed by the treasury. It was during this period that the famous tilting-match took place in the Place Royale, to which it gave the name that it still bears.

Throughout the whole of the winter the court continued immersed in pleasure, and several ballets were produced, in which the king bore a conspicuous part, seeking so little to disguise his passion for La Vallière that he was careful every evening to ascertain the colors she would wear on the morrow, in order that he might appear in the same. In order, also, to excite her to a greater display of magnificence, he overwhelmed her with jewels and costly dresses; but she shrunk so resolutely from all which could tend to make her conspicuous, that he could not induce her to abandon the simplicity in which she gloried to perceive that she was equally attractive in his eyes.

On one occasion the king had joined the evening circle of *Madame*, and was, according to his usual habit, conversing with her fair maid of honor, when some dispatches were delivered to him which were declared to be of immediate importance. He accordingly seated himself near a table to examine them, and it was soon remarked by every one that his cheek became blanched, and that he bit his lips with a violence which indicated suppressed passion. Nevertheless, not a word escaped him until he had read them to an end, when he rose, and crushing the dispatches convulsively between his fingers, exclaimed, haughtily,

"Here are news for you, gentlemen! Our ambassador in London has been publicly insulted by the Spanish envoy. What think you of this, gentlemen? Shall I wait to revenge the insult of my father-in-law until my mustache is as long as his own? He, without doubt, imagines that we are still under the guardianship of the cardinal. M. le

Tellier, let my ambassador at Madrid leave that city instantly, and the Spanish envoy quit Paris within four-and-twenty hours. The conferences of Flanders are at an end; and if the superiority of our crown is not recognized publicly by Spain, she may hold herself prepared to renew the war."

The consternation excited by these words will admit of no description, and even Le Tellier hesitated for a moment as though he doubted the evidence of his senses; but he was soon undeceived by Louis, who, in a still higher tone, demanded if he had not understood his orders, desiring him, at the same time, to assemble the council, at which he would preside within an hour.

This done, the king once more approached the ladies who were present, and continued the conversation which had been so unpleasantly interrupted, as calmly as though nothing had occurred to ruffle his temper. The affront he had received was, nevertheless, of a very serious character, and one to which, constituted as he was, he could not fail to be susceptible. An ambassador from Sweden had arrived in England, and, on his entrance, the Count d'Estrade, the French representative, and the Baron de Vateville, the representative of Spain, had disputed a point of precedence. The Spaniard, by a greater profusion and a more numerous retinue, had gained over the populace; and having caused the horses which drew the carriages of M. d'Estrade to be killed, and his attendants wounded and dispersed, the Spaniards had taken possession of the contested right without sheathing their swords.

The orders of Louis XIV. were obeyed. M. d'Estrade was recalled; the Baron de Vateville dismissed the kingdom; and the conferences which were still in progress in Flanders, on the subject of the limits of the respective nations, were suddenly terminated; while a message was dispatched from the French king to Philip IV. to inform him that if he did not immediately recognize the supremacy

of his crown, and repair the insult to which it had been subjected, by a formal apology, the peace was at an end.

The Spanish sovereign, who was unwilling to plunge his kingdom once more into bloodshed for so insignificant a consideration as the precedence of an ambassador, consented to heal the wounded pride of his tenacious son-in-law; and, accordingly, on the 24th March, 1662, the Count de Fuentes waited upon the offended monarch at Fontainebleau, where, in the presence of all the foreign ministers then resident at the court of France, he declared, in the name of his royal master, that thenceforward the Spanish ambassadors should never again compete with those of France: a concession which, if it did not altogether admit the preëminence of Louis, at least betrayed the weakness of Spain.*

Scarcely had this trifling affair been settled in a manner which redounded so greatly to the honor of the French king than he found himself called upon to decide another of a similar description, but in which he was less personally interested. The Duke de Créqui,† who was ambassador at Rome, had revolted the Roman people, and still more the Roman nobility, by his overweening haughtiness, and had, consequently, become eminently unpopular; while his servants, exaggerating his error, had committed many excesses, even proceeding so far as to attack the night-watch of the city; and, upon one occasion, some of his lackeys amused themselves by charging a squadron of the

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle. *Francheville.*

† Charles de Créqui, de Blanchefort, et de Canaples, Prince de Poix, governor of Dauphiny, peer and marshal of France, became Duke de Lesdiguières by his marriage with Madelaine de Bonne, daughter of the celebrated Connétable de Lesdiguières. His duel with Don Philippin, the bastard of Savoy, on the subject of a scarf, in which he killed his antagonist, contributed, in no small degree, to establish his reputation. He took Pignerol and La Maurienne in 1630, was sent ambassador to Rome in 1633, defeated the Spanish forces at the battle of Tésin, in 1636, and was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Bremen.

Pope's Corsican guard, sword in hand, and putting them to flight.

The whole corps, incensed, and privately encouraged by Don Mario Chigi, the brother of Alexander VII., who detested the Duke de Créqui, assembled in arms round the residence of the ambassador, and fired upon the carriage of the duchess as she was in the act of alighting, killing a page, and wounding several of her attendants; upon which M. de Créqui immediately left Rome, accusing the relatives of the Pope, and even the Pope himself, of having sanctioned the assassination. Alexander delayed, as long as he was able to do so, any offer of reparation, having so little opinion of the steadiness of the French as to believe that if he temporized they would soon forget their annoyance; but, finally, he caused one of the Corsicans and a constable to be hanged at the end of four months, and banished the governor of the city, who was suspected of having authorized the outrage. He was, however, compelled to more definite measures by the intelligence that Louis XIV. threatened to besiege Rome, that he was already landing troops in Italy, and that the command had been given to the Marshal du Plessis-Praslin.* The affair had become a national quarrel, and the King of France was evidently resolved that it should involve no dishonor to his own kingdom; while the Pope, on his side, was equally determined not to yield so long as he possessed one hope of overcoming his adversary, and, accordingly, he supplicated the mediation of all the Roman Catholic princes; but the holy father had fallen upon evil times: Germany was threatened by the Turks, and Spain was hampered by an unsuccessful war against Portugal.

* Cæsar de Choiseuil du Plessis-Praslin, duke and peer of France, was created marshal of France in 1645, and in 1648 won the battle of Francheron, and in 1650 that of Réthel against Marshal Turenne, who at that period commanded the Spanish army. He died in Paris in 1673 at the advanced age of seventy-eight years.

The Roman court, consequently, only irritated Louis, without having it in its power to injure him; while the parliament of Provence cited the Pope and seized the *comtat* of Avignon. In earlier times an excommunication from Rome would have been the immediate result of so decided a proceeding; but such an expedient had now ceased to be available, and would only have excited ridicule. Thus the Head of the Church found himself compelled to bend to circumstances, to exile his own brother from Rome, and to announce his intention of sending his nephew, as *legate à latere*, to France, to offer satisfaction to the offended dignity of its monarch.*

Shortly after this event the unfortunate La Vallière sacrificed her reputation to her ardent passion for the king; but her remorse was so great, that, far from parading her disgrace, as most of those around her would have done, she was so prostrated by shame as to absent herself, so far as her court duties would permit, from all society; and the agony of her repentance was so violent as to occasion much embarrassment to her royal lover; while the reproaches of the Queen-Mother, and the deep melancholy of Maria Theresa, added to his annoyance. The young queen had reluctantly admitted the conviction of this new misfortune; but two incidents soon occurred which robbed her even of the equivocal happiness of doubt.

A young valet-de-chambre of the king, named Belloc, had invented a species of interlude, consisting of dialogues interspersed with dances, which obtained great favor at court, where they were enacted by all the principal persons of the royal circle, including Louis himself. On a particular occasion one of these interludes, of which the subject had been prompted by the king, was represented in the queen's apartments; and the boldness with which it shadowed forth the love of the monarch for La Vallière was so great that, long ere its conclusion, a score of whispers

* Siècle de Louis XIV.

had identified the characters, and she herself retired to her chamber, trembling at its probable effect upon those whom it was so well calculated to wound.

A few days only passed over ere she was summoned to the presence of the Queen-Mother, and the circumstance was so unusual that Louise hesitated whether she should obey without previously consulting the king. A second messenger, however, urging her to hasten, left her no alternative; and with a sinking heart she was ushered into the apartment of Anne of Austria, whom she found closeted with *Madame*. There was an expression of triumph playing about the lip of the princess which at once convinced Mademoiselle de la Vallière that she was summoned on no indifferent subject, and one glance at the clouded brow of the Queen-Mother confirmed her in her conviction. Her fears had not outrun the truth. Coldly, haughtily, and peremptorily, Anne of Austria declared her dismission from the court, adding that she was immediately to return whence she came, and that Madame de Choisy would conduct her to her home.

With a trembling heart La Vallière attempted to inquire the nature of her offense; but Anne of Austria indignantly interposed, saying that it sufficed that there could not be two queens of France; after which she rose, and, followed by *Madame*, retired to an inner apartment.

The unhappy girl staggered back to her room almost unconsciously. A full conviction of the disgrace which she had brought upon herself bowed her to the dust. She was about to be ignominiously driven from the court, to meet her mother as a guilty and condemned wretch, to whom the whole world was now only one wide desolation; while, at intervals, the idea that she was to be forever separated from the king dried her tears with the scorching fever of despair. No one intruded upon her solitude throughout the day, and she gave a free course to the anguish by which she was oppressed; but with the twilight Louis en

tered her apartment, and, finding her exhausted with weeping, insisted on learning the cause of her distress. Anxious though she was that he should know all, she shrunk from exciting the storm which she was well aware must follow, and she persisted in withholding her secret, despite the entreaties, reproaches, and even threats of the king, who eventually, displeased by her pertinacity, rose from her side, and without uttering another word, left the room.

As he disappeared, Mademoiselle de la Vallière sunk back tearless and hopeless. She was now, indeed, alone; for even he for whom she had suffered had abandoned her, and hours went by before she again ventured to lift her head. After a time, however, she remembered that a compact had once been made between herself and her royal lover, that, in the event of any misunderstanding, a night should not be suffered to elapse without a reconciliation. Her heart again beat more freely. He would not fail her; he could not forget his promise—he would write to tell her that his anger against her was at an end. And so she waited and watched, and counted every hour as it was proclaimed by the belfry of the palace; but she waited and watched in vain; and when at length, after this long and weary night, the daylight streamed through the silken curtains of her chamber, she threw herself upon her knees, and praying that God would not cast away the victim who was thus rejected by the world, she hastened with a burning cheek and a tearless eye to collect a few necessary articles of clothing, and throwing on her veil and mantle, rushed down a private stair-case, and escaped into the street. In this distracted state of mind she pursued her way to Chaillot, and reached the convent of the Sisters of St. Mary, where she was detained for a considerable time in the parlor; but at length the grating was opened, and a portress appeared, who, on her request to be admitted to the abbess, informed her that all the com-

munity were at their devotions, and could not be seen by any one.

It was in vain that the poor fugitive entreated, and asserted her intention of taking the vows; she could extort no other answer; and the portress withdrew, leaving her sitting upon a wooden bench, desolate and heart-struck. For two hours she remained motionless, with her eyes fixed upon the grating, but it continued closed; even the dreary refuge of this poor and obscure convent was denied to her—even the house of religion had barred its doors against her. She could bear up no longer; from the previous morning she had not tasted food; and the fatigue of body and anguish of mind which she had undergone, combined with this unaccustomed fast, had exhausted her slight remains of strength: a sullen torpor gradually overcame her faculties, and eventually she fell upon the paved floor, cold and insensible.

Early in the morning the king was informed of the disappearance of Mademoiselle de la Vallière; and he had no sooner learned the fact than he hastened to the Tuileries to question *Madame*, who either was, or affected to be, utterly ignorant of her fate. Nor was he more fortunate in his inquiries of the Queen-Mother, who, while she declared her inability to give him the information that he sought, reproached him with his want of self-command, remarking that he had no mastery over himself.

"It may be so," he exclaimed, goaded by her words; "but if I can not control myself, I shall at least know how to control those who outrage me."

As yet he had obtained no clew to the retreat of his mistress; but Louis was not to be discouraged, and he adopted such efficient measures as, ere long, led him to a knowledge of the convent to which the unhappy fugitive had been seen to bend her steps. In another instant he was on horseback, and, followed by a single page, galloped off in the direction of Chaillot, where, as no warning had

been given of his approach, the grating remained inhospitably closed, and he found the wretched girl still stretched on the pavement.

It was long ere Louise was aware whose tears were falling fast upon her face, and whose hands had clasped her own. After a time, however, she recognized the king, and at length was enabled to confide to him the reason of her flight, and to implore him to leave her free to fulfill the resolution she had formed; but Louis was deaf to her entreaties, and finally succeeded in inducing her to pardon the past, and to return. It was not without compunction that she suffered herself to be persuaded, but her passion for the king ultimately triumphed over her scruples; and the page was dispatched for a carriage, in which, bathed in tears, half joy, half bitterness, she reached Paris, and once more found herself under the roof of that palace which, only a few hours previously, she believed that she had quitted forever.

It was with considerable difficulty that the king prevailed upon *Madame* to restore to Mademoiselle de la Vallière the place in her household from which she had been so abruptly dismissed; but he was firm in his determination; and eventually, although with a reluctance which she made no attempt to disguise, she consented to his wishes; when, regardless of the manner of the concession, Louis thanked her for her compliance, and hastened to inform the anxious maid of honor of the success of his suit.

A short time subsequently, the Duke de Bouillon became the husband of Marianne de Mancini, the only niece whom the cardinal had left unmarried; but this alliance created little sensation at court. Madame de Soissons gave a supper on the occasion, at which the queen consented to appear; and then the affair was forgotten.

Meanwhile, Louis had never overcome the mortification to which he had been subjected at Vaux, and the deter

mination which he had then formed to construct for him self a palace, of which the splendor should be unapproach able by any subject, whatever might be his resources. He resolved not to build only for the age, but for futurity; and after considerable hesitation, he at length fixed upon the park of Versailles as its site.* Louis XIII., whose hunting-parties frequently took place in the forest of Versailles, and who, on one occasion, overtaken by the darkness near a small elevation above the road leading to St. Leger, was compelled to pass the night in a mill, while his attendants and the hounds were housed in the cottage of a wagoner, caused a small pavilion, of which some traces may still be seen in a street of the town, to be erected for his future accommodation, should he again chance to be benighted in that neighborhood, and ultimately purchased a sufficient extent of land to enable him to erect a chateau, and to form a park in the center of the forest; when, having decided that the house should stand upon the rise then occupied by the windmill in which he had formerly taken shelter, he left his architect, Lemercier, at liberty to construct it according to his own taste.

* "Versailles possessed, as early as the 10th century, a fief and a seigneurial manor, situated on the slope of the hill which overlooks the wood of Satory, on the spot since covered by the labyrinth known as the Queen's Grove; and labor had not yet lowered this soil, which was on the same level as the sheet of water. Several large farms, acquired at different periods, extended the domain to the village of Choisy-au-Beuf, which Louis XIV. inclosed in the great park. The most ancient deed referring to Versailles bears the date of 1037. * * * L'Etoile, in his *Memoirs* (vol. i. p. 26), asserts that Catherine de Medicis caused the secretary of state, Loménie, to be strangled, in order that the Count de Retz might possess the chateau of Versailles; but this fact is improbable. Anthony de Loménie, who enjoyed the intimacy of Henry IV., could easily have obtained the restitution of the domain, if it had been thus usurped; while, on the contrary, it is well known that it was from the tutor of the children of Martial de Loménie that Albert de Gondi purchased the chateau, which was at the time in a state of ruin."—*Versailles Ancien et Moderne.*

The result was by no means commensurate with the dignity of its owner; for although the building was not devoid of a certain elegance, it was insignificant in size, and was styled, by St. Simon, a "pasteboard palace;" while Bassompierre asserts that it was a residence of which no nobleman would have had cause to feel vain. Nor did Louis XIV., when he finally resolved to embellish Versailles, in all probability, contemplate the vast changes which were ultimately effected there; for, in the first instance, he made no outlay save upon the gardens, leaving the little palace precisely as it stood; in which state it still existed so late as in 1664, when he gave there those marvelous entertainments which became matter of European celebrity, and whose effect he had awaited before he resolved upon the great pecuniary sacrifice which a more extended undertaking must necessarily involve.

Le Notre, intrusted with the disposition of the gardens, profited by a moment of enthusiasm on the part of the king, while examining the plan which he proposed, and of a consent wrung from him with considerable difficulty, to cut down, during a single night, a great portion of the masses of ornamental timber which had been planted by Louis XIII.; and the magnificence of the result excused him in the eyes of his royal master for having ventured to exceed his orders.

Mansard,* however, to whom the erection of the palace was confided, was less fortunate; for by no argument

* Jules Hardouin Mansard, born in 1635, became first architect to the king, knight of St. Michael, and controller and director-general of buildings, arts, and manufactures. It was after the designs of this famous architect that the gallery of the Palais-Royal, the Place Louis-le-Grand, and that des Victoires were constructed. He also built the dome of the Hôtel des Invalides, and planned the establishment of St. Cyr, the cascade of St. Cloud, the menagerie, orangery, and stables of the palace of Versailles, and built the Trianon. He was protecting member of the royal academy of painting and sculpture, and died in 1708.

which he was able to adduce, could he prevail upon the monarch to sanction the demolition of the *pasteboard palace*, which had been the chosen refuge of his father, when, offended by the haughtiness of Mary de Medicis toward the cardinal, he sought to escape from becoming the witness of scenes which wounded alike his pride and his filial respect. In vain did Mansard represent, that by his persistence in preserving the chamber where he was born, the Cardinal de Richelieu had ruined the plan of the chateau which he had built; the king only smiled; and when the architect, as a last hope, dilated upon the bad condition of the present edifice, his reply was to the effect that, if it were found absolutely necessary to pull it down, he should not oppose the measure, but that it must be rebuilt precisely as it stood; and thus the unfortunate Mansard found himself without any alternative, save that of concealing as much as possible the obnoxious edifice by the regal pile which was about to rise around it.*

We have alluded, in this rapid sketch, to the magnificent fêtes given in the gardens of Versailles in 1664; but they were so remarkable as to merit more special mention, alike from their magnificence, their singularity, and their intellectual attractions, which added a new grace to the profuse splendor that was their main characteristic. Versailles had even then become a delightful residence, although it as yet betrayed no vestige of its after-greatness.

Early in the spring, the king, followed by a court composed of six hundred individuals, the whole of whose personal expenses were defrayed, as well as those of their respective attendants, took up his abode at Versailles; and the marvelous rapidity with which his artificers erected the stages, amphitheaters, and porticoes, all elaborately ornamented, which were required in succession to give effect to the various entertainments, was not one of the least prodigies of the festival. The fêtes com

* Versailles Ancien et Moderne.

menced by a *carrousel*, in which all those who were to compete appeared in review order on the previous day, preceded by heralds-at-arms, pages, and equeries, who bore their shields and devices, on the former of which were inscribed, in letters of gold, verses written for the occasion by Périgni and Benserade.

The king represented Roger; and all the crown jewels sparkled upon his dress and on the housing of his charger. The queen, attended by three hundred ladies, seated under triumphal arches, were the spectators of the procession. The cavalcade was followed by a gilded car, eighteen feet in height, fifteen in width, and twenty-four in length, representing the chariot of the sun. The four ages of gold, silver, steel, and iron, the signs of the zodiac, the seasons, and the hours, followed immediately behind it; while the lists were carried by shepherds, and adjusted amid flourishes of trumpets, contrasted at intervals by the music of bagpipes and violins.

When the tilting terminated, and twilight threatened to cause a cessation of the festivities, four thousand immense torches suddenly illuminated the space destined to the banquet; and the tables were served by two hundred attendants, habited as dryads, wood-deities, and fauns; in the midst of whom Pan and Diana approached the august circle on the summit of a moving mountain, whence they descended only to superintend the arrangement of a repast which combined all the luxuries attainable by art or expense. Behind the tables, which formed a vast crescent, an orchestra was suddenly erected as if by magic, and peopled with musicians; the arcades surrounding the banqueting-hall and theater were lighted by five hundred girandoles of green and silver, and a gilt balustrade inclosed the whole of the immense area.

The fêtes lasted seven days, and the prizes prepared for the victors in the lists were most magnificent.*

* Siècle de Louis XIV.

On this occasion the *Princesse d'Elide* of Molière was produced in the presence of the sovereign and the whole court, and was succeeded, on a subsequent day, by the three first acts of the *Tartuffe*, upon which he had been engaged at intervals for several years. He was quite aware of the obstacles which must be overcome before it could appear upon the public stage; and in the hope of obtaining, in the first place, the powerful protection of royal favor, he had urged that he should be permitted to cause its representation at Versailles. He was not, however, fated to see the whole of his hope fulfilled; for he had not adopted the necessary precautions which might have insured the acceptance of ideas at once so bold and so novel as those which he had put forth in the *Tartuffe*. He had neglected to define the delicate shades by which piety and bigotry were to be distinguished; and thus the court, although at that period much less scrupulous than it afterward became, took offense; and the king, upon the grounds we have stated, forbade a repetition of the performance.

This order was a heavy blow to Molière; but nevertheless, feeling that in the *Tartuffe* he had presented his master-piece, he would not permit himself altogether to despair; and, accordingly, during the next five years, he applied all his energies to its improvement, corrected all that was already written, and completed what was still wanting. For this purpose he made his studies in the varied society of the capital, and became the censor rather of the looks and bearing of those about him than of their words. It is scarcely necessary to state that opportunities for such observation were not wanting; the interdict which had been pronounced against his work had, more than ever, excited interest in its author, and Molière became the fashion.*

At the close of 1664, having become convinced of the perfect eligibility of the site which had been chosen, Louis XIV. finally authorized the commencement of the stupen-

* Vie de Molière, par M. Petitot.

dous work which was destined to immortalize his name and the foundations were laid of the palace of Versailles, fated, before its completion, to swallow up the enormous sum of one hundred and sixty-five millions, a hundred and thirty-one thousand, four hundred and ninety-four livres.

But this was by no means the only great undertaking accomplished by the French king at this period. In the solitude of the cabinet he concerted with Colbert most of those splendid measures which tended to illustrate his reign. Under the prompting of this far-sighted and zealous minister, he encouraged men of letters, and founded the manufactories which were destined to render France a great commercial nation. Vessels were lanched which suddenly rendered his naval strength respectable; a reinforcement was sent to the Emperor of Austria against the Turks; the Duke de Beaufort was intrusted with the command of the expedition of Gigeri, which was succeeded by that of Cyprus, where he was fated to perish; the Louvre was completed as the walls of Versailles began to rise above the soil; an Indian company was organized; and the manufacture of the Gobelins was purchased in the king's name; while, as regarded external relations, both Spain and Rome, which had ventured to contest his supremacy, were compelled to make reparation to the authority they had failed to recognize.

Nor must mention be omitted of the creation, at the same period, of no less than seventy knights of the Holy Ghost, by Louis XIV., who, as a signal and unprecedented favor, left one nomination at the disposal of the Prince de Condé; and beside this national recompense, originated by Henry III., his descendant also instituted another for personal services, which, however puerile it must appear to posterity, was too characteristic of Louis, and too much sought after by the greatest nobles of the court, to be passed over in silence. This extraordinary distinction, which he retained the right of bestowing and withdrawing at his

pleasure, was the privilege of wearing a blue outer-coat, embroidered with gold and silver, precisely similar to his own, and was accorded by a patent authorizing the wearer to accompany the king in his hunting-parties and his drives.

From that moment his favorites, more fortunate than his soldiers, had a uniform by which they might be known; and Condé the Conqueror solicited and obtained the favor of donning this envied habit, not because he had gained half-a-dozen battles for France, but because he had efficiently played the courtier at Fontainebleau.* It may be expedient to remark that these outer-coats were worn over vests ornamented with ribbons, and that above the coat was slung a shoulder-belt supporting a sword, while a throat-band of muslin, edged with fine lace, and a broad-brimmed beaver, surmounted by a double row of plumes, completed the costume, which continued in vogue until 1684, and became the fashion throughout all Europe, with the exception of Spain and Poland.

Meanwhile, the position of Mademoiselle de Vallière was far from being a happy one; for, superadded to the remorse which she never ceased to feel, she was exposed to perpetual suffering from the intrigues which were set on foot on all sides to separate her from the king; which, combined with the harshness she continually experienced from *Madame*, kept her in a perpetual state of anxiety. Nevertheless, she bore all patiently, and forbore to utter a complaint, conscious, as she herself feelingly declares, that she was only paying the penalty of her faults. She was not, however, long fated to confine her grief to her own bosom; for, on one occasion, when it was her tour of duty about the person of the princess, and that she was preparing to attend her to the funeral service of the Queen of Bohemia, then recently deceased, the Count de St. Aignan entered her apartment and delivered to her a note from the king in which he requested her to return home immediately

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

after tne ceremony, as he had an affair of importance to communicate.

Naturally anxious to ascertain its nature, Mademoiselle de la Vallière questioned the messenger, who informed her that her enemies had just concerted a new plot, intended to ruin her in the king's affections; and that, on this occasion, they had involved the peace of the young queen, by affecting to serve her in order to accomplish their purpose. He was about to be more explicit, when she was summoned to *Madame;* but she had heard enough to excite her uneasiness to a degree which she found it difficult to conceal. Nor did the expression of the king's countenance during the mass tend to remove her fears; he was pale, and occasionally looked fiercely round him, as though he sought some one upon whom he could wreak the anger by which he was evidently agitated; while, contrary to his usual rigid attention to the services of the church, he addressed perpetual questions to the Marquis de Vardes, who knelt behind him.

It was, consequently, with increased alarm that La Vallière awaited his advent in her chamber on her return; but one glance convinced her that she at least had not incurred his displeasure, and he at once revealed to her the circumstance by which he was so deeply moved. A letter had been addressed to Maria Theresa, which was delivered to the Señora Molina, her Spanish waiting-woman, who, suspicious that it might contain something calculated to distress her royal mistress, had forthwith carried it to the king. It was written in the Spanish language, but a translation had been appended which enabled the trembling Louise to read as follows:—

"The king is involved in an intrigue of which Your Majesty alone is ignorant. Mademoiselle de la Vallière is the object of this unworthy passion. This information is given to Your Majesty by faithful servants. You must decide if you can love your husband in the arms of another

or if you will prevent a circumstance whose duration can not tend to your honor."

While the unhappy La Vallière, drowned in tears, was endeavoring to conjecture from the hand of what new enemy this bolt had sped, the king himself, whose indignation increased every moment, informed her that it was a device of Madame de Navailles, and that nothing short of the ruin of herself and her husband would satisfy his vengeance for the affront which had been put upon them both; nor was it without the most earnest entreaties that Mademoiselle de la Vallière could induce him to promise that he would limit their punishment to an immediate exile from the capital.

It may be well to mention in this place that the unfortunate duke and duchess, who were deprived of their position at court and banished, without a hope of future pardon, were totally guiltless of the letter which had excited the wrath of the king. The Countess de Soissons, hopeless of any change in the affection of Louis toward La Vallière, to whom she bore a mortal hatred, suddenly imagined that, could she succeed in acquainting Maria Theresa with the truth of a passion in which she had hitherto resolutely refused to place credence, her Spanish jealousy must inevitably cause a separation between the monarch and his favorite; and in this belief she secured the envelop of a letter which the queen had received from Madrid, and which she had thrown aside.

This done, she proceeded to the apartments of *Madame*, whom she requested to exert her influence in inducing the Count de Guiche to translate into Spanish for her a note of which she had brought a rough sketch in French. The princess, who imagined that nothing more was intended than a jest to mystify some person about the court, immediately sent for De Guiche, and having explained to him the service which Madame de Soissons required at his hands, left them while he accomplished his task. The

count had, however, no sooner run his eye over the paper which was placed in his hand than he indignantly refused to lend himself to so nefarious a proceeding; nor could all the blandishments of the countess succeed in winning his compliance. The discussion lasted so long that *Madame* returned to the room while it was at its height, and was immediately addressed by Madame de Soissons, who bade her place no further faith in the professions of the Duke de Guiche, as, after vowing himself to her interests, he had refused to further them by participating in a measure which would insure the dismission of La Vallière from the court.

Suffice it that the arguments of the princess, combined with those of her confidant, at length prevailed over the honor of the Count de Guiche, who affected, in order to serve his own passion for *Madame*, to become gradually convinced that, although the means employed were somewhat questionable, the motive was one of pure morality; there was, according to Madame de Soissons, an immoral connection to terminate—a husband to be restored to his wife, and a queen to be saved from a life of sorrow; in short, a good action to be accomplished without difficulty, and, if carefully conducted, without danger.

While the countess was speaking, *Madame* held in one hand the note which was to be translated, while, with a smile that she knew he would be unable to resist, she pointed to a writing-stand beside her, and then motioned to the count to seat himself. He obeyed, but with a compunction which still made him hesitate, until the princess, motioning to Madame de Soissons and the Marquis de Vardes to leave the room, commenced dictating the sentences he was to translate, with another sunny smile, which he answered by exclaiming,

"Be it so, then, since it is your will; fortunately it involves my life, should it ever be discovered, for nothing save the scaffold will expiate such a crime But it is your

pleasure; and for your sake I am ready to become an anonymous assassin—to lose my self-respect—to write this letter."

Unhappily, the princess, strong in her aversion to Mademoiselle de la Vallière, and confident in the good management of the countess, considered all discovery impossible; and thus the letter was translated with a careful imitation of the writing of the Queen of Spain; and it was no sooner finished than the countess hastened to inclose it in its cover, well aware that if she suffered it to remain in the hands of the Count de Guiche, a return of better feeling would induce him to destroy it. M. de Vardes undertook its transmission to the Louvre, through a courier who was about to quit his service; and the count saw it carried away with a pang of remorse, which not even the gracious acknowledgments of *Madame* had power to overcome.

As we have already stated, the letter was delivered to the Señora Molina, who, well acquainted with the autograph of the Queen of Spain, and discovering in the address certain indications of an imperfect attempt at its imitation, immediately conceived the idea that it was some anonymous communication calculated to wound her mistress; and believing that with such a suspicion she ran no risk by confiding in the Queen-Mother, she immediately carried it to Anne of Austria, who, delighted to have an opportunity of giving this additional proof to her son of the public indignation excited by his attachment for Mademoiselle de la Vallière, desired Molina to deliver the letter to the king.

The waiting-woman seized the opportunity of his leaving the council-chamber to approach Louis with the open letter in her hand, and to inform him, that by a providential inspiration, fearing it might contain intelligence of the death of the King of Spain, who had long been dangerously indisposed, she had unsealed the packet before giving it to the queen

Louis unfolded the paper, and the blood rushed to his brow as he perused its contents; and then, after compelling the bearer to pledge her oath that she had not communicated its contents to her royal mistress, he hastened to the apartments of Madame de Soissons, believing that her sagacity would enable her to discover the delinquent. It is needless, however, to state that, although the countess was not backward in pointing his suspicions in more than one direction, she afforded him no clew to the actual culprit; and it was reserved to M. de Vardes, when questioned in his turn by the monarch, to center them upon the unhappy Duchess de Navailles, who paid the penalty of his treachery during three weary years.

Shortly after this event Mademoiselle de la Vallière became the mother of a son, who lived but ten months, and whose existence, from the caution of those about her, was known only to a few persons. Immediately after its birth, the king expressed a wish that while she retained her post at the court of *Madame*, she should cease to fulfill its functions; but to this La Vallière objected, upon the ground that such an arrangement was without precedent, and would only increase the virulence of her enemies; and as Louis was silenced, if not convinced by the argument, she was comparatively surprised when, on presenting herself as usual at the toilet of *Madame*, Her Royal Highness informed her that thenceforward she would dispense with her official services, which under present circumstances no longer became her, adding that she did so by command of the king.

The extreme harshness with which this favor was accorded rendered it eminently painful to the erring maid of honor, who was crushed beneath the weight of her conscience, and found her only consolation in the conviction that she was indebted for the scorn and coldness of the princess rather to the jealousy with which she regarded a rival than to her horror of the crime she

affected to condemn. Nevertheless, this constant recurrence of mortification preyed upon the mind of Mademoiselle de la Vallière; and, combined with her separation from her child, affected both her health and spirits to a degree which not even the augmented tenderness of the king had power to remove.

During the carnival of 1663, the Crown Prince of Denmark, who was making the tour of Europe, arrived in Paris, where he was welcomed with great distinction; and MADEMOISELLE, who had been exiled to her estate of St. Fargeau, for having refused to marry the King of Portugal, received constant letters from the court, in which her correspondents expatiated on the fine person of the prince, his exquisite dancing, and the perfection with which he spoke the French language, coupled with assurances that he aspired to her hand; and that, having expressed to the king a desire to wait upon her in her exile, His Majesty had readily given his consent to the visit.

MADEMOISELLE was, however, just then in the vein of opposition, and declared her resolution to decline the proffered honor; alledging, as an excuse, that her house was not yet in a state which would enable her to receive guests of his quality. Her mood was, moreover, rendered still less complying by the fact that she had endeavored to temporize with the king, by offering thus tardily to accept the hand of the Duke of Savoy, which had been proposed to her; but Louis rejected the compromise, telling her, in a bitter manner, that he should marry her as might best serve his own interests; and during her banishment, this very Duke of Savoy, whose gallant bearing and personal advantages had produced their effect even upon her haughty nature, during his apparition at Lyons with the Princess Marguerite, had become the husband of her sister, Mademoiselle de Valois, whose reception at the court of Turin had been most brilliant.

It is probable, however, that MADEMOISELLE afterward repented her abruptness; and finding that the pleasures of the court were preferable to the monotonous occupation of building and furnishing, with which she had endeavored to beguile her banishment, became anxious to quit her solitude; for she, ere long, wrote to the king to state that, having caused a swamp upon her estate to be drained, the air had become so overcharged with miasma that her health was giving way; and she was shortly afterward recalled.

Soon after her return to Paris,* there was a grand gala at court, on Twelfth-night; when, either by chance or design, the Prince of Denmark drew the bean,† and immediately selected MADEMOISELLE as the companion of his transitory honors: a circumstance which gave evident satisfaction to the king, who had already privately offered the hand of his cousin to the young heir of Denmark, affecting to be urged to this measure by political considerations, but probably anxious to rid himself of the continual annoyances to which he was subjected by her overweening pretensions and perpetual discontent.

MADEMOISELLE, however, rejected this new prospect of a throne as decidedly as she had refused that by which it had been preceded, even declining to adduce any reason for her decision; and thus again incurred the king's displeasure immediately after her restoration to favor so greatly, that he did not scruple to remark that he could not in any way account for her conduct, save by the supposition that she still preserved a hope of becoming queen of France, as she refused all the princes who were pro-

* Jour des Rois.

† The ceremony of "drawing characters" in France is different from our own. A single bean is mixed with the ingredients of the cake, and the person in whose portion it is discovered becomes king or queen for the evening, and chooses a consort; and both are afterward attended, by the rest of the company with all the ceremonial due to their temporary rank.

posed to her; in which case, he added, that she was only injuring herself, for that should it please God to spare him longer than the queen, it was assuredly not Mademoiselle de Montpensier who would afterward share his throne.

Were any further proof requisite of the extreme depravity of the French court at that period, it would be supplied by the fact that the king, undeterred by the increasing devotion and piety of his royal mother, who now passed the greater portion of her time in the convent of Val-de-Grâce, importuned her to receive Mademoiselle de la Vallière, even at a time when she was scarcely visible to the most attached of her friends; nor could the undisguised repugnance which she evinced to profane the holy retreat, where she sought to forget all worldly passions and worldly animosities, induce the infatuated monarch to withdraw his request.

Deeply attached to Maria Theresa, to whose forbearance and uncomplaining patience she was no stranger, she naturally shrunk from all contact with a person by whom she had been so deeply wronged; and the many amiable qualities of the erring woman whom she was required to welcome, in order to assure to her a position in society to which she was entitled neither by her birth nor her conduct, could not blind her to the extent and mischievous nature of her fault. But Louis was resolute; and surely the devoted and deceived Mary de Mancini was revenged, when at length a royal carriage drove into the court-yard of the pious nuns of Val-de-Grâce, and that the son of Anne of Austria ascended the stairs, entered her oratory—that sanctuary which should have been her refuge from the profligacy and vices of a court—and presenting his mistress, said, with a calm smile upon his lips, "*Mother*, here is Mademoiselle de la Vallière, whom you have condescended to send for."

The soul-stricken Magdalen, as she looked on the stern

brow and cold eye of the coerced and indignant queen, would have knelt; and even when the hand of her royal mistress raised her from the floor to a low stool beside her own seat, she could not, during the brief interview, sufficiently control her feeling of humiliation to remember any portion of the conversation. With the king she could be, and she was to the last, only a loving and devoted woman, who had sacrificed all, even her self-esteem, to a passion too mighty for resistance; but in the presence of his injured and dying mother she forgot her love in her remorse.

The affection of the king for Mademoiselle de la Vallière being now recognized, the cessation of mystery caused an equal cessation of interest on the subject, save as regarded those who were affected by its existence; but it was far otherwise with the passion of the Count de Guiche for *Madame;* and accordingly, after the birth of her daughter, Maria Louisa d'Orleans, it once more became a general topic of conversation at court, and so extremely displeased the monarch that he desired the Marquis de Vardes to inform him of all he knew on the subject.

De Vardes, who feared that the imprudence of the count would, ere long, betray his secret, and who was, consequently, anxious to remove him from the court while there was yet time, did not affect to deny the truth, although he endeavored to palliate his fault; but the anger of the king, who lost sight of his own errors while condemning those of others, was so vehement, that the marquis endeavored to calm him by applauding his expressed determination to separate De Guiche from the object of his passion—only suggesting that the interest of both *Monsieur* and *Madame* exacted that his dismissal should not carry with it the appearance of disgrace, and hinting that it would be politic to give to the imprudent courtier the command of the troops at Nancy, which would impart to his exile the air of a signal favor.

Louis XIV., delighted by a measure which would at the same time terminate the romantic attachment of the count, and gratify his father, the Marshal de Grammont, instantly acted upon this advice; and De Guiche departed for Lorraine with despair in his heart, after having been compelled to receive the congratulations of half the court.

CHAPTER VII.

Deaths of the Duke de Longueville and the Marshal de la Meilleraye—Increasing Danger of the Queen-Mother—Illness of the King and Queen—The King at St. Cloud—Arrival of the Pope's Legate; his Reception—Diplomacy of Louis XIV.—The Legate and the Dramatist Condescension of Louis XIV. to Molière—Submission of the Duke de Lorraine—Jealousy of the Count de Guiche—Impetuosity of Madame—The Countess de Guiche—The King at Nancy—The extorted Confession—The Count de Guiche departs for Poland; his Gallantry—The Miniature—The King recalls M. de Guiche—Displeasure of Monsieur—The Chevalier de Lorraine—Insolence of M. de Vardes—Indignation of M. de Guiche—The Challenge—Madame betrays the Countess de Soissons—The Conspiracy revealed—Banishment of Madame de Soissons—Imprisonment of M. de Vardes—M. de Guiche is sent to Holland—The Duke de Mazarin and St. Genevieve—The Visions of Louis XIV.

About this time, intelligence reached the capital of the death of the Duke de Longueville at his government of Normandy, and of another actor in the Fronde in the person of the Marshal de la Meilleraye, whose son had become Duke de Mazarin by his marriage with Hortensia de Mancini. But what was still more calculated to shed a veil of mourning over the festivities which had hitherto succeeded each other in rapid succession, was the fact that the illness of the Queen-Mother increased so rapidly as to excite the fears of all around her.

Anne of Austria had enjoyed the rare privilege, so seldom accorded to her sex, of growing old without in any very eminent degree losing her personal advantages. Her hands and arms, which had always been singularly beautiful, remained smooth and round, and delicately white; not a wrinkle marred the dignity of her noble forehead; and her eyes, which were remarkably fine, lost neither their

brightness nor their expression; and yet for years she had been suffering physical pangs, only the more poignant from the resolution with which she concealed them. Compelled at last to confide in the faculty, she had in vain applied in succession every remedy which had been suggested to her, and at length the disease made such inroad upon her constitution that her strength began visibly to give way. The summer sojourn of the king at Versailles, in 1664, was consequently abandoned, while the young queen was so painfully affected by the state of her royal mother-in-law, to whom she was tenderly attached, that her health gave way beneath the shock, and she was so violently attacked by measles that her life was endangered.

On this occasion all the better feelings of the king were awakened; and regardless of the expostulations of those about him, he could not be induced to leave her bedside, where he remained day and night till he became infected with the complaint, and for the first four days was not expected to survive. On the fifth, however, the disease weakened, and he was removed to St. Cloud, where *Madame* was then residing, and where he was consequently under the same roof with Mademoiselle de la Vallière.

During his sojourn in that palace, the *legate à latere* arrived to make the *amende honorable*, which had been demanded by Louis XIV. for the insult offered to his ambassador at Rome, and was received by the king in his bed-chamber, within the balustrade, where, as a signal honor, he was permitted to seat himself.* All the principal nobles of the court were present, and heard, with natural exultation, from the document read by the cardinal, that the Pope, recognizing the justice of the displeasure of the French monarch, consented to disband the Corsican guard, and to raise within the walls of Rome a pyramid commemorative of the insult and its reparation.

The Cardinal Chigi was the first legate ever dispatched

* Versailles Ancien et Moderne.

by the Roman court to sue for the pardon of a European sovereign; their province had hitherto invariably been to give laws and to impose tithes. But on this occasion Louis XIV., not satisfied by so temporary a manifestation of repentance on the part of His Holiness as the disbanding of a regiment of guards, and the erection of a monument which might readily be removed, or which must in any event disappear in the lapse of time, insisted on the restoration of Castro and Conciglione to the Duke of Parma, and that the Duke de Modina should receive a compensation for his claims on Comachio; thus making an insult to his ambassador subservient to investing himself with the solid advantage of standing forth as the protector of the Italian princes.*

The treaty of reconciliation was no sooner concluded than Louis XIV. gave a series of *fêtes*, in honor, as he publicly asserted, of his distinguished guest, but which he privately dedicated to La Vallière. Races at the ring, concerts on the water, balls and banquets, succeeded each other with a rapidity and splendor which dazzled and delighted the Roman envoy; while, on his side, that dignitary rendered himself extremely popular with the whole court —an effect the more easily produced from the fact of his being a handsome man, not more than thirty years of age, tall in stature, with finely-arched black eyebrows, hands which became the envy of half the ladies of the royal circle, and an air of dignified suavity that savored more of the courtier than the churchman.

Notwithstanding the pleasure which he evidently derived from the amusements into which he so readily entered, his hosts were nevertheless somewhat startled on witnessing the relish with which he assisted at the performance of the *Princesse d'Elide*, and still more so by his request, on its conclusion, that the author might be presented to him; when the Prince de Conti lost no time in introducing

* Le Siècle de Louis XIV.

Molière, who was overwhelmed with praise by the legate, and with assurances that he had never seen any farce by which he had been so much diverted.

The admiration of the cardinal was very gratifying to Louis XIV., who regarded the great dramatist as one of the most distinguished men in his kingdom, and who had, on perceiving Molière (who in his official capacity of court upholsterer was, in conjunction with his colleague, Delobel, engaged in arranging the tapestries of the orchestra), or an occasion when he was about to take his frugal breakfast of bread and weak wine and water, desired his attendants to bring forward a folding stool, and made the dramatist take a seat by his side, in order to impress upon those about him, who affected to despise the plebeian genius, the estimation in which he was held by their monarch.

The greater portion of the summer of 1663 had been passed amid these perpetual festivities, when, in the month of August, France was again threatened with a war, which was, however, averted by the weakness of her adversary. It may be remembered that the Duke de Lorraine had signed a treaty by which he bequeathed his principality to France after his death, on condition that the king would allow him to raise a million of revenue during his life; and that the princes of the blood of Lorraine should be recognized as princes of the blood of France; while, on his side, Louis XIV. had exacted that one of the frontier fortresses of the principality should be forthwith surrendered to the French. The unfortunate Charles IV., a brave soldier, but a feeble vacillating, and imprudent prince, although he had authorized the verification of this treaty by the parliament, after a thousand subterfuges and delays, had at length refused to fulfill his compact, and it was decided that he should at once be compelled to do so.

Meanwhile, the Count de Guiche—whose honorable exile was imbittered by constant letters from the Marquis de Vardes who. during his absence, was endeavoring to sup-

plant his friend in the affections of the Duchess d'Orleans, whose smiles were also sought by the Prince de Marsillac and the Chevalier de Lorraine, to both of whom she was utterly indifferent, and who, in order to conceal his own turpitude, hinted at her marked preference of the prince—became highly incensed, and wrote reproachfully to *Madame*, who, in her indignation, complained to M. de Vardes of the presumption of her old favorite.

This was precisely the point at which the marquis had aimed, and, far from endeavoring to defend his friend, he immediately seized the opportunity of alarming the fears of the princess, by representing the danger to which she was exposed from the jealousy of the count, and the necessity there existed for the restoration of her letters; which, however inconsequent they might really be, would, in the event of their becoming suspected, be assuredly misinterpreted, and thus injure both parties. In the first burst of her displeasure, *Madame* acted upon this insidious advice; and De Guiche, revolted by a want of confidence which impugned his honor, did not attempt to remonstrate, but at once confided to the marquis the casket which contained the correspondence.

This was no sooner in the possession of the princess than she repented her precipitancy, for she felt the wound which her implied suspicion must have inflicted upon a high-minded man, whose only error had been his headlong and uncalculating passion for herself; but it was too late to regret the step when she held in her hands the letters she had reclaimed, and learned that the Count de Guiche had fallen dangerously ill at Nancy.

The latter intelligence had no sooner reached the Countess de Guiche than she resolved to join her husband, in order to solace his sickness by her attentions; and the heart-stricken invalid could not remain insensible to such a sacrifice, although he had never affected any attachment toward a wife who had been forced upon him by his fam-

ily.* He consequently exerted himself to render her sojourn with the army less monotonous than she must have been prepared to find it; and all Paris ere long learned that the countess was surrounded by gayety, and the object of her husband's unceasing devotion.

No one experienced more gratification from this intelligence than the king, who had lately purchased Dunkirk from the English, and was preparing to seize Marsal from the Duke de Lorraine; and in his satisfaction at so happy a change in his old playfellow, he caused it to be announced to him that he was about to arrive in person at Nancy to superintend the siege, accompanied by *Monsieur*. The count was careful to profit by so admirable an opportunity of recovering the good graces of the monarch; and, aware of his taste for display and ceremony, he accordingly lost no time in preparing for him a triumphal entry into the city, which so much gratified Louis that no shade of displeasure remained toward M. de Guiche, who suddenly found himself once more on the very pinnacle of court favor.

Notwithstanding this extreme graciousness, however, the king retained considerable curiosity to learn all the details of the intimacy which had existed between *Madame* and his host; and in order to accomplish this, he affected in their private interviews to know far more than he was in reality aware of, and mentioned the secret meetings of the count and the princess as matters with which he was so well acquainted that it was needless for De Guiche to deny them.

Duped by this apparent candor, and glad, in all probability to be enabled to convince his royal master of his frankness without betraying the confidence which had been reposed in him by the princess, the count related every circumstance which had occurred, insisting throughout that nothing had taken place which could in any way affect the honor of Her Royal Highness. Had Louis XIV. been

* Mademoiselle de Béthune, Countess de Guiche, was the daughter of the Duke de Sully, and granddaughter of the chancellor Seguier.

discreet no evil consequences could have arisen from this revelation, even extorted as it was by the subtil inferences of the king himself; but, unfortunately, it afforded so favorable an opportunity of intimidating *Madame*, that he was unable to deny himself the gratification of informing her that he was master of her secret; and she was the more enraged by the discovery from the fact that, after the departure of Louis for Lorraine, she had written to M. de Guiche to warn him, if he valued her friendship, not to suffer the king to prevail on him to make the slightest disclosures.

Before her letter arrived at Nancy, however, there remained no more to tell; and on the return of the monarch to Paris, he had no sooner proved that he was aware of all the detail of the intrigue than she addressed a letter to the count, in which she commanded him never to appear in her presence, or to utter her name, under pain of her lasting hatred. In vain did he write, again and again, explaining all the circumstances under which he had been betrayed; his letters were returned unanswered; and at length, despairing that he should ever be able to justify himself in her eyes, he requested permission of the king to serve in the Polish army—a measure to which Louis was at first opposed, but which he ultimately conceded, on learning how much he had himself been instrumental in its adoption.

The taking of Marsal, where he had fought bravely, permitting M. de Guiche to resign with honor the command which he held in Lorraine, he embarked for Dantzic, careless of the fate which might await him. The monarch was, however, sufficiently generous to reassure *Madame*, after his departure, on the nature of the confidence which he had extorted from the self-exiled count; and when she learned that, far from having boasted of her favor, he had convinced the king that her sole error had been that of permitting him to love her, the princess

thought only of the means of recompensing him for all the suffering which he had undergone on her account; and ere long she dispatched her miniature by a trusty messenger, who transmitted it to the count in Poland, where, a short time afterward, it saved his life in battle, a ball having struck the case in which it was contained suspended by a chain about his neck.*

The continued victories of the King of Poland began, however, after a time, to make Louis regret the assent which he had given to the request of the Count de Guiche to serve in his army; and the annoyance that he felt whenever he encountered the name of one of his best officers, in the dispatches which reached him filled with details of the engagements gained over the Muscovites, despite all the glory which accrued to the name of France from the gallantry of the count, induced him to determine on his return; and he accordingly desired the Marshal de Grammont to recall him in his name. The letter of the marshal reached M. de Guiche on his return from Varsovie, while John Casimir was arranging a peace with the insurgents of the Ukraine, and an armistice with the Turks; and scarcely allowing himself time to take leave of the king, and to communicate to him the order which he had received from his own sovereign to return home, he commenced his journey the same night, and arrived in Paris, exhausted with fatigue and wild with joy.

Monsieur, when he first saw him in the circle of the king, bowed gravely without uttering a syllable of welcome; *Madame* affected an indifference which she was far from feeling; and the Marquis de Vardes, conscious that by his treachery he must have converted a friend into an enemy, met him with an elaborate politeness which was as elaborately returned.

The position of each party was embarrassing, but it soon

* Histoire de Madame Henrietta d'Angleterre, par la Comptesse de la Fayette.

became more so; for the Chevalier de Lorraine, piqued by the coldness of the princess, affected extreme devotion to several ladies of the court; and his universal homage created such amusement, that he was tormented by all his friends to confess who was the real object of his preference. Thus urged he mentioned Mademoiselle de Fiennes, one of the maids of honor of *Madame*, when the Marquis de Vardes, who was present, and who had his own subject of annoyance, asked him superciliously why he did not rather address his vows to her mistress.

The Count de Guiche overheard the inquiry; but from respect to the queen, in whose circle the conversation had taken place, he made no rejoinder until the next morning, when he sent a challenge to De Vardes. The king was, however, immediately informed of the circumstance, and forbade the meeting; while *Madame*, to whom it had also been confided, hastened to complain of the indignity to His Majesty, who sent the marquis to the Bastille. In her anger the princess did not spare the Countess de Soissons, to whose influence she attributed the insult; and among other remarks which she addressed to the king, she said that she was not surprised to find herself the victim of the superintendent's malice, when those who were most dear to His Majesty could not escape; and upon an inquiry of her meaning, she informed him that on one occasion, when Madame de la Vallière had taken precedence of the wife of a president, the countess had remarked to the Duchess de Ventadour, that she was aware that La Vallière was lame, but she never before knew that she was blind.

The anger of the king was unbounded, and he immediately ordered that the Countess de Soissons should be banished from the court; while the astonishment and fury of the superintendent were beyond bounds when the order was conveyed to her. She uttered invectives against the sovereign, who had, she said, sacrificed her to a nobody; against the two queens, who ought to intercede for her;

out especially against *Madame*, upon whom she declared that she would soon have ample revenge. She kept her word, but in a manner which, although it was eminently mortifying to the princess, proved far more fatal to herself; for it was possible that the king would after a time have forgiven her offense, had she not, in her weak desire for revenge, after accusing alike friends and enemies of crimes which in all probability were the offspring of her own malice, ended by relating to Louis the whole history of the Spanish letter, although in a manner which exculpated both herself and M. de Vardes, and cast all the stigma upon *Madame* and the Count de Guiche.

The king, more and more exasperated by what he heard, instantly summoned the princess; who, on being confronted with the Countess de Soissons, related the whole plot, even to its minutest details, and so thoroughly laid it open that Louis became convinced of her sincerity; and on ascertaining that the original draft of the letter was in the handwriting of M. de Vardes, ordered his immediate transfer to the fortress of Pignerolle, declaring to Madame de Soissons that if he could conceive any punishment more heavy than that which he had inflicted on herself he would condemn her to its endurance.

Madame, who felt that neither herself nor the Count de Guiche had been quite blameless in the affair, obtained a promise that her accomplice should not be in any way subjected to the royal displeasure; but on the intelligence of M. de Vardes's arrest, the Marshal de Grammont became alarmed, and sent his son to Holland, although he was at the time laboring under a severe indisposition.

This event divided the whole court into two distinct parties. The Queen-Mother headed that of the superintendent; but her interest was powerless against the will of the king. Maria Theresa refused to interfere in any way; while *Monsieur* could not conceal his delight at this third exile of the Count de Guiche. With the exception of a

few of the younger nobility, who missed the brilliant saloon of Madame de Soissons, and the immediate friends of Anne of Austria, who, as a matter of course, regulated their feelings by hers, little regret was, however, really experienced at the banishment of the haughty and sarcastic countess; the greatest commiseration was bestowed upon M. de Vardes, who was, nevertheless, the greatest culprit of all, but no one dared openly to espouse his cause; and in a court constituted like that which we are endeavoring to describe, he was ere long forgotten. The Duke de Mazarin was the only individual who ventured to lift up his voice against the sentence of the king; for, although he had no great affection for his sister-in-law, the eccentricity of his character always induced him to act differently from those about him, and in this instance it prompted a proceeding so extraordinary, that it became the subject of universal comment.

Having waited upon the monarch at his *lever*, he approached him with an air of profound mystery, and said, solemnly, "Sire, St. Geneviève appeared to me last night. She is much offended by the conduct of Your Majesty, and has foretold to me that if you do not reform your morals the greatest misfortunes will fall upon your kingdom."

The whole circle stood aghast; but the king, without exhibiting the slighest emotion, replied slowly and sternly, "And I, Monsieur de Mazarin, have recently had several visions, by which I have been warned that the late cardinal, your uncle, plundered my people, and that it is time to make his heirs disgorge the booty. Remember this, and be persuaded that the very next time you permit yourself to offer to me unsolicited advice I shall act upon the mysterious information I have received."

The duke attempted no reply, and shortly afterward left the apartment, much disappointed at the ill success of his stratagem.*

* Mémoires de Madame de la Vallière.

CHAPTER VIII.

Decline of Anne of Austria—Recovery of the young Queen—A Courtier's Compliment—Susceptibility of the Queen-Mother—Death of Philip IV. of Spain—Projects of Louis XIV.—Sufferings of Anne of Austria—Renewed Festivities at Court—The royal Death-Bed—Ill timed Etiquet—The Holy Oils—Death of Anne of Austria—Condescension of Mademoiselle—The Archbishop and the Queen's Heart—The Royal Funeral at St. Denis—Birth of Mademoiselle de Blois—La Vallière created a Duchess—Legitimation of La Vallière's Children—Birth of Louis de Bourbon—Madame Colbert Governess to Mademoiselle de Blois and the Count de Vermandois—Reconciliation of La Vallière with her Mother—Distaste of Louis XIV. for Madame de St. Rémy—Decline of the King's Passion for La Vallière—A new Favorite.

Meanwhile, the Queen-Mother rapidly declined, and the regular faculty having failed to stay the progress of the evil, she placed herself in the hands of empirics, by whom it was aggravated; while Maria Theresa gradually recov-

ered her health, and was enabled once more to devote all her care and attention to her suffering relative. Vallot, the king's physician, and Seguin, who was the medical attendant of Anne of Austria, could not agree upon the system to be pursued; and while the invalid was in suspense as to their final decision, the insidious disease made rapid way. On the 15th of December, after a restless night at the convent of Val-de-Grâce, of which she had for several years been a frequent inmate, she felt convinced that, beyond all doubt, the evil had become incurable; and although, during the last twelve or fifteen years, she had seen many cases of the same kind among the nuns (by which she had been so terrified as to make it her daily prayer to God that she might be spared so bitter a trial as theirs), she nevertheless no sooner ascertained the nature of her affliction, than she summoned all her fortitude to support it; and frequently expressed a trust that she should be enabled by means of her physical sufferings to expiate her sins.

Ere long she was perfectly aware of her danger; but even had she sought to deceive herself as to its extent, the want of caution observed by those who approached her would have rendered such a delusion impossible. As an example of this extraordinary and ill-timed frankness, on one occasion, when she had suffered more than usual and was greatly exhausted, her immediate end being anticipated, M. de Beringhen, the first valet-de-chambre, who was one of the oldest and most faithful of her attendants, was admitted to her bedside, and on seeing him she exclaimed, "Ah! monsieur, we must part!" To which the court servitor coolly replied, "Madam, you will readily understand with what grief your servants receive such an assurance; but it must be a consolation to them as well as to yourself to feel that by dying at once Your Majesty will escape great torment and great inconvenience, inasmuch as the disease under which you labor becomes after a time very noisome."*

* Anne of Austria died of cancer.

The afflicted queen made no reply, but turned upon the pillow as if to avoid all further sight of so awkward a consoler; and the congratulation which he had attempted to couple with his condolence was the more inconsiderate, as the unfortunate queen, despite the prediction of her medical attendants, was still fated to linger several months before she was released from her bitter trial.

The sufferings of the unhappy Anne of Austria must indeed have been extreme, when, superadded to the physical agony of which she was so long the victim, her peculiar fastidiousness of scent and touch are remembered. Throughout the whole of her illness she had adopted every measure to conceal even from herself the effects of her infirmity. She constantly held in her hand a large fan of Spanish leather, and saturated her linen with the most powerful perfumes; while her sense of contact was so acute and so irritable that it was with the utmost difficulty cambric could be procured sufficiently fine for her use; and upon one occasion, when Cardinal Mazarin was jesting with her upon this defect, he told her that "if she were damned, her eternal punishment would be sleeping in linen sheets."*

Immediately that the danger of the Queen-Mother became imminent, *Monsieur* hastened to her bedside; and it was only some hours afterward that she was visited by the king, who did not suffer private feeling to interfere with public business, even in the case of a dying parent, and whose tardy visit might have been indefinitely postponed could he have foreseen that the agony upon which he compelled himself for a short time to look was incident only upon a crisis of the complaint; for partial convalescence enabled the unhappy sufferer to support the melancholy tidings which soon afterward reached her of the death of her brother, Philip IV. of Spain.

This intelligence produced very varied effects upon

* Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

the different members of the royal family. The young queen was overwhelmed with grief, and mourned for her father with unaffected sorrow. Anne of Austria shed but few tears, for she felt that she should soon join him in the tomb; while Louis XIV. looked upon the event as a sovereign rather than a kinsman, and saw at once the benefit which might accrue to himself from the event; and it is probable that from that very moment he meditated the succession to the Spanish crown.

Philip IV. had become, by his first wife (the sister of Louis XIII.), the father of the Princess Maria Theresa, now married to her cousin, Louis XIV.; a marriage by which the Spanish monarchy had at length fallen into the house of Bourbon, so long its enemy. By his second marriage, with Mary-Anne of Austria, he had issue, Charles II., the heir to the throne—a weak and sickly child, and sole survivor of three sons, two of whom had died in their infancy. It is true that, at the period of his alliance with Maria Theresa, the French king had, in his marriage treaty, agreed to resign every claim to all and any of the kingdom of Spain; but he instantly remembered that on the other hand that treaty had been already violated, inasmuch as the five hundred thousand crowns which were the dower of his wife had never been paid; nor did he care to call to mind that the dower of the daughter of Henry IV. had also been merely nominal. And, under these circumstances, he decided that Flanders and Franche-Comté must, according to the jurisprudence of those provinces, return to his wife, notwithstanding her renunciation. He accordingly caused his right to be investigated by his own council, who declared it to be incontestible; but the council and the confessor of the widow of Philip IV. decided precisely the reverse; and the Spanish queen had in her favor one powerful argument in the law laid down by Charles V., had the laws of Charles V. been acknowledged by the French court.*

* Le Siècle de Louis XIV. *Francheville.*

Meanwhile the Queen-Mother was lingering on, a prey to the greatest physical agony, and had become so much exhausted by her long-continued suffering as to faint when she was removed from one bed to another. But when the winter brought its habitual train of festivities, as she still survived, the court gradually resumed its accustomed habits; for she had been so long an invalid that those about her had become inured to the sight of her suffering.

On the 5th of January *Monsieur* gave a ball, at which the king appeared in a suit of violet-colored velvet, as mourning for his royal father-in-law, so covered, however, with pearls and diamonds that the color of the material could not be distinguished; and on the following day the unfortunate Anne of Austria became so much worse, that a stop was put to all amusements. Her illness increased during the night, and although in the morning she slept for an hour or two, the disease made such rapid progress that it was evident her end was fast approaching; and she accordingly began to prepare for death, and received with great and Christian fortitude the assurance of her physician that she had only a few hours to live. Shen then asked for her confessor and requested every one to retire, declaring that she wanted nothing, and could think only of God.

The king, the queen, *Monsieur*, *Madame*, and MADEMOISELLE, accordingly passed into her cabinet, while an express was dispatched for the sacrament; and when there, says the latter, with supreme self-possession, "in order to not to remain useless, we settled the ceremonials of the mourning, and spoke of other matters which required arrangement, and the division of the apartments at St. Germain, determining that the king should leave for Versailles the moment that she should be no more; that *Monsieur* should go to St. Cloud; and that I should remain to order what was necessary. The king himself commanded the carriages."*

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

When the approach of the Archbishop of Auch, attended by the other almoners, with the Holy Viaticum was announced, a discussion arose among the illustrious party in the cabinet with regard to the ceremonial which should be observed, and an appeal was made to Madame de Motteville, who replied that in the case of the late king the princes had advanced as far as the outer door of the palace to receive the procession, and that she thought it would be wise to act upon that precedent.

Mademoiselle, however, objected with considerable haughtiness to so extreme a measure, declaring that she could not consent to establish any custom of the kind; and that as it was her privilege to walk first, she should not advance beyond the middle of the court of the Louvre, which she considered quite sufficient for the holy pyx, as no more could be done for the sacrament itself. Her decision was admitted; and the royal party consequently proceeded no further than the distance she had named.*

When about to receive the extreme unction, as the priests were preparing to anoint her ears with the holy oils, the dying queen desired Madame de Flex, her lady of honor, to be careful to raise the borders of her cap, lest the oil should touch them and give them an unpleasant smell; and the ceremony was no sooner at an end than the king fainted, and was carried into an adjoining apartment, where he was with difficulty restored to consciousness. Finally, at six o'clock on the following morning, she expired, and Madame de Flex carried her keys to the king; her will was then brought from the cabinet, and read before the whole of the royal family save *Monsieur*, who refused to remain; and M. le Tellier had no sooner completed the reading than the king got into his carriage and departed.†

When the funeral equipage arrived which was to convey

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

† Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier

the heart of the deceased queen to the convent of Val-de-Grâce, to which she had bequeathed it, MADEMOISELLE, in a mourning cloke, attended by Madame de Longueville and the Princess de Carignan, met the Archbishop of Auch at the foot of the grand stair-case, and desired him to deposit the heart in the seat of honor, and to place himself beside it, declaring that on this occasion she would yield to him the privilege of her rank; and upon some hesitation on the part of the prelate, she added, with more frankness than civility, "I shall prefer placing myself on the back seat, on account of the disease of which she died."

This reasoning was unanswerable; and the archbishop accordingly shared the cushion which bore the senseless relic of the once powerful Queen-Regent of France.*

On the following evening,† at seven o'clock, the body of the Queen-Mother left the Louvre, and arrived at St. Denis at eleven, where the mourners were detained an hour and a half in the church, listening to the harangue pronounced by the Archbishop of Auch at the portal on delivering up the body, and the reply of the prior; after which the funeral obsequies were performed, and only brought to a conclusion at two o'clock in the morning—a similar service having taken place simultaneously at Nôtre-Dame—and this ceremony over, the court returned to Paris.

In the following October, Mademoiselle de la Vallière became the mother of a daughter;‡ and about six months subsequent to that event, despite her earnest solicitations that he would permit her to remain in her partial obscurity, Louis XIV. formally conferred upon his mistress the estate of Vaujours and the barony of St. Christophe, which he had caused to be erected into a duchy-peerage; and

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

† 21st January, 1666

‡ Anna Maria of Bourbon, afterward legitimatized, who married, in 1680, Louis Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti.

legitimatized her child, by an act passed at St. Germain-en-Laye at the commencement of May, 1667, and registered by the parliament in the same month.

On the second of December, in the following year, Mademoiselle (or, as she was now called, Madame) de la Vallière gave birth to a third child, a son—who was legitimatized, like his sister, under the name of Louis de Bourbon—and was afterward known as the Count de Vermandois.

Thenceforward all privacy was impossible. M. Colbert, who owed every thing to the king, intrusted the education of the (now) royal children to his wife, by whom they were brought up under his own eye. The elder, who took the name of Mademoiselle de Blois, was of surpassing beauty, and the gradual decrease of the king's passion for their mother never for an instant induced any diminution of tenderness toward her children, whom he idolized.

At this period the Marquise de St. Rémy, upon the representations of the Dowager-Duchess d'Orleans, consented to see her daughter, whose lapse from virtue she had hitherto resented so much as to have altogether withdrawn her countenance from her in consequence; but she did so with a coldness that convinced her erring child she had obeyed the wishes of her royal mistress rather than the impulse of her own will; and the king never forgave her this demonstration of her feelings. In vain did La Vallière endeavor to make him comprehend that to a parent the reputation of her daughter must be dearer than any thing on earth. Louis XIV., strong in his egotism, would not understand that his love could be otherwise than an honor to all who might become involved in its effects; and thus he was with difficulty induced to tolerate the marchioness, and never evinced toward her a single mark of favor.

This fact alone might have convinced the unhappy duchess that her power over the affections of her royal lover

was actually, even if not ostensibly, diminishing. Some months previously he would have listened to her arguments and yielded to her reasons; but now, although she had acquired as a mother a more feasible claim upon his heart, she had begun to fade beneath anxiety and care; and as her bloom had been her greatest attraction, she was no longer so well able to compete with the younger and happier beauties by whom she was surrounded; nor was so supreme an egotist as Louis XIV. likely to remain long blind to such a fact; while it is certain that one of the handsomest women of the court not only perceived but resolved to profit by the change.

Would that we could present a faithful picture of the reign of Louis XIV. without finding ourselves perpetually compelled to sully our pages by a record of heartless intrigues, which are so intimately involved with the history of the time as to enforce even detailed mention. To Mary de Mancini Louis XIV. was indebted for his first intellectual ambition; Mademoiselle de la Vallière had taught him the real value of a devoted heart, and Madame de Montespan was about to impart to him the still more important secret of self-government.

When Louis succeeded in overcoming the resistance of La Vallière he was still young, and loved with a respectful and timid passion, which, constituted as he was, he afterward exchanged toward his mistresses for the same arrogant and disdainful domination that he exhibited toward his subjects, and which a modest submission, like that of the unfortunate favorite whom we have seen the heroine of the fêtes of Versailles and St. Cloud, only tended to augment. He required, in order to contend with and overcome his self-love, a character as haughty and as imperious as his own; and he found what he needed in the beautiful, intellectual, but unprincipled and self-centered Marquise de Montespan.

CHAPTER IX.

Mademoiselle de Tonnay-Charente—Lady of the Palace; her Superb Beauty—"The Wit of the Mortemars"—Her Subtilty—Humility of La Vallière—Ambition of her Rival—Marriage of Mademoiselle de Tonnay-Charente—The Marquis de Montespan—Horror of the Marquis at the Position of La Vallière—Madame de Montespan refuses to leave the Court—Departure of the Marquis; his Letters—Preparation for War—Sale of Dunkirk by Charles II.—Louis fortifies the City—Alliance with Portugal and the United Provinces—Admirable Condition of the Army—The Spanish Minister; his Arrogance; his Weakness—A Courtly Campaign—A luxurious Camp—Triumphant Progress of Louis XIV.—The King in the Trenches—The Veteran's Warning—Gratitude of Louis XIV.—The Cousin of M. de Charost—Alarm of the Citizens of Brussels—Increasing Favor of Madame de Montespan—La Vallière Insulted by the Queen—Departure of La Vallière for Paris; her Return; her Imprudence—Verbal Morality of Madame de Montespan—Misunderstanding between Louis and Maria Theresa—The wounded Arm—La Vallière in the Queen's Coach—The Montespan Correspondence—The Public Mourning—Accommodating Principles.

FRANCES Athenaïs de Rochechouart de Mortemar,* whom we have already introduced to our readers as one of the companions of La Vallière, when, in the park of Fontainebleau she betrayed her secret passion for the king, and who was at that time Mademoiselle de Tonnay-Charente, had obtained, through the interest of the Duchess de Navailles, an appointment as lady of the palace to the Infanta-queen, and by her superb beauty and brilliant wit

* "The antiquity of the family of Montemar is registered in its name, since the genealogists affirm that a noble who accompanied Godfrey de Bouillon in his crusade obtained, as his share of the conquest, that portion of Syria bordering upon the Dead Sea (*Mermorte*). Thence the name of *Mortimer* in England, and of *Mortemar* in France."—*Louis XIV. et son Siècle.*

soon attracted the attention of the whole court; but this homage, flattering as it was, did not suffice to the ambition of Mademoiselle de Tonnay-Charente, so long as the king continued insensible to her attractions; and as he was constantly absorbed by her old companion, La Vallière, she could devise no better method of directing his attention to herself than by exhibiting an extraordinary affection for the favorite. She saw at a glance that the timid, tranquil, and unobtrusive affection of La Vallière was unaccompanied by any mental exertion; and that, satisfied with the mere fact of looking at and listening to the king, she was incapable of amusing him in a moment of tedium, or of assisting him in a season of difficulty. Resolute in her determination never to be involved in any political cabal, to solicit favors either for herself or others, or to parade the triumph of her fault by making herself conspicuous in the court circle, she was ignorant of all the graceful gossip in which Louis, in his private hours, delighted to indulge. Absorbed in her affection for her royal lover and his children, she was careless of literature and ignorant of art. In short, she lived in her own little world of devotion and remorse, and often met the monarch with tears, which banished the smile from his lips and chilled the ardor of his greeting.

Athenaïs de Mortemar felt her advantage, and profited by it to the utmost; and this constant contact ere long produced its effect. The king was struck by the affectionate devotion which she exhibited to her friend, the amiable zeal with which she superintended even the details of her toilet, and the ready wit with which she furnished her at every crisis with both words and ideas. His visits to La Vallière became more agreeable when he found that the high spirits of the handsome lady of the palace relieved him from the annoyance of a repentance which wounded his self-love, by imparting a portion of their buoyancy to his gentle mistress; and the "wit of the Mortemars" which had passed

into a proverb not likely to be negatived in the person of Mademoiselle de Tonnay-Charente, proved an agreeable episode in his communion with his acknowledged favorite, for which he felt by no means disposed to be ungrateful.

Thus were things situated when the subtil beauty was compelled by her family to accept the hand of the Marquis de Montespan,* having, as she herself acknowledged, already bestowed her affections elsewhere.

During the first months of their union the marquis expressed considerable satisfaction at her high station, and extreme popularity at court; but, by his violent and unconcealed disgust at the attachment existing between the king and La Vallière, forewarned her of the little indulgence which she might anticipate at his hands should she be betrayed into any levity likely to dishonor his name. It is probable, however, that ere long he became weary of seeing his wife devoted to vanity and pleasure, and of the restraint imposed by her official duties; for, on succeeding to an inheritance in Provence, he urged her strongly to obtain leave to accompany him when he went to take possession of the property.

Madame de Montespan, however, young, beautiful, and admired, and, moreover, not sufficiently attached to her husband to make any sacrifice to his wishes when they interfered so fatally with her own private views, instantly made a pretext of her position, and pleaded with great earnestness the duty which she owed to her royal mistress; suggesting that he should dispose of the estate to some member of his family, and reside entirely in the neighborhood of the court in which she aspired to shine.

Unable to prevail, and angered by her resistance, the marquis at length resolved to leave Paris alone; and having, on his arrival at his new property, found every thing greatly dilapidated, he applied all his energies to its im-

* Henry Louis de Pardaillan de Gondrin, Marquis de Montespan, of an illustrious family of Gascony.

provement—still writing, however, from time to time, to urge the marquise to join him. His entreaties and expostulations were of no avail. Madame de Montespan had become satisfied that the king began to feel pleasure in her society, and she resolved not to quit the court.

While this new intrigue was thus commencing, Louis XIV., who had never for a moment lost sight of his Spanish interests, began to make preparations for a campaign. He had no apprehension as regarded the result of this contemplated war; for he was enabled to place himself at the head of thirty-five thousand men—to dispatch eight thousand to Dunkirk, which, as well as Mardik, the needy and prodigal Charles II. had sold to him for five millions of livres—and to march four thousand troops upon Luxembourg. Well aware of the importance of Dunkirk, so rashly ceded and so eagerly acquired, the French king had at once employed thirty thousand men upon the works, and fortified the city on all sides. Between the town and the citadel a basin had been dug, capable of containing thirty vessels of war; and Dunkirk was no sooner beyond the power of the English than even their improvident monarch himself was compelled to feel that his cupidity had raised him up a formidable enemy.

Moreover, not content with his internal resources, but anxious also to weaken the hands of his adversary, Louis made an alliance with Portugal and the United Provinces, who saw with misgiving a bigoted and superstitious nation so close upon their frontiers; while Turenne was to act as general of the army, and Colbert had spared no exertion to enable the state to support without injury the expenses of the war.

Louvois, the new war minister, had, on his side, made extraordinary preparations for the campaign. Stores of every description were distributed along the frontier, and the rigid discipline which he had introduced, and enforced by his inflexible austerity, kept every officer to his post;

while the presence of a young king, the idol of his army, was well calculated to reconcile them to increased stringency of their duties.

Military advancement began from that period, in France, to be more certainly secured by merit than by birth; and services, instead of ancestors, were counted—a circumstance hitherto unprecedented, but most effective upon the spirit of the troops.

Such a campaign could scarcely with propriety be termed a war; for on one side there was, as we have seen, an ambitious monarch, an able general, and a zealous minister; a large body of the best soldiers in Europe, animated by a new and honorable hope; and two allies ready to play their part in the game of conquest, whenever their services might be required against the ill-defended province of a kingdom, ruined in its resources and rent with feuds. On the other hand, there was a widowed queen, whose timid and feeble rule left the monarchy weak and defenseless, and whose prime minister was her confessor, a German Jesuit, called Father Nitard, a man perfectly able to subjugate the will of a penitent, but utterly incapable of governing a state—full of ambition and arrogance, but totally devoid of the necessary qualities calculated to render him eminent either as a minister or a priest. Even before his appointment to the high office for which he was subsequently indebted to the weakness of the widow of Philip IV., he had the insolence to exclaim to the Duke of Lerma, who was reproaching him with his assumption, and reminding of the deference due to his own rank:

"It is you who owe respect to me; I who have every day your God in my hands and your queen at my feet."

And yet this presumptuous priest, who was so ready to assert himself even thus blasphemously and disloyally, left the treasury without funds, the fortifications all over the country in a state of ruin, the ports without shipping, and the army undisciplined, unpaid, ill-officered, and utterly

incapable of contending with such troops as were about to be brought against them; while the frontiers of Flemish Spain were almost destitute alike of fortresses and of garrisons.

Louis XIV. was so well aware of these facts, that he caused himself to be accompanied throughout the campaign by all the ladies of the court, and the expedition was a mere series of easy triumphs and elegant revel. Luxury of every description was thus introduced into the army at the same period as the rigid discipline to which we have already alluded. Marshal Turenne had for years used nothing but iron dishes at his table; and the Marquis d'Humières was the first who, at the siege of Arras, in 1658, had displayed a service of plate, and introduced the refinement of complicated cookery. In the campaign of 1667, however, when Louis XIV. paraded all the magnificence of his court amid the turmoil of a camp, every individual strove to outvie his neighbor in splendor and expense.

The progress of the French was one continued triumph. Louis presented himself before Charleroi, and entered the city as he would have entered Paris; Ath and Tournay were taken in two days; Furnes, Armentières, and Courtrai held out no better; he descended the trench in person before Douai, and took it the next day;* but the most remarkable event of the campaign was the siege of Lille, on which occasion the Count de Brouai, its governor, sent to ask him which quarter of the camp he occupied, in order that he might not fire upon it. His answer was, "All quarters."

When the action took place he exposed himself considerably, and a page of the royal stable was killed immediately behind him in the trench; upon which a soldier, alarmed at his danger, seized him abruptly by the arm and dragged him back, exclaiming, "This is no place for you!" As the king hesitated, startled by the words and action of

* Le Siècle de Louis XIV.

the trooper, the veteran Marquis de Charost* snatched off his plumed hat, which was too remarkable, and placed his own upon the head of the king, whispering as he did so, "Sire, the wine is drawn, and it must be drank." The young monarch heard and appreciated the admonition, remained in the trench, and felt grateful to him throughout his life for the timely lesson.

Every day M. de Brouai, finding that there was no ice in the camp, sent a given quantity to the king, who, on one occasion, desired the gentleman by whom it was brought to request the governor, if he could conveniently do so, to increase the supply.

"Sire," answered the Spaniard, bowing gravely, "he is chary of it, because he hopes that the siege will be of long duration, and he is apprehensive that Your Majesty may ultimately suffer from the deprivation." And he made a second profound bow.

"Tell M. de Brouai," exclaimed the Marquis de Charost, "not to act as the governor of Douai did, who surrendered himself like a rogue."

"Are you mad, Charost?" asked the king.

"Not at all, sire," answered the veteran, composedly; "for M. de Brouai is my cousin."†

The hope of the brave veteran was realized, as Lille held out for nine days before it capitulated, although the Spaniards had only eight thousand men to oppose to the victorious troops of Louis; and the vanguard of even this little army was cut to pieces by the Marquis de Créqui,

* Charost was celebrated for his courage in the field, and had greatly distinguished himself during the wars of Henry IV. He had been the *protégé* of Richelieu, who made him captain of the body-guard; and Mazarin, who affected to protect all who were the favorites of his predecessor, became his friend, and recommended him first to the Queen-Mother, and subsequently to the king. His son married the only daughter of Fouquet by his first marriage, but even the disgrace of that minister never diminished the court favor of the Charosts.

† Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

while the main body took refuge under the walls of Brussels and Mons, leaving the French king master of the field without any further engagement.

The rapidity of these conquests spread alarm in Brussels, whose inhabitants hastened to transport all their property to Antwerp, uncertain whether Louis would not terminate the campaign by making himself master of the whole of Flanders, which it is extremely probable he might have done, had his army been strong enough to enable him to garrison the towns which were ready to open their gates. He was, however, advised by Louvois rather to leave large bodies of troops in the cities already taken, and to fortify them in an efficient manner; to which he acceded, confiding the direction of the works to Vauban,* one of those wonderful men of genius who were the best illustrations of his reign; and this arrangement completed, the victorious monarch hastened to return to his capital, to enjoy the acclamations of the people, the adoration of the courtiers, and the festivities of the court.

The Flemish campaign had, however, other results beside those which we have already recapitulated. The king had been brought into frequent contact with Madame de Montespan both at Versailles and St. Germain; but during the journey to the frontier she had still better opportunities

* Sebastian Leprestre de Vauban, a celebrated engineer, was born at St. Leger de Foucheret, in the department of the Nièvre in 1633, and in his seventeenth year entered the regiment of Condé, to whose fortunes he attached himself. He was soon distinguised for his talents in engineering, and greatly assisted in the sieges of Stenai, Clermont, Landrecies, Condé, Valenciennes, Montmédi, Ypres, Gravelines, and Oudenarde. He directed that of the fortress of Luxembourg in 1683. Appointed marshal of France in 1703, commissary-general of fortifications, and governor of Lille; he died in 1717. Vauban restored 300 ancient fortresses, and constructed 33 new ones; conducted 53 sieges, and was in more than 140 engagements. He left behind him several writings; among others, a *Treaty on the Attack and Defense of Fortified Cities*, a work on the *Royal Tythe*, and *Hours of Idleness*, a literary miscellany.

of ingratiating herself; nor had she been less careful to conciliate the favor of the queen, of which she availed herself to undermine her partiality for La Vallière so successfully, that the latter was subjected to constant affronts which reached their culminating point on an occasion when she chanced to be somewhat late in joining the dinner-party, and found, on entering the room, that the queen had so filled the table that no seat remained unoccupied; upon which she immediately retired to her apartments, where she learned that Her Majesty had expressly forbidden that refreshments should be furnished to her, a command which was, however, disobeyed.*

The mortification she had experienced, nevertheless, determined Madame de la Vallière to return at once to Compiègne, where she had left Madame Colbert and her children, and thence to proceed to Versailles to await the conclusion of the campaign; and she had actually taken leave of the queen, after writing to inform the king of her intention, and made a day's journey toward the capital, when a letter from her royal lover, reproaching her with her precipitation, at once caused her to retrace her steps.

It was late in the evening when she was overtaken by the messenger, and a long day's journey separated her from the king; she therefore resolved to travel all night, in order to overtake the court by dawn, and just as the sun rose she arrived at Guise.

On inquiring for the queen, she found, however, that she had left the town an hour previously; and terrified lest the royal pair should meet before she had secured an opportunity of explaining to Louis the reasons which had induced her abrupt departure, she desired her attendants to increase their speed, and to overtake the army at any risk.

She was obeyed; but as the carriage was advancing through a gorge of the mountain, she was unable to calculate her progress, until, arriving in a spot that commanded

* Le Siècle de Louis XIV.

the plain, she suddenly perceived the whole body of the army with a small detached group a short distance in advance, and at once recognized the personal staff of the king, from which she was only separated by a newly ploughed field encumbered with stones.

As her coachman hesitated to advance, fearing an accident, she repeated her commands, and ere long was in considerable peril from the severe shocks occasioned to her equipage by the masses of rock that were scattered in every direction; but she, nevertheless, persisted in advancing, as she found that she was gaining ground upon the queen, who followed the beaten road. She had, however, scarcely time to distinguish the figure of the king, when a violent crash warned her that her carriage had given way, and in another instant it was overturned. A sharp pain in her arm convinced her that she had sustained a severe hurt; but she was too anxious to justify herself to heed the accident, and she was no sooner disengaged from the fallen vehicle than she insisted that it should be raised, in order that she might pursue her journey. With some difficulty this was accomplished, and she soon reached the king, which she had no sooner done than, with an exclamation of delight, she showed herself at the window.

"What! before the queen!" said Louis, so soon as he had recognized the adventurous traveler; and with these few but reproachful words, he turned the head of his horse, and moved forward toward the advancing equipages of the royal retinue.

Maria Theresa, who had witnessed the whole proceeding, was pale with anger, and was about to send one of her attendants to arrest La Vallière on the spot, when her ladies entreated her to desist, representing the probable consequences which would ensue to herself from such a measure; and she was at length appeased by the blame which they liberally bestowed upon the insolent favorite, of which no one was more lavish than Madame de Mon-

tespan, who wound up her objurgation by exclaiming, "Heaven preserve me from being the mistress of the king! But if I were so unfortunate I should never have the effrontery to appear before the queen."

Maria Theresa thanked her by a look of gratitude; for she had never for a moment suspected the virtue, and far less the rivalry of the marchioness, who was her almost constant companion, and who was accustomed to bear her company every evening while she awaited the arrival of the king in her apartments. Insensibly the lady of the palace acquired a habit of lingering near her royal mistress after his entrance, and Louis, on his side, of including her in the conversation which ensued; and as she possessed, in an eminent degree, the "wit of the Mortemars," and was caustic, agreeable, full of anecdote, and an admirable mimic, he soon acquired a marked taste for her society; while the queen, thoroughly deceived by her professions, and the fact that she even joined her in her private devotions, encouraged her in her exertions to amuse the monarch, flattering herself that, by rendering her own circle more agreeable, she should ultimately succeed in weaning him from his passion for La Vallière.

But to return to the perilous exploit of the duchess. The queen, although she had permitted herself to be dissuaded from giving any public sign of her displeasure, nevertheless returned the greeting of her royal consort, when he reached her carriage, with such marked coldness that he inquired its cause, when she overwhelmed him with reproaches for having permitted her to be subjected to such an affront as she had just experienced. Soon wearied by her complaints, the king, after a brief attempt to calm her anger, in which he was unsuccessful, withdrew his hat, and, after a cold but graceful salutation, galloped off in the direction of the troops; but in five minutes more he was beside the equipage of La Vallière, whom he found drowned in tears. Their reconciliation was the work of an instant;

and, on ascertaining that she had experienced an accident, he ordered his surgeon to be immediately summoned, who soon discovered that the arm was injured, and must be instantly bound up.

The king remained to support the duchess during the operation in a state of the most painful agitation, after which he himself accompanied her in a carriage to Guise, where he lodged her in the best house that the town afforded, and ordered M. Séguin not to leave her for a moment. A slight fever supervened; but on the morrow she was declared convalescent, and Louis, who had little sympathy for lingering indisposition in those about him, sent a carriage to convey her to the mass, and his own equery to attend her. She consequently appeared with her wounded arm in a sling, and at the conclusion of the service the king insisted upon her resuming her place in the queen's carriage.

In the interval the royal pair had again met, and when Madame de la Vallière presented herself at the moment of departure, all the ladies by whom it was already occupied hastened to offer their places, not even excepting MADEMOISELLE, who was seated beside the queen; nor did Maria Theresa herself fail to greet her trembling rival with more than ordinary graciousness. In the evening, as the supper was served, Madame de la Vallière prepared to withdraw, but was detained by the queen herself, who motioned her to a seat opposite her own, while the king exerted himself to evince his satisfaction at what was taking place about him. On glancing round the table La Vallière remarked that Madame de Montespan had not joined the circle; nor was she the only individual who had noticed her absence In the course of the evening she, however, appeared, and was immediately besieged with inquiries and reproaches, to which she pleaded a violent headache; and, contrary to her usual custom, instead of seeking to enliven the party by sallies of wit or brilliant freaks of fancy, she assumed a

melancholy demeanor which attracted the attention of the king.

On one or two occasions she approached Madame de la Vallière and conversed with her in an under tone; but the moment she saw the monarch about to join them, she moved away, and, eventually, she seated herself at a card-table, and motioned her unsuspicious rival to her side. The king shortly afterward followed, declaring that he would give her advice which would insure her success; but she played willfully wrong; and, after having for a short time supported his remonstrances, remarked that she saw His Majesty wished her to leave the table, and that, as such was the case, she would ask Madame de la Vallière to take her cards, in order that the party might not be broken up, which would displease the queen; and, so saying, she rose, gave her chair to the duchess, and seated herself in the recess of a window. For a time the king continued his instructions to La Vallière, but with evident absence of mind; and, eventually, he followed the marchioness, and stood conversing earnestly with her. Maria Theresa smiled; but it was far otherwise with the wretched Louise, who became suddenly conscious that her day of triumph was drawing to its close.

Another circumstance sufficed to assure her of the fact The king had altered the arrangement of the apartments, and given to Madame de Montespan that which had previously been occupied by the Duchess de Montausier,* which was only separated from his own by a short stair-case; and this change had no sooner been made than it was remarked that the marchioness frequently quitted the queen's card-table, or the drive, and retired to her room, and that the king disappeared at the same time and shut himself into his own.

* Julia d'Angennes, first lady of honor to Anne of Austria, who in 1654 married Charles de St. Maure, Duke de Montausier, and was subsequently governess to the dauphin.

But however prosperously the wily marchioness might be conducting her intrigue, she was not without misgivings on the subject of her husband. His frequent and urgent letters broke in frightfully upon her dreams of ambition; and at length she received one in which he offered to pledge himself that if she would devote five or six years exclusively to his interests, he would then restore her, for the remainder of her life, to the gayeties of the court. "Come and take a near view, my dear Athenaïs," it concluded, "of these stupendous Pyrenees, whose every ravine is a landscape, and every valley an Eden. To all these beauties yours is alone wanting; you will be here, like Diana, the divinity of these noble forests."

The flatteries of a husband had, however, unfortunately, no attraction for Madame de Montespan. In reply to this urgent appeal she contented herself by asserting that his impatience and ill-humor made her wretched; and that, as five or six of her colleagues* were either sick or absent, it was impossible for her to abandon her post, but pledged her honor that in the autumn, on the return of the court from Fontainebleau, she would immediately join him.

This compromise by no means satisfied the marquis, who had already been apprised that she was endeavoring, under the mask of friendship for Madame de la Vallière, to attract the attention of the king; and he consequently wrote, coldly and imperatively, to inform her of the extent of his knowledge, and to announce his intention of returning to Paris, in order to ascertain the exact nature of her imprudence, which he threatened to expose, not only to her own family, but to the world; commanding her, at the same time, to confide her son to the guardianship of his messenger, that he might not become contaminated by contact with a mother who had thrown off all restraint; and

* After the death of Anne of Austria Louis XIV. increased the number of ladies of the palace from six to eighteen.

adding, that on his arrival in the capital, he would shut her up in a convent, if she had not previously intrigued to send him to the Bastille.

The threat came, however, too late to produce the desired effect upon the erring wife. She had already secured a powerful protector; but it nevertheless operated so greatly on her fears, that on the evening of the day on which it reached her the king detected her agitation, and insisted upon learning its cause. Madame de Montespan replied by placing the letter in his hand. The king changed color as he read; and then observed that their position was one of difficulty, and exacted great precaution, but that he would take care that no violence should be offered to her; and advised her at once to give up her son, who "was useless, and perhaps inconvenient;" while the fact of being deprived of his child might drive the marquis to some act of severity.

To this, however, Madame de Montespan would not consent, declaring that she would sooner lose her life; and her tears so moved the king that he ultimately desired her to retain the boy near her, and he would endeavor to obviate the consequences. The marquis redeemed his word. Ere long he arrived in Paris, and cited his wife before the authorities of the Chatelet. He addressed a firm and reproachful letter to the king, and applied to the Pope for a *reclamation*, urging him to authorize a divorce; but although he unweariedly pursued his solicitations through three entire months, His Holiness, fearful of offending Louis XIV., refused to accede to his petition; and he no sooner became convinced that he should not succeed than he assumed the deepest mourning, hung the carriage entrance of his house with black, and covered his servants and his equipages with the same sable drapery. He then ordered a funeral service to take place at the parish church, to which he invited the whole town and neighborhood, and publicly asserted that he had no longer a wife; that

Madame de Montespan had died of an attack of levity and ambition; and even declared his intention of contracting a second marriage at the termination of his year of widowhood.

This exhibition of contempt for the marchioness, so ludicrously displayed, greatly annoyed the king, who could not shut his eyes to the fact that he was himself involved in the ridicule which it excited. But fortunately for his self-love, the marquis, having satisfied his vengeance by this exposure of the intrigue, shortly afterward left France.

"Not being naturally of a bad disposition," says Madame de Montespan, with great complaisance, after having given the above detail, "I never would allow M. de Louvois to send him to the Bastille. On the contrary, I secretly paid his debts, which amounted to more than fifty thousand crowns, very glad to do him this service in return for the evil which he said of me."*

It is a strange proof of the perverted feeling and accommodating morality of the time, that although, upon the evidence of his guilty wife, M. de Montespan had left no measure untried to reclaim her, there is nevertheless not one historian of the century who does not seek to cast upon the forsaken husband the odium of this revolting intrigue, and affect to say that, from motives of base and sordid interest, he encouraged a crime which made his home desolate and induced him to forsake his country. We have faithfully quoted the account of the whole transaction from the words of Madame de Montespan herself, who can not be suspected of exhibiting too great a partiality toward a man whom she had so greatly wronged, and consider all argument upon such a question as worse than supererogatory.

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

CHAPTER X.

The Daughters of Gaston, Duke of Orleans—La Grande Mademoiselle—Mademoiselle de Valois, Duchess of Savoy—Mademoiselle d'Orleans, Grand Duchess of Tuscany—Mademoiselle d'Alençon, Duchess de Guise—Letter of Madame de Séyigné—Mademoiselle and the Duke de Lauzun; his Portrait by St. Simon; his Court-Favor; his Advancement; his Indiscretion; his Insolence; his Imprisonment in the Bastille; his Pardon—Mademoiselle becomes attached to him—Reluctance of Lauzun—Mademoiselle offers him her Hand—Preliminaries—Interview of Louis XIV. and Mademoiselle—The King consents to her Marriage with Lauzun—Consternation of the Court—Donation by Mademoiselle—Louis XIV. withdraws his Consent—Agony of Mademoiselle—Submission of Lauzun—The private Marriage—New Arrest of Lauzun; his Ingratitude.

And now we will glance for a moment at the family of Gaston, Duke d'Orleans. Mademoiselle, the sole heiress of all the fiefs of Orleans, and mistress of an income of seven hundred thousand livres, who had refused an em-

peror, three reigning monarchs, Philip of France, and half a dozen sovereign princes, still remained unmarried, and was about, in her fortieth year, to bow her pride before a a passion as weak as it was ill placed.

We have seen that this princess had, in the first instance, peremptorily declined an alliance with the Duke of Savoy, the only reason which she condescended to adduce existing in the fact that Madame Royale, being still alive, and a daughter of Henry IV., governing her duchy with unlimited authority, she should be compelled to yield her precedence, being herself only the daughter of a younger son of France, who died in banishment.

By no means driven to despair by his first failure, the young duke next asked the hand of her sister, Mademoiselle de Valois, as we have stated elsewhere; and this princess, whose disposition was all mildness and obedience, at once complied with the wish of her mother that she should accept so desirable an alliance. The arrangement was, however, kept secret from MADEMOISELLE, who was then in exile at St. Fargeau; and who was, in her ignorance of what had taken place, betrayed into her offer of marrying the once rejected duke as an alternative to avoid the alliance of the King of Portugal.*

Mademoiselle de Valois, who was the handsomest of the four sisters, did not long profit by the affection of her new family, to whom she at once endeared herself by her amiable qualities, being cut off in the pride of her beauty and the height of her happiness, in the year 1664, nearly at the same period as Madame Royale and the Duchess of Parma—the high-minded Princess Marguerite, who never recovered the mortification of her abortive journey to Lyons.

Mademoiselle d'Orleans, the elder sister of the second wife, was a fair and pretty woman, but indiscreet in her conversation and undignified in her manner; who at the

* Madame de Montespan

period when her marriage was mooted with the Prince Medicis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, had already bestowed her affections upon her maternal cousin, Prince Charles of Lorraine—a fact of which the king was cognizant, but would not countenance the connection, as he secretly desired to possess himself of the principality of the suitor—and the duchess-dowager consequently entreated her daughter to become Grand Duchess of Tuscany. The marriage proved an unhappy one; which was attributable to the fact that they were in constant dissension on the subject of etiquet, upon which they could never come to a satisfactory understanding.

The younger of the three princesses, Mademoiselle d'Alençon, had she possessed more animation and intellect might have been esteemed a beauty; but she was alike devoid of mind and of ambition, and her fine black eyes were cold and expressionless. She had for some time been the guest of MADEMOISELLE, by whose assumption and arrogance she was rendered miserable, when Mademoiselle de Guise,* the last representative of the original House of Lorraine, whose immense wealth secured to her a brilliant position in the world, resolved, if possible, to secure her hand for her nephew, the young Duke de Guise, then only seventeen years of age; but in order to accomplish this object it was necessary to obtain the consent of the king, who was averse to the marriage, but by whom it was, nevertheless, ultimately permitted. The bridegroom, astonished at his good fortune, and totally devoid both of pretension and ambition, could not suppress his surprise when the monarch, instead of a dower, presented to the young duchess a magnificent set of tapestry hangings and a service of enameled gold, studded with jewels.

The unfortunate duke had, however, little reason to

* Sister of the celebrated Cardinal de Lorraine, archbishop of Rheims, &c.

congratulate himself upon his unequal marriage, for it had been arranged that Mademoiselle d'Alençon was to retain all her privileges as a member of the royal house; and, consequently, M. de Guise could only occupy a folding-seat* in her presence. When she seated herself at table he presented her dinner-napkin, and when she was established in her arm-chair and had unfolded the *serviette*, M. de Guise meanwhile standing behind her, she ordered a a plate to be placed before him, which was always ready upon the sideboard. This plate was then carried to the bottom of the table, where she desired him to sit down. Every other ceremony was observed with the same punctiliousness, and recommenced every day without any increase of condescension on the part of the wife; nor did he ever venture to address her save as "Your Royal Highness."

The duchess became a widow in 1671, when the duke was carried off by small-pox, leaving a son, who also died four years subsequently. Madame de Guise thenceforward grew extremely devout, and attached herself to the celebrated Abbot of La Trappe, whom she survived only a few months.†

MADEMOISELLE was, therefore, as we have already stated, the only one of the sisters who remained unmarried; and we can not better announce the next phase of her career than in the sprightly words of Madame de Sévigné in a letter to M. de Coulanges, her cousin.

"I am about to inform you of the circumstance the most astonishing, the most surprising, the most miraculous, the most triumphant, the most bewildering, the most unheard-of, the most singular, the most extraordinary, the most incredible, the most unforeseen, the most immense, the most minute, the most rare, the most common, the most conspic

* A *pliant* or folding-seat was a compromise of etiquet: more honorable than a stool, and less dignified than a chair.

† Mémoires de St. Simon.

uous, the most secret until to-day, the most brilliant, and the most enviable—in short, a circumstance of which there has been but one example throughout past centuries, and even that one is not precisely similar. * * * * I can not make up my mind to tell it—guess it—I will give you three guesses: *do you throw your tongue to the dogs?* Well, then! here it is. M. de Lauzun is to marry, on Sunday next, at the Louvre—guess who? I will give you four, I will give you ten, I will give you a hundred guesses. Madame de Coulanges says: It is by no means difficult to guess; it is to Madame de la Vallière: not at all, Madame It is, then, to Mademoiselle de Retz: not at all, you are a mere country gentlewoman. The truth is, we are very dull, say you; it is to Mademoiselle Colbert. Still less It is, then, assuredly, Mademoiselle de Créqui: you are wrong again. It must end by my telling you: he marries on Sunday next, at the Louvre, by permission of the king, Mademoiselle, Mademoiselle de—Mademoiselle—guess the name: he marries Mademoiselle—on my word, by my word, my solemn word!—MADEMOISELLE, the great Mademoiselle; Mademoiselle, the daughter of the late MONSIEUR; Mademoiselle, the granddaughter of Henry IV.; Mademoiselle d'Eu, Mademoiselle de Dombes, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Mademoiselle d'Orleans; Mademoiselle, cousin-german to the king; Mademoiselle, destined to the throne; Mademoiselle, the only match in France which was worthy of MONSIEUR. There is a fine subject of gossipry. If you exclaim, if you are beside yourselves, if you say that we have fibbed, that it is not true, that we are quizzing you, that it is a poor jest, and a tame fancy enough; if, in short, you abuse us, we shall consider that you are right; we should have done as much to you. Adieu; the letters which go by this post will show you if we tell the truth or not."

This ejaculatory letter will prove the extent of the astonishment felt by the patrician families of France at the in-

telligence which Madame de Sévigné hastened to impart to her family. It was even so: the punctilious, fastidious, arrogant, and self-worshiping MADEMOISELLE, after amusing herself by rejecting, during her years of bloom and grace, half the sovereign princes of Europe, had, indeed, in the autumn of her life, bestowed her unsolicited affections upon a mere handsome adventurer; and, what is still more extraordinary, the haughty Louis XIV., imagining a parallel between the attachment of his cousin for Lauzun and his own for La Vallière, had actually suffered himself to be persuaded to permit a marriage wholly without precedent, and calculated to shock the prejudices of all the royal and noble families throughout his kingdom.

We have already mentioned the presentation of M. de Péguilain to Louis XIV. by his uncle, the Duke de Grammont, and the immediate effect which he produced upon that monarch.

Antonin Nompar de Caumont, Duke de Lauzun, born in 1632, arrived in Paris under the name of Marquis de Péguilain; and, according to St. Simon, was "a little beau, well made, with an open and intellectual countenance; full of ambition, whims, and fancies; envious of every one, never satisfied with any thing; always anxious to exceed his limits; without any literary taste or knowledge; naturally irritable, misanthropical, and abrupt; very profuse in his habits; constitutionally ill-natured; eminently jealous; a warm friend, when he thought proper to be so, which was rare; a ready enemy even toward those who were indifferent toward him; clever in detecting defects, and in discovering and bestowing ridicule; a merciless quizzer; extremely and dangerously brave; a clever courtier according to circumstances; haughty to insolence or pliable to servility; in short, to define his character in three words, as his actions have proved him, the boldest, the most dexterous, and the most cunning of men."

Such as he is here described, the crafty marquis soon

won upon the king, who required constant amusement, and found it in the conversation of this new favorite, for whom he raised a regiment of dragoons, appointing him shortly afterward adjutant-general, and finally colonel-general of cavalry.

Some months subsequently, the Duke de Mazarin, having decided upon retiring from the court, was anxious to dispose of his charge of grand-master of the artillery; and this fact had no sooner reached the ears of Lauzun than he applied to the king for the appointment, who promised it to him without difficulty, provided he kept his intention perfectly secret, telling him that it should be arranged on the day fixed for holding a council of finance. This day had no sooner arrived than Lauzun established himself in the anteroom through which Louis passed to the council-hall, and entered into conversation with Nyert, the first valet-de-chambre on duty, who inquired in a friendly manner the nature of his business. Lauzun, who now considered himself sure of the appointment, believed that he should secure the interest of this man by informing him of what was about to take place, and accordingly betrayed his secret; upon which Nyert offered his congratulations, drew out his watch, and perceiving, as he asserted, that he had still time to execute a pressing order given him by the king, which would not occupy more than five minutes, left the room, sprung up a private stair-case which led to the study of Louvois, and briefly communicated to him the intelligence which he had just gained.

Lauzun was the friend of Colbert, and this fact alone sufficed to insure to him the enmity of Louvois, who, moreover, feared the influence of the reigning favorite in a charge operating so powerfully and interfering so closely with the war department. He accordingly dismissed Nyert with warm thanks, begged him immediately to resume his post, and hastily gathering up a few papers to serve as his introduction, walked through the anteroom. where he found

Lauzun and Nyert again conversing together. The latter affected extreme surprise at his appearance, and represented to him that the council was still sitting; to which the minister replied that he was compelled to enter, as he had pressing business with the king, and proceeded on his way.

When he entered Louis rose, and, retiring with him to the recess of a window, inquired the cause of his coming; to which he answered that he understood His Majesty was about to declare M. de Lauzun grand-master of the artillery, who was awaiting the declaration of his appointment at the close of the council; that he was quite aware of the power of the sovereign to bestow his favors as he saw fit, but that he considered it his duty to venture to represent to His Majesty the incompatibility which existed between M. de Lauzun and himself; that His Majesty was aware of the haughty willfulness of the former, who would inevitably make serious changes in the administration of the artillery without consulting any one; while that particular charge was so intimately connected with the war department that it was vitally impossible for the service to be carried on, should there exist a declared misunderstanding between the grand-master and the secretary of state, as that misunderstanding would involve His Majesty in the annoyance of being every day importuned by their mutual claims, upon which he alone was competent to judge.

The king, greatly vexed to find that his secret had been discovered by the very individual from whom he had been most anxious to conceal it, reflected for a moment, and then saying "It is not yet done," turned away and resumed his seat at the council.

When the members separated, Lauzun presented himself to the king as he passed out, and was unable even to catch his eye. Twenty times during the day he placed himself upon his path, but Louis never alluded to the appointment. At length, as he was assisting at the *petit*

coucher, the duke ventured to ask if his commission were signed; when the king answered coldly that it could not be done yet, but that he would think about it. Several days having, however, elapsed, without any further mention of the matter, Lauzun requested a private audience, and, after a few inconsequent remarks on both sides, the insolent favorite claimed the fulfillment of the royal promise, in terms equally imperious and unbecoming. To this arrogant appeal Louis replied that he considered his promise to be annulled, inasmuch as it had been made only on a condition of secrecy on his own part, which he had violated; when Lauzun, moving a few paces aside, turned his back upon the king, drew his sword, broke the blade across his knee, and swore that he would never again serve a prince who was capable of so *foully* falsifying his word.

The eye of the king flamed for an instant; but as he raised his cane to strike the audacious courtier, a feeling of what was due to his own dignity caused him to throw it through the window near which he stood, as he said, sternly, "I should be sorry to strike a man of quality," and forthwith left the room.*

Lauzun felt his error when it was too late. The next day he was an inmate of the Bastille, and the artillery was given to the Count de Lude.†

While a prisoner, the duke committed for a while a thousand follies, suffered his beard to grow, and talked like a madman; but soon wearying of his incarceration, he became more rational, and accused himself of his downfall, declaring that the king had been more lenient than he deserved, and that he regretted nothing save the royal favor, although his fortunes were utterly marred.

As he anticipated, all these loyal expressions were reported to the sovereign, who, flattered by such extraordinary devotion to his person, and anxious to regain the

* Mémoires de St. Simon. † Afterward Duke de Lude

companionship which he had lost, caused it to be intimated to him that, conciliated by his repentance, His Majesty was willing to bestow upon him the captaincy of the guards; but, contrary to the expectations of Louis, the favorite, upon learning this sudden and unhoped-for revolution in the royal mind, flattered himself that he was indispensable, and might make better terms; and the result of this conviction was a respectful but firm refusal to accept the appointment. The king was not, however, to be denied; the proposition was repeated, and eventually Lauzun, with an affected reluct ance which savored of condescension, agreed to consent to the wishes of the sovereign. He accordingly passed from the Bastille to the most confidential post at court, paid his respects to the king, took the oath, and found himself more than ever popular at court.*

It was at this period that he first attracted the attention of MADEMOISELLE, who, after giving a very partial and garbled account of the transaction which we have just narrated, declares that he performed his duties with a noble, graceful, and easy demeanor that gratified the king; and that, when she congratulated him upon his restoration to favor, he assured her he was quite conscious of the honor which she conferred upon him by thus evincing an interest in his fortunes. In short, the princess confesses that she thenceforth began to look upon him as an extraordinary man, whose conversation was so agreeable that she sought opportunities of enjoying it, and discovered that he expressed himself in a manner unapproachable by any other person.† Indeed, her whole account of the advances which she made to the handsome courtier are inexpressibly amusing: his evident reluctance to involve himself with a mistress of forty years of age is shadowed out legibly, even while the deluded lady herself supposes it to be merely the awe inspired by her high birth and her personal attributes;

* Lauzun was appointed captain of the guard in 1669. (*Dangeau.*)

† Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

and this inconvenient respect became at last so apparently unconquerable, that MADEMOISELLE was compelled not only to turn upon him all her "nods, becks, and wreathed smiles," but actually to hint to him that her hand was at his service. Thenceforward she encountered no opposition—his ambition was aroused—he remembered her rank, her wealth—and that her husband would become the cousin of the King of France—and the whole court contained no other lover whose devotion could emulate that of the happy M. de Lauzun.

MADEMOISELLE, his senior by twelve or fourteen years, never imagined that he could love her from interested motives; for even conscious as she was both of the dignity of her rank and the value of her possessions, her vanity was more powerful than her reason; and, involved at the age of four-and-forty in a first passion, she obeyed its dictates as though she were still in the bloom of her youth and beauty, and forgot that other eyes must detect a change to which she continued willfully blind.

Lauzun, whose numerous irregularities revenged him on the follies of his elderly mistress, encouraged her in her weakness—affecting the languishing glances and lover-like demonstrations exacted by her folly; and their attachment, once reciprocally declared, drew from her in their private conversation a detailed account of her possessions, which she revealed to him, even to the value of her plate and jewels. This done, the passion of the wily courtier reached its culminating point, for, by careful calculation, he ascertained that she was the mistress of at least forty millions. Having satisfied himself on this point, he next proceeded to inquire what would be his own position, should the king be induced to ratify their marriage, and if he should be elevated to the rank of a prince. This, however, she frankly told him that she had not sufficient influence to accomplish, but that she would make him Duke de Montpensier, with an independent income of five hundred thousand

livres. Then he desired to know if their united escutcheon would bear the coronet of the husband or the crown of the wife; to which she answered that, as she should not change her name, she could not change her shield, and that her armorial bearing must remain entire, supported by the crown with its *fleur-de-lis*. The next inquiry was whether their children should be princes *de facto;* to which she declared that she saw no impediment; and finally, if there was a probability of his being ultimately raised to the rank of prince, and recognized as a *highness* from the signing of the contract?

This last inquiry plunged MADEMOISELLE into a train of uneasy reflection; for, although blinded by her passion and misled by her vanity, she did not discover the supreme egotism of her lover, but rather rejoiced to find him punctilious upon points which were so important to herself and so precious in her own estimation, she was suddenly aroused to a serious doubt of the acquiescence of the king in such unprecedented arrangements; but as she was not easily induced to yield any point upon which she had resolved, and that in the present case she believed the whole happiness of her future life to be involved in her marriage with her lover, she determined at once to remove her doubts by a personal interview with the king. She accordingly ordered her equipage and her equeries; and having taken up her gloves and fan from the table, bade a hasty farewell to the anxious Lauzun, and drove to the Louvre.

The astonishment of Louis XIV. was unbounded. He reminded her of the thrones she had rejected; of the fact that she had entered her forty-fifth year; he endeavored to make her sensible of the absurdity of her attachment; he essayed alike remonstrances and ridicule; but MADEMOISELLE was not to be repulsed; and ultimately, annoyed and even disgusted by her pertinacity, he desired her, as she was resolved to commit so great a folly, and

was quite old enough to judge for herself, to rid him at once of her tears and sighs, and to do as she pleased.*

It must not, however, be supposed, that a monarch like Louis XIV. conceded so extreme a point as this to the absurd demonstrations of an elderly coquet, and thus compromised his own dignity by a weakness which was unworthy of him, for such was far from being the case. The lamentations of MADEMOISELLE were so lengthy that they afforded him ample time for reflection; and there can be no doubt but he became, ere long, conscious that it might be more consonant to his own interests to permit the marriage than to persist in his opposition. MADEMOISELLE was the sole remain of the once formidable party of the Fronde, and was even yet reluctant to forget her past triumphs; by marrying a prince of the blood she would retain at least a reflection of her former importance, while in becoming the wife of an obscure individual like Lauzun, the richest heiress in France would descend from her pedestal, and figure merely as a simple gentlewoman; and thus, by suffering a reluctant consent to be wrung from him, he would rid himself of a troublesome and arrogant adversary.

On the morrow, therefore, the marriage was publicly announced; on the following day MADEMOISELLE and her betrothed received congratulatory visits from all the court; and on that which ensued the princess, for the purpose of investing M. de Lauzun with the titles and honors requisite to adorn their contract, made him a formal donation of four duchies—the countship of Eu, the first peerage in France, giving precedence of all other peers; the duchy of Montpensier, of which he immediately assumed the name; the duchy of St. Fargeau; and the duchy of Châtellerault—the whole estimated at twenty-two millions.

Nothing then remained save to sign the contract, to which it was anticipated that the king would append his

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

name on the ensuing morning; but in the course of the day the queen herself, who seldom ventured to give an opinion upon any transaction in which she was not personally involved, spoke indignantly against the alliance; while *Monsieur* declared that he would attend the marriage, if such were the will of His Majesty, but that on leaving the church he would blow out the brains of the bridegroom.* Hence the king passed into the apartments of Madame de Montespan, who informed him of the extravagant donation of the princess; and this fact sufficed to irritate him beyond all bounds. He immediately summoned both MADEMOISELLE and Lauzun to attend him, and then, in the presence of the Prince de Condé, he declared, without preface or apology, that he absolutely forbade them to think any further of their marriage. The suitor received this order with all the submission and respect which could be anticipated; but MADEMOISELLE threw herself into an agony of grief, and besought Louis, upon her knees, to revoke a sentence which condemned her to a life of misery. Her entreaties were, however, unavailing; the king was inexorable, and she left his presence drowned in tears, and careless of concealing her despair.

Nothing could exhibit the overweening and egotistical vanity of Lauzun more fully than this failure, which was produced by his having delayed his marriage for a week, in order to prepare new liveries, to form an immense establishment, to secure magnificent attire, and to appear at the ceremony with all the splendor of a royal personage—an imprudence which gave his enemies time to work upon the mind of the king, and thus induced his defeat; while the resignation with which he received the royal command to forego his ambitious hopes astonished and confounded all who were aware of the arrogance and impetuosity of his character. But ere long it was ascer-

* Mémoires du Marquis de la Fare.

tained that, having secured the services of a needy priest by a large bribe, he had accomplished his marriage with the infatuated princess in secret—a fact of which the king no sooner became cognizant than he caused him to be arrested and conveyed to the fortress of Pignerol, where, while MADEMOISELLE was consuming her days in an uncontrolled grief that soon destroyed every trace of the good looks upon which she still prided herself, and lamenting to every one by whom she was approached her cruel separation from "her dear and tender friend, the prisoner," the duke himself was committing every description of excess of which his position was susceptible, and dissipating in gaming and the most inane frivolities the immense sums of money secretly conveyed to him by the princess; and whenever he found his funds exhausted, consoling himself by saying to his friends, "The old woman will send us a fresh supply."*

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

CHAPTER XI.

Death of the Duke de Beaufort in Candia—Birth of the Duke du Maine—Prosperity of the French Nation—Monsieur demands a Government and a Fauteuil—Insidious advice of the Chevalier de Lorraine—The vacant Abbey—Arrest of M. de Lorraine—Resentment of Monsieur—The Chevalier at If—Monsieur at Court—Louis XIV. resolves on the Conquest of Holland—Venality of Charles II.—A female Ambassadress—Royal Progress—Mademoiselle de Kerouralle—Successful Negotiation—The Court return to Paris—Court of Madame at St. Cloud—Discontent of Monsieur—Maria Theresa—Illness of Madame—The Succory Water—Death of Madame—The Poisoners—Indignation of the King—The Controller of the Household—Death of the Chevalier de Lorraine.

We have, however, anticipated the stream of our narrative, in order not to interrupt the history of this extraordinary attachment; for great and melancholy events occurred at court before it reached the climax we have described.

The Duke de Beaufort, grand-admiral of France, who had been sent by Louis XIV. to succor Candia, which was besieged by the Turks, had found the whole island, with the exception of the capital, in possession of the enemy; and an attack was resolved upon at daybreak on the 25th of June, which surprised the Moslem troops in their sleep, and compelled them to a confused retreat, that appeared to secure the triumph of the Christian forces; but as they retired, they contrived to fire several barrels of powder, of which the explosion caused so great a panic among the French soldiery, that, despite all the efforts of their leaders, they, in their turn, abandoned themselves to flight; when M. de Beaufort, enraged at their cowardice, boldly placed himself at the head of a small party of gentlemen who still

remained beside him, and dashed furiously into the Turkish ranks, by which he was immediately inclosed, and not even his body was ever again seen.

Meanwhile Madame de la Vallière had become a constant guest in the circle of the queen, where the misunderstandings which constantly took place between herself and Madame de Montespan were as constantly reconciled by the intervention of the king, and were rendered less serious by the ignorance in which the former yet remained of the extent of the attachment that really subsisted between her royal lover and her former friend, the birth of the Duke du Maine* being still a profound secret from all the court.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had awakened the misgivings of the Dutch, who could not see without uneasiness the approach of so dangerous a neighbor as Louis XIV.; nor was their alarm causeless, for the French king had become weary of a peace which rendered nugatory all the preparations that he had made for carrying out a prosperous war. Both externally and internally his kingdom had acquired a strength and a brilliancy which had been hitherto unprecedented. The sea-ports, previously dilapidated and deserted, were surrounded by defenses, covered with well-manned vessels, and occupied by nearly sixty ships of large tunnage, capable of being appropriated as men-of-war. New colonies, protected by the French flag, were emigrating to America, the East Indies, and the coast of Africa; and notwithstanding this drain upon the population, immense edifices were in progress of erection under the eyes of the king, which occupied thousands of individuals; the interior of the court and the capital displayed the progress of the more refined arts; literature flourished; and taste and splendor were superseding the ruder and less sumptuous habits of former ages.

* Louis Augustus de Bourbon, the natural son of the king and Madame de Montespan, was born on the 31st of March, 1670.

At the period of *Monsieur's* marriage, the king had exerted all his generosity in order to establish his household, and to augment his income in a manner worthy of his exalted rank, and calculated to satisfy his utmost ambition; nor is it probable that the prince, whose greatest ambition was pleasure and costly apparel, would have advanced any further claim upon the royal munificence, had he not been instigated to do so by his two handsome, but ill-selected favorites, the Chevalier de Lorraine* and the Chevalier de Rémecourt, who, anxious to build up their own fortunes upon those of their too-indulgent master, suggested to him the necessity of self-assertion, and the weakness of remaining the passive recipient of his brother's favors.

Thus urged, *Monsieur* commenced by demanding the government of a province, which was refused by the king, who asserted that these governments could not be given to a brother of the reigning monarch without involving a risk of civil war, as in the case of Gaston d'Orleans, who had exerted his authority to levy both men and money in order to oppose the crown; and this reply was accompanied by an intimation that the prince would do well in future to silence the evil advisers who prompted him to such mistaken claims.

Monsieur, somewhat disconcerted, declared that he had received no such instigation, but that he had acted solely on his own judgment.

Louis, however, remained incredulous; and inquired whether it was also his own judgment that had led him to insist on a seat in the privy council, which he had sinco lost by having betrayed the proceedings at which he had assisted?

The prince, greatly annoyed by the rejoinder, but unwilling to fail in every point, then declared that he should be less mortified by the unexpected refusal to which he

* Of the branch of Armagna.

had been subjected, if the king would accord to his wife, who was the daughter of a crowned head, the privilege of occupying an arm-chair in the saloons of the queen; but here again he was fated to prove unsuccessful; for Louis XIV. was less likely to cede a point of etiquet than a measure of impolicy.

"That can not be permitted," said the monarch, coldly; "and I beg of you not to persist in such a request. It was not I who established these distinctions; they existed long before you and myself. It is to your interest that the dignity of the crown should neither be weakened nor encroached upon; and if, from Duke of Orleans, you should one day become King of France, I know you well enough to believe that this is a point upon which you would be inexorable. Before God, you and I are two beings precisely similar to our fellow-men; but before men, we appear as something extraordinary, superior, greater, and more perfect; and the day on which the people cast off this respect, and this voluntary veneration, by which alone monarchy is upheld, they will see in us only their equals, suffering from the same evils, and subject to the same weaknesses as themselves; and this once accomplished, all illusion will be over. The laws, no longer sustained by a controlling power, will become black lines upon white paper; and your chair without arms, and my *fauteuil*, will be simply two pieces of furniture of equal importance. However, in order to gratify your wishes, I will appoint you to the government of any province that you may select, if you will, on your side, immediately concede in writing your consent to be put upon your trial as a mere subject, whenever there may exist any disturbance, of whatever description, in the province under your command."

Philip d'Orleans at once saw the incompatibility of such an arrangement, and withdrew his claim. But, lenient as the king had shown himself toward his brother, whose friv-

olous habits were ill-calculated to sustain his dignity in any position of authority, he was by no means inclined to exhibit equal forbearance toward the crafty and ambitious favorites by whom he had been urged to such unprecedented claims; and, accordingly, on an occasion in which an abbey in the appanage of *Monsieur* became vacant, to which he nominated the Chevalier de Lorraine, Louis refused to ratify the appointment; and commanded Le Tellier to inform the nominee that it was not his pleasure he should receive the abbey.

Monsieur, mortified to find his privileges thus invaded, and stung by the reproaches of the disappointed courtier, lost no time in appealing to the king, and inquiring the reason of his refusal to recognize his donation; but he received no other reply than that which had been given to the questions put by the favorite himself to the secretary of state—it was not his pleasure.

Monsieur began to evince considerable irritation at this display of fraternal authority; but he was soon silenced by the monarch, who once more calmly advised him to recollect himself, and to get rid of the dangerous counselors by whom he was surrounded; upon which the prince withdrew, but only to confide his annoyance to the already indignant chevalier, who persisted in assuring him that he had induced this mortification by his own weakness, and that it behooved him to assume a higher tone with the king, who now took advantage of his timidity and submission.

The effect of this taunt ere long became so apparent in the altered demeanor of *Monsieur*, that Louis resolved to banish the insidious favorite; and he was accordingly arrested at the Chateau-neuf, while closeted with the prince, and conveyed to Pierre-Encise*—a measure which so enraged *Monsieur*, that he immediately retired to Villers-

* A fortress situated on a rock above the right bank of the Saône at Lyons, which was appropriated to the purposes of a state prison. It was demolished in 1793.

Cotterets,* declaring that he would remain there until the chevalier was set free. This undignified proceeding only tended to increase the displeasure of the king, who, after having dispatched M. Colbert to expostulate with him upon his conduct, upon finding all remonstrance ineffectual, forwarded an order for the transfer of the Chevalier de Lorraine to the Chateau d'If,† with a prohibition against his either writing or receiving letters, or being permitted to converse with any one not on duty within the walls of the fortress. This last act of severity produced the desired effect: *Monsieur* returned, moody and dissatisfied, to court; and the favorite was instructed to take up his abode in Rome.

This amelioration, however, by no means restored the temper of the prince, who loudly accused *Madame* of having caused the exile of the chevalier; and their dissensions became at length so serious, that Louis was compelled to interfere, and to remind *Monsieur* that to his reproaches on the subject of the Duke of Buckingham and the Count de Guiche, the princess, should she see fit to do so, might retort by still graver accusations. The warning was not disregarded; but it was evident that a great coldness had sprung up between the royal couple, which neither attempted to conceal; nor did even the constant correspondence that he continued to entertain with his exiled favorite suffice to reconcile *Monsieur* to an absence which interfered with his amusements and imbittered his temper.

It was at this period that Louis XIV., who had conceived the project of ultimately subjugating the whole of the Low

* Capital of the department of the Aisne, seven and a half leagues from Soissons. The town owed its origin to a royal fortress which was destroyed by the English, and subsequently reconstructed by Francis I Villers-Cotterets is situated in the midst of the forest of Retz.

† A strong fortress, situated on the Marguerite Island, opposite Cannes, celebrated as having been the prison of the Iron Mask, and Mirabeau.

Countries, resolved to commence his work of conquest by appropriating Holland. The conjuncture was a favorable one. The Dutch were masters of the high seas, but no power could be weaker upon land. Allied with Spain and England, and at peace with France, they relied with too much security upon the faith of treaties, and on the benefits of a widely-extended commerce. While their navy was unparalleled in Europe, their army was ill-disciplined and despicable; and upon this weakness Louis founded his strongest hope. But before he could with prudence commence the war, it was necessary to detach England from Holland; for so long as their alliance continued his success remained uncertain, while a rupture between the two states insured the ruin of the Low Countries.

The French king was, however, quite aware of the facility with which he could obtain the coöperation of Charles II., who had betrayed little indignation at the destruction of his vessels burned by the Dutch at the very mouth of the Thames—who had evinced no desire to avenge the aggression—who lived only for pleasure, and sought only to reign in indolent indulgence: but even to accomplish this he needed friends; and Louis XIV., who at that period could raise money to any extent and for any purpose, well knew that he required only to proffer a large sum to the English monarch, who was crippled by his parliament, in order to induce him at once to embrace his own interests.*

To insure the neutrality of Spain, the Marquis de Villars was dispatched to Madrid, with instructions to impress upon the Spanish cabinet the advantage which must accrue to themselves from the depression of the Low Countries, their natural enemies; while a princess of six-and-twenty was chosen by Louis XIV. as his plenipotentiary at the English court.

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

His ambassadress was *Madame*, the sister of Charles II., who, having consented to undertake the mission, was escorted to the coast by the monarch and his whole court, under the pretext of a journey to his recent conquests; and the pomp which was exhibited on this occasion exceeded all that had yet been witnessed, even during the reign of the pomp-loving Louis XIV. Thirty thousand men marched in the van and rear of the royal party; some of them destined to reinforce the garrisons of the conquered country; others to work upon the fortifications; and others again to level the roads. The queen was attended by all the most beautiful women of the court. *Madame* shared her coach; and immediately behind them followed a second carriage, containing Madame de la Vallière and Madame de Montespan, who were even occasionally invited to take their places in the royal equipage; while among the ladies selected to accompany *Madame* to the English court, the most beautiful was Louise Rénée de Panankoët, known as Mademoiselle de Keroualle, who had also her secret instructions,* which she had accepted with as much alacrity as her royal mistress.

The journey was, however, more magnificent than pleasurable. The queen displayed a bitterness sufficiently excusable when it is remembered that she was compelled to submit to the constant companionship of the king's mistresses; while *Madame* suffered continually from the ill-humor of her husband, who could not forgive her for having left him in ignorance of the purpose of her visit to England; and who took that opportunity of reproaching her with all his real and imaginary injuries. The happiest of the party was Mademoiselle, who could contemplate from her carriage-window the graceful person of M. de Lauzun; who, in right of his post as a captain of the guard, was constantly in attendance near the royal party.

Meanwhile all these arrangements had greatly excited

* Subsequently Duchess of Portsmouth.

the displeasure of *Monsieur;* but Louis affected not to perceive his annoyance, and the illustrious travelers had no sooner reached the coast than *Madame* and her magnificent suite embarked for England. The negotiation was perfectly successful. Charles was enchanted with the superb beauty of Mademoiselle de Keroualle; and the offer of several millions, coupled with a promise that the handsome lady of honor should remain in England, at once induced the weak monarch to accede to all that was asked of him, which he did the more readily from his hatred of the Dutch Calvinists.

A treaty of alliance was consequently drawn up between the two sovereigns, and the ratifications of this treaty were to be exchanged in the course of the following month.

The English king, attended by a large retinue, accompanied his royal sister to Dover; whence she crossed to Calais, where she was received with all the honors due to a triumphant negotiator. The court then returned to Paris, making a festival of every halt; and *Madame* established her court at St. Cloud; while *Monsieur*, enchanted by the movement about him, and who could never long support a displeasure which, utterly devoid of dignity, always eventually evaporated in noise, began to accept with more complaisance the favors by which the king sought to compensate to him for his past annoyance; but he was far from extending the same indulgence to *Madame*, who had once more excited his indignation by accomplishing, during her visit to England, a reconciliation between her royal brother and the Duke of Buckingham.

It was, consequently, matter of notoriety to the whole court that *Monsieur* and *Madame* were once more alienated from each other, when a catastrophe, as melancholy as it was unforeseen, struck terror into every heart in France.

The Duchess d'Orleans was at this period the most influential, and one of the most beautiful women at the French court. Grateful for the effort which she had made to serve

him, the king overwhelmed her with courtesy and consideration, and made her the object of every revel and the medium of every favor; while the queen, who divided her time between her children, her devotions, and her Spanish attendants, was little more than a cipher in her own court. Of timid and retiring habits, the constant gayety of the royal circle wearied and alarmed her; and had not the king interfered, she would have willingly passed her life in her dressing-gown and slippers. On days of state ceremony, when she was compelled to appear in public, her temper was always ruffled; and she was to the last ill at ease in the sumptuous apparel exacted by her rank. Governed by the Señora Molina, her foster-sister, who soon assumed a consequence which her royal mistress was far from emulating, she never acted save in accordance with her advice; and although incapable of injuring even those by whom she was herself injured, Maria Theresa was equally inert when she might have served those who were faithful to her interests; and thus it was rather duty than inclination which influenced all who formed her private circle.

Thus were things circumstanced when, on the 29th of June (1669), *Madame* rose at an early hour and visited *Monsieur* in his apartment; after which she conversed for a considerable time with Madame de la Fayette, to whom she declared herself to be in admirable health. On her return from the mass, the princess went to the room of Mademoiselle d'Orleans, her daughter, who was then sitting for her picture, when she talked of her late visit to England, and enlivened the whole circle by her joyous spirits; and, on entering her own apartments, she asked for a cup of succory-water, which she drank, and afterward dined as usual.

The party then adjourned to the saloon of *Monsieur*, whose portrait was also in progress; and during the sitting, *Madame*, as she was frequently in the habit of doing, laid down upon the cushions and fell asleep

During her slumber her face became so livid and ghastly that Madame de la Fayette, who was standing beside her, was struck by so extreme a change, and was just in the act of asking herself if it were possible that the mere absence of expression could work so complete an alteration in a countenance which she had always considered handsome, when the princess suddenly awoke in such agony that even *Monsieur* became surprised and alarmed.

As she was retiring to her own room, *Madame* stopped for a moment, in the outer apartment, to converse with the treasurer of the duke, while *Monsieur* was preparing to start for Paris. On the stair-case he, however, encountered the Duchess de Mecklenburg, and returned with her to the saloon; upon which *Madame*, leaving M. de Boisfrance, hastened to receive her illustrious guest. At that moment Madame de Gamache approached with a salver, containing another draught of succory-water, in the enameled cup from which the princess was accustomed to drink, and a second glass for Madame de la Fayette, which were respectively presented to them by Mrs. Gordon, the waiting-woman of *Madame;* but, as the princess still held the cup in one hand, she pressed the other to her side, exclaiming that she had so violent a spasm that she could scarcely draw her breath. She flushed painfully for an instant, and then turned very pale, exclaiming, with a painful effort, "Take me away! Take me away! I can support myself no longer."

Terrified and bewildered, Madame de la Fayette and Madame de Gamache upheld the princess, who with considerable difficulty reached her chamber, where she threw herself upon the bed, writhing like a person in convulsions. Her physician was summoned; but he treated the attack lightly, declaring that, although painful, it was utterly without importance, while *Madame* continued to gasp out her conviction that she was dying, and to entreat that her confessor might be sent for.

As *Monsieur* knelt beside her bed, the suffering princess threw her arms about his neck, exclaiming, "Alas! sir, you have long ceased to love me; and you are unjust, for I have never wronged you."

While all around her were in tears, she suddenly raised herself upon her elbow, and declared her conviction that she had been poisoned by the succory-water which she had drank during the day—that probably some mistake had been made; but that she felt she had taken poison, and if they did not wish to see her die they must administer an antidote.

Monsieur, who was still beside her when she made this appalling assertion, betrayed neither agitation nor embarrassment, as he directed that some of the water should be given to a dog, in order that they might ascertain its effect; but Madame Desbordes, her first femme-de-chambre, immediately interposed, declaring that it was not upon a dog that the experiment should be made, but upon herself, as she had prepared the beverage, into which no noxious ingredient had been introduced, and that she considered it her duty to prove the truth of the assertion.

She accordingly poured out a glass of the succory-water, and drank it on the instant.

Oil and other antidotes were then administered to *Madame*, which served only to excite fearful sickness, without, in any degree, alleviating the original symptoms; and the princess became more and more anxious for the assistance of a priest, although her physician still maintained that her life was not in the slightest danger.

Before the arrival of the curate of St. Cloud, however, her pulse had become inaudible, and her extremities icy cold, and she was compelled to make her confession supported in the arms of one of her women. At the expiration of three hours, two additional physicians arrived, the one from Paris, and the other from Versailles; but after a consultation with their colleague, they assured *Monsieur*

that he need be under no apprehension, as they would answer for the recovery of the princess.

At length the king arrived in his turn, accompanied by the queen and the Countess of Soissons, and Louis was powerfully affected by the change which had taken place in the countenance of *Madame;* while, for the first time, the physicians themselves declared that the evil symptoms were rapidly increasing. La Valliere, who followed the king, describes the appearance of the dying princess as fearful. Her complexion was livid, her eyes burned with fever, her nose and lips had shrunk, and a cold dew covered her skin. Louis occupied a seat on one side of her bed, and *Monsieur* stood on the other, weeping bitterly; all the attendants were drowned in tears, but were so bewildered that although the agonized invalid continually entreated them to apply other remedies which might at least mitigate her sufferings, they remained terror-stricken and helpless. It was in vain that both the king and *Monsieur* appealed to the physicians; they remained equally supine; but at length declared, that the failure of the pulse and the coldness of the extremities announced the presence of gangrene, and that it was time to summon the viaticum.

While things were in this state the English ambassador was announced, and he had scarcely entered the death-chamber when the princess beckoned him to her side, and by great exertion conversed with him for a considerable time in English. This done, she declared herself ready to receive the viaticum; after which she took leave of her illustrious relatives, and recalled *Monsieur* to give him a last embrace.

The extreme unction was then administered, and during the ceremony M. de Condom* arrived, to whose eloquent and holy discourse she listened eagerly for a time, and then inquired if she might sleep. He was about, in consequence, to retire, when she motioned him to return, mur-

* Bossuet, afterward Bishop of Meaux.

muring that she had deceived herself, for that the stupor under which she labored was not drowsiness, but death. M. de Condom once more knelt beside her in earnest prayer; the crucifix escaped from her relaxed fingers, her lips moved convulsively for an instant—and all was over.

Only nine hours previously Henrietta of England had been full of life, and loveliness, and hope—the idol of a court, and the center of the most brilliant circle in Europe; and now, as the tearful priest arose from his knees, the costly curtains of embroidered velvet were drawn round a cold, pale, motionless, and livid corpse.

This death was, however, not only terrible in itself, but rendered tenfold more awful by the rumors to which it gave birth. *Monsieur*, whose neglect of the princess had been notorious, was an object of the darkest suspicion. It was remembered that the Chevalier de Lorraine, his especial favorite, had openly accused *Madame* as the instigator of his banishment, and dark hints were soon abroad, involving both the one and the other in the dreadful catastrophe which had just occurred.

When these rumors reached the king he could not conceal his consternation, and declared to Madame de Montespan that if he should ascertain that his brother was implicated in so a black a crime, his head should fall upon the scaffold.

On a *post-mortem* examination of the body the presence of poison was discovered, and that of so corrosive a character, that the whole of the stomach was in a state of inflammation, and even partially destroyed;* a fact which was no sooner ascertained than the king summoned *Monsieur* to his presence, in order to compel him to acknowledge his share in the murder; and the extreme agitation which he evinced acted so painfully upon Louis, that, in the height of his horror and suspicion, he rushed upon his

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

sword, when the captain of the guard, who was in the anteroom, entered hastily; and the king, lowering the point of his weapon, his breast still panting with the violence of his emotion, demanded of the prince a full and true confession of all that had occurred.

Monsieur, whose personal courage had never been contested, and whom the late scene had tended rather to restore to composure than to intimidate, clasped in his hand the insignia of the Holy Ghost, which he wore about his neck, and took a formal oath that he was innocent, both directly and indirectly, of the death of his wife; upon which the king commanded him to withdraw, and retired to his cabinet to address a letter to the English court, in which he stated that *Madame* had fallen a victim to a bilious fever; while the same account was officially promulgated by the public papers, and the fact was attested by the certificates of five or six paid physicians.

Still painful misgivings haunted the mind of the king. He was, unhappily, too well aware that the princess had died from poison; and while he began to hope that *Monsieur* was innocent of any participation in the crime, he left no means untried to discover its actual authors. He soon ascertained that the succory-water, which was the constant beverage of *Madame*, was kept in the closet of one of the antechambers of her apartment, in a china jug, near which stood another vessel full of pure water, in the event of the decoction proving too bitter. Nor did his discoveries terminate in so inconsequent a result as this; for it was further revealed to him, that on the very day when the princess died, a footman, suddenly entering the anteroom in question, found the Marquis d'Effiat, another favorite of *Monsieur*, busied at this closet, and hastily approaching him, demanded what he was doing there.

To this unceremonious question the marquis had replied, with the greatest tranquillity, that he was aware of his intrusion, but that, being very much heated and extremely thirsty,

and knowing that water was always kept there, he had been unable to resist his inclination to swallow a draught.

As the footman continued to grumble at the liberty which he had taken, M. d'Effiat, after repeating his apology, passed on to the saloon of the princess, where he remained for above an hour, conversing in his usual manner with the other courtiers.

The king was no sooner cognizant of this circumstance than he became convinced that Purnon, the controller of the princess's household, must have had some share in the catastrophe, and he accordingly determined to interrogate him. For this purpose he summoned M. de Brissac, who was then on guard, and ordered him to select half-a-dozen of his men upon whose courage and discretion he could place reliance, and, on the following morning, to seize Purnon before he left his room, and bring him to the royal cabinet by a back stair-case.

This order having been executed, Louis passed into the apartment, where the astonished and terror-stricken controller was awaiting his fate with much anxiety and considerable misgiving; and having dismissed M. de Brissac, and the valet by whom he was attended, in order to remain alone with the prisoner, the king advanced a few paces, and then, with his eyes sternly fixed upon the pale countenance of Purnon, he summoned him to reveal every circumstance relating to the death of *Madame*, promising him a full pardon should his details be proved true, and warning him that his life would be the forfeit of the slightest equivocation.

The controller, with mingled joy and apprehension, pledged himself to tell all he knew, and that all was fortunately well calculated to allay the worst apprehensions of the king.

He stated that *Madame* had, indeed, fallen a victim to poison, sent from Rome for that purpose by the Chevalier de Lorraine through the medium of a country gentleman

named Morel,* who was, however, unconscious of the nature of his commission, and by whom it was delivered to the Marquis d'Effiat and the Count de Beuvron, who were induced to second the views of the chevalier, from the fact that his absence interfered greatly with their interests, and that they felt there was no hope of his return during the lifetime of *Madame.*

"But how," asked the king, doubtingly, "do you account for the circumstance that the other persons who drank of the same infusion with the princess experienced no inconvenience."

"Simply, sire," was the reply, "because the Marquis d'Effiat had foreseen the possibility of such an occurrence, and had empoisoned, not the liquid, but the cup in which it was contained, by rubbing it on the inside."

The king passed his hand across his eyes, and then, assuming a sterner look and a more threatening attitude, he demanded, in a voice which he in vain endeavored to render firm and cold,

"And *Monsieur*—was he aware of this foul plot?"

"No, sire," was the ready answer; "*Monsieur* can not keep a secret, and we did not venture to confide in him—he would have brought us to the scaffold."

The king drew a deep breath, as though he had heaved a heavy weight from his breast.

"Will you swear to this?" he asked, after a pause.

"On my soul, sire."†

Louis asked no more; and, almost consoled for the death of the unfortunate princess by the conviction of his brother's innocence, he recalled M. de Brissac, and desired him to conduct M. Purnon to the gate of the palace, and then to set him at liberty.

It would seem as though the king believed that he owed some heavy compensation to *Monsieur* for the frightful sus-

* Mémoires de la Princesse Palatine.

† Mémoires du Duc de St. Simon.

picion which he had entertained against him; for it is certain that, after a short interval, the Chevalier de Lorraine was recalled to court, and, moreover, as St. Simon asserts, laden with benefits, despite which fact he died so poor that, although his income had amounted to a hundred thousand crowns, his friends were compelled to bury him at their own expense.

His death, moreover, was worthy of his life. On the 7th of December, 1702, three years after that of *Madame*, as he was standing at the Palais-Royal, talking to Madame de Maré, the governess of the Duke d'Orleans's children, and relating to her the particulars of a debauch in which he had been engaged on the previous night, he was suddenly struck by apoplexy, became speechless, and shortly afterward expired.*

The court had forgotten the murder long before they were called upon to comment on the death of the murderer.

* Louis XIV et son Siècle.

CHAPTER XII.

Increasing Favor of Madame de Montespan—The Crown of Agrippina—Puerility of Monsieur—Madame Scarron—Generosity of Madame de Montespan—Madame Scarron Gouvernante—Disgust of Louis XIV. to St. Germain—Superstitious Terrors—Birth of the Duke du Maine—The Baby-Abbot—The new Marquise—Portrait of Madame de Maintenon by La Vallière—Wretchedness of La Vallière—Harshness of Louis XIV.—Second Flight of La Vallière to a Convent—A Night with the Carmelites—Mission of M. Colbert—Ostentation of Madame de Montespan—Indignation of the Clergy—M. de Bossuet and the Favorite—The African Embassy—The "second" Wife of the Sovereign—The Missionaries—The Black Dwarf—Accouchement of the Queen—The new Duchess d'Orleans; her Reception at the French Court; her Portrait by her own Hand; her personal Habits; her Self-Respect—Lauzun at Pignerol—Fouquet and Lauzun—The Duke de Longueville.

The increasing passion of Louis XIV. for Madame de Montespan contributed in no slight degree to console him for the untimely death of the unfortunate Duchess d'Orleans; and, superadded to the horror which he enter-

tained of all ideas connected with such events as tended to remind him of his mortality, soon enabled him to throw aside every sign of mourning, whether external or mental. The favor of his new mistress became more assured from day to day; the fascinations of her wit, the gorgeousness of her beauty, and even the exactions of her capricious vanity, all rendered her triumph more complete; and meanwhile La Vallière could no longer conceal even from herself that her days of happiness were at an end.

Among her other expensive tastes, the new favorite had a most inordinate passion for jewels. While yet a girl she had delighted in diamonds and precious stones; and the generosity of the king upon this point was so unmeasured, that, after her disgrace, she herself declared that she possessed a collection worthy of an Asiatic prince, and that even were she to be deprived of the whole of her fortune, save her pearls and diamonds, she could still command opulence.

This taste was shared by Louis XIV., who in his private cabinet had two immense pedestals of rosewood, fitted in the interior with shifting shelves, in which he kept the most precious of the crown-jewels, in order that he might examine and admire them at his ease, an occupation in which he took great delight; nor did he ever hear of a gem of price, either in Asia or Europe without making strenuous efforts to secure the prize.

His most costly possession was, however, the famous crown of Agrippina, a work of consummate art, composed of eight tiers of immense brilliants in a transparent setting; and after having overwhelmed the insatiable marchioness with pearls, diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, and rubies, he one day permitted her to carry to her own apartment this priceless coronet; where it remained for so long a period unreclaimed that she at length began to feel convinced that it had been a gift; and fearful of accident, should she leave it in the slight casket which it then occupied, she ordered another to be made more suited to its value. This

done, and the imperial crown safely deposited in its new case, and secured by several minute locks, she deposited her treasure in the chest which contained her other jewels, where she visited it from time to time, and always with increased admiration.

When the Princess of Modena passed through France on her way to England, where she was about to become the wife of the Duke of York, Louis XIV. gave her a magnificent reception; and as she was young and handsome, nothing was left unattempted to gratify and amuse her during her brief sojourn at the court.

It chanced that upon one occasion the conversation of the king's circle turned upon regal decorations, and particularly upon the various forms and fashions of crowns; when the Marquis de Dangeau, who prided himself upon his antiquarian knowledge, observed that it was in the time of Nero the imperial crown was first arched; to which the monarch replied that he had not been aware of the fact, but that the crown of his mother was entirely open; adding, that he possessed one himself which was authentic, and which the Marchioness de Montespan would give them the opportunity of examining.

Thus summoned to drag her hidden treasure into light, the disconcerted favorite found herself compelled to go in search of the glittering circlet; and after an absence of a few minutes she placed it upon a small table, where it excited universal attention and enthusiasm. The Italian princess, the Duke de St. Aignan, M. de Dangeau, and the other courtiers who were present, lost themselves in hyperbole on the brilliant water, equal size, and rare perfection of the matchless diamonds; but when the king, raising it in his hand, obtained a closer and more perfect view of the jewels, he immediately fixed his eyes sternly upon the marchioness, exclaiming, "How is this, madam? This is no longer my crown of Agrippina; all the stones have been changed!" Madame de Montespan turned pale,

and trembled; but having in her turn examined the coronet closely, she found herself compelled to admit that such was indeed the fact. The setting was still intact, but the antique brilliants had been replaced by paste.

On arriving at this conviction the appalled favorite had nearly fallen to the ground, and it required all the expostulations of those by whom she was surrounded to enable her to preserve herself from fainting; while the king at once declared that, let the substitution have been made as it might, no one could for a moment attach any suspicion to herself; and she then felt compelled to explain the circumstance of the new casket, which she had caused to be made for the greater security of the coronet.

She had no sooner told her tale than Louis XIV. turned with a smile to the Princess of Modena, requesting her to relate the adventure at the English court, and to inform the king, in his name, that nothing was at the present moment so difficult to preserve as a crown, for that even guards and locks no longer sufficed; and then, addressing Madame de Montespan, he added, that she would have acted more wisely in committing it sooner to his own custody, as he should have acquitted himself tolerably well in such an office.

The honor of Madame de Montespan was, however, involved in this unhappy incident; and she had no sooner retired to her own apartments than she summoned the whole of her attendants, not even excepting her steward, and complained bitterly of the mortification to which she had been subjected in the presence of the king; but she detected only regret and consternation upon the faces by which she was surrounded, until the steward suddenly reminded her that she would do well to invoke the aid of the authorities; for that there could exist no doubt that the fraud had been committed by the maker of the casket.

He was immediately sought for; but, on arriving at his house, the officers were informed that he had left Paris

more than two years; and that, having been unsuccessful in some commercial speculations, he had disposed of his business, and with the slender remains of his property had emigrated to Pondichery. It was, however, ascertained that he had affected an attachment for one of the waiting-women of the marchioness, who had, during his visits, allowed him free access to the whole of her apartments; where the crown of Agrippina which he valued at as high a price as its temporary mistress, had proved too strong a temptation for his honesty.

He was ultimately taken and hanged; upon which occasion Louis XIV. endeavored to console Madame de Montespan with the remark, "He has at least left us the setting, but Cromwell would have seized it whole." *

We have, however, digressed.

Monsieur, as easily consoled as his brother, no sooner found himself freed from the foul suspicion which had for an instant weighed so heavily upon him, than he sought occupation for his thoughts and a veil for his indifference in the ostentatious arrangements of his mourning, and the etiquet necessary to be observed under the circumstances; but many sincere tears were nevertheless shed, not only by the court, but even by the people, for the martyred princess, so cruelly sacrificed to individual vengeance. She left no son, but two daughters, one of whom subsequently married the Duke of Savoy; and a second, who unhappily inherited both the attractions and the misfortunes of her mother.

Madame had been but a short time dead when Louis XIV. proposed to MADEMOISELLE to become her successor—a suggestion which only a few months previously would have too greatly flattered her ambition to have been rejected; but her love for Lauzun had now grown into an absorbing sentiment, by which all other feelings were subjugated, and she at once declined the alliance.

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

Meanwhile the poet Scarron had left his young widow almost penniless; and to add to her embarrassment, all the pensions granted by the Queen-Mother having been discontinued at her death, she found herself once more reduced to labor for her support. Vainly had she addressed petitions to the king, and memorials to the ministers; her applications had one and all remained without reply, when Madame de Montespan, who had made her acquaintance in the brilliant circles of the Hôtel de Richelieu and the hôtel d'Albret, chancing to hear of her necessities, desired a friend to direct Madame Scarron to wait upon her, in order that she might serve her interests with the king.

Little did the haughty beauty suspect that this exercise of her generosity would produce the same effect upon her own fortunes as the affection of the betrayed La Vallière for herself had wrought in those of the now neglected favorite.

The necessitous young widow lost no time in availing herself of the invitation of the powerful marchioness. She was no longer the brilliant woman who had shed a new luster over the circle of a poet, but dressed in deep, and even conventual mourning, crushed by poverty, and avowing that her position was one of pain and difficulty. When interrogated on the steps which she had taken to obtain the survivorship of her husband's pension, she said, sadly, that she feared some prejudice existed against her in high quarters, as all her applications had remained without reply; and that under these circumstances she had just formed a resolution which she trusted would be approved by the marquise.

M. Scarron, although apparently rich, possessed only a life income; and at his death his debts exceeded the value of his personal property; so that, after having done all in her power to satisfy his creditors, his widow had found herself utterly without the means of existence, and had

accordingly accepted a proposal made by the Princess de Nemours,* that she should accompany her to Lisbon on her marriage with Don Alphonso of Braganza, in the capacity of secretary and companion, with the assured prospect of a great alliance and an appointment as lady of honor.

From this project she was, however, easily dissuaded by Madame de Montespan, who reminded her of the sufferings of her former exile, and the possibility of a failure in the promises of the princess, which would once more leave her helpless in a foreign country; and desired her immediately to draw up a new petition, signed with her maiden name of d'Aubigny, which she would herself present to the king, and whose success she would guaranty. This done, the friends parted; the petition was placed in the hands of Louis XIV.; and the pension of two thousand francs which had been granted to her by the Queen-Mother three years before her death was restored. Madame Scarron had the honor of an interview with the king, and the voyage to Lisbon was abandoned, greatly to the displeasure of the affianced princess.

The generosity of Madame de Montespan had not, however, been altogether disinterested. The various accomplishments of the widow of Scarron had at once convinced her that she could select no more eligible governess for her children; while the obligation which Madame Scarron had contracted to the marquise, assured the latter alike of her zeal and her discretion. The favorite had, conse

* Mademoiselle d'Aumale, daughter of the Duke de Nemours, of the House of Savoy. She was fair, tolerably well-looking, but short in stature; and her head, which was too large for her body, was full of plots and stratagems. Married to the heir-apparent of the Portuguese throne, she bestowed her affections on his brother, Don Pedro; and eventually, by her machinations, she accomplished his imprisonment as a lunatic—a measure which his own intemperate passions rendered only too easy of accomplishment. She became the wife of his successor under the sanction of a papal bull.

quently, no sooner seen the Portuguese queen depart for her new country than she suggested to the king the expediency of securing the services of her *protégée;* but Louis XIV., who had been repelled by the extreme gravity and reserve of the young widow, for some time refused to sanction the arrangement, which he finally conceded with a reluctance equalled by that of Madame Scarron herself, who, having retired to the Marais, had turned her thoughts to devotion. The will of the king was, however, omnipotent; and a new residence was accordingly provided for her in the midst of the vast nursery-grounds which existed at that period between Vaugirard and the palace of the Luxembourg; a liberal establishment was formed; and the devout widow was installed in the onerous office of gouvernante of Madame de Montespan's children.

About this time Louis XIV. conceived an invincible repugnance to the palace of St. Germain, despite its internal luxury and the varied and noble views which it commanded on all sides. The river that wound its capricious waters through the immense plain; the multitude of chateaux scattered in every direction, amid which were cleared the hunting-paths necessary to the convenience of his sport; the lofty calvary; the bridges flung here and there across the stream to increase the beauty of the perspective; the grassy meadows, upon whose green expanse the eye loved to repose; and the moving basin of the Seine flowing beneath the windows of the edifice, had all lost their charm; and this fact existed in the secret of his firm belief that a short time previous to the death of Anne of Austria, as he was pacing the terrace alone, he had seen a red light play about the towers of St. Denis, which had no sooner settled above their summits, than in the midst of this unnatural vapor, a dark cloud collected, and, ere long, assumed the form of a hearse, surmounted by the arms of Austria; while immediately before the decease of the Duchess d'Orleans, the same towers had appeared to him

in a dream, and in the midst of the fire a skeleton holding in its hand the jewels of a woman. Thenceforward the sight of St. Denis, distant as the abbey was, rendered the view from St. Germain odious to him, and only rendered him the more determined to make of Versailles so glorious a residence that he should never be enabled to look back with regret to the other palaces he might abandon—a resolution which was strengthened by the death, during the same year, of both the female children of the queen, who were, in their turn, deposited in the same royal necropolis.*

On the 31st March, 1670, Madame de Montespan gave birth to a second son, who was baptized by the names of Louis Augustus de Bourbon, receiving, moreover, the worldly appellation of Duke du Maine; and the same affectation of secrecy was observed upon this occasion as on the birth of the Count de Vexin, his elder brother; Madame de Scarron, to whom the king was gradually becoming more reconciled, awaiting in an adjoining saloon the birth of the child, which was no sooner in the world than she concealed it beneath her mantle and conveyed it to her own residence.

In the course of the following year, the rich Abbey of St. Germain des Prés having become vacant, Louis XIV. appointed the Count de Vexin its abbot, to the extreme disgust of the Benedictine community, who could not restrain their indignation on thus finding themselves placed under the control of a child barely escaped from his cradle; and the king found it necessary to desire the grand almoner to visit the brotherhood, and to remind them that, under preceding reigns, they had abbots who were married princes, and even soldiers; a precedent, as the prelate remarked to them, worse than reprehensible, and which His Majesty was incapable of renewing; while, as regarded the extreme youth of the prince whom he had selected, it could not prejudice their interests in any way, since His

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier

Highness would be efficiently represented by his vicar-general, until he had attained a fitting age to exercise his authority in person.

The community, silenced but not convinced, were fain to accept their new superior; and the pious heart of Madame Scarron leaped for joy as, a few days subsequently, she presented the princely abbot in full monastic costume to his admiring parents; caused the crosier, the mitre, and the cross, to be painted on the panels of his coach, and obtained the appointment of vicar-general for one of her own devout friends.

A short time subsequently, Madame de Montespan succeeded in removing from the mind of the king the prejudice which he had imbibed against the gouvernante; and this was no sooner accomplished than he inquired of the lady if she could, without regret, lay aside the name of Scarron, so ill suited to her grace and beauty; when, upon her assurance that her feelings toward her late husband had never exceeded those of esteem and gratitude, he presented to her the sum of one hundred thousand crowns with which to purchase the princely estate of Maintenon, with its dependent marquisate; and, this done, he publicly addressed her as Madame de Maintenon.

"I can scarcely describe Madame Scarron," says La Vallière, usually so gentle and so indulgent, and whose evidence is consequently the more valuable, as it may be supposed to be the least prejudiced; "the word prude would be applicable to her, but that is a mere shade. She is at once a bigot and a *bel esprit*. She is naturally very formal and strait-laced, but nevertheless she has been seen enacting the very humble servant of Madame de Montespan, her reader, and her submissive friend. She is of a piety which appears all of a piece, alike stiff and inflexible; yet, notwithstanding, this piety has bent beneath the will of the king, and has found its joints. Madame Scarron is an admirable woman, for whom a specific term

should be invented. . . .When she first appeared at court her robe of serge, her plain linen, and her black lace exhaled such an odor of pedantry that her very appearance gave the king the vapors. Suppleness and patience are, however, admirable qualities, which operate wonderful conversions! She now has her horses, her hôtel, and a suite of servants; she is no longer the governess of the children of Madame de Montespan, but of those of the king, which her confessor declares to be quite a different thing. This is what she has been clever enough to accomplish."*

The slight tinge of bitterness perceptible in this sketch may well be pardoned when it is remembered that at the period of Madame Scarron's advent at court the wretched La Vallière was no longer able to cling to the self-delusion by which she had hitherto been supported. She now saw her position in its true light; and, ceasing to be blinded by the excess of her own passion, or by the accessories which had so long veiled, at least a portion of its disgrace, she was compelled to gaze steadily upon the frightful truth. She had sacrificed her youth, her conscience, her fair fame, her peace; and what remained to her? She had trusted to the assertion of Louis, on the birth of her daughter, that thenceforth nothing could alienate his affection from her; and already it was not only to herself that he had given a rival, but also to her innocent children. She saw the hollowness and egotism of the idol to which she had clung so trustfully; and her grief was only the more bitter that neither wrong, nor contumely, nor desertion could diminish her love.

Such was her state of mind when, on one occasion, the king entered her apartment, and finding her drowned in tears, with considerable harshness inquired the cause of such weak and ungoverned grief; and then, crushed by the cold tone and the stern eye of the estranged monarch, her full heart poured itself out before him with that wild

* Mémoires de La Vallière.

eloquence which so often lends a grandeur even to the despair of error; but the days had long passed by in which the hand of Louis had been prompt to wipe away her tears and to soothe her sorrows! Both the one and the other had now become importunate, and the only reply which they elicited was even more cruel than his previous inquiry.

"Let there be an end of this, madam," he said, as he stopped haughtily beside her: "I love you, and you know it; but I will not be constrained."

This interview was followed by a second, in which the king reproached Madame de la Vallière with her obstinacy in refusing the friendship of her rival, and reminded her that there had been a time in which she had herself required the countenance of her own sex.

This last and most bitter humiliation decided the fate of the abandoned favorite. She bent her head in submissive silence, for her heart was bursting; and thenceforth her resolution was taken.

In a few days she completed all her arrangements, and addressed a letter to the king, in which she confessed her inability to remain an inhabitant of the court when she had lost both his affection and his respect; and embracing her children, as she believed for the last time, she entered her carriage, and departed for the convent of Chaillot.

It was late in the evening when she drove under the somber portal, and requested an interview with the abbess, who was well known to her, and to whom she exclaimed, as she entered the apartment; "Madam, I have no longer a home in a palace, may I hope to find one in the cloister?"

The abbess, to whom she told the whole tale of her bitter sorrow, received her like a Christian, and at once acceded to her request; and after they had for a time mingled their tears together, La Vallière was conducted to the cell in which she was to pass the night. But for her there was no rest; she could not pray, although she cast

herself upon her knees beside the narrow pallet, and strove to rejoice that she had at length escaped from the trials of a world which had wearied of her, and of which she herself was weary. There was no peace, no joy in her rebel heart; she thought of the first days of her happiness—of her children, who on the morrow would ask for her in vain; and then, as memory swept over her throbbing brain, she remembered her former flight to Chaillot, and that it was the king himself who had led her back again into the world. Her brow burned as the question forced itself upon her—Would he do so a second time? Would he once more hasten, as he had then done, to rescue her from the living death to which she had consigned herself as an atonement for her past errors? But hour after hour went by, and all was silent. Hope died within her, and yet she could not pray; daylight streamed dimly into the narrow casement of her cell; and soon the measured step of the abbess fell upon her ear, as she advanced up the long gallery, striking upon the door of each cell as she approached, and uttering, in a solemn voice, "Let us bless the Lord;" to which appeal each of the sisters replied in turn, "I give him thanks."

Such was the commencement of the first conventual day of the unhappy penitent—she alone could not at that moment give thanks even to her God, among all who were collected beneath that holy roof: she alone was still encouraging a hope that she might be once more torn from the steps of his altar, and gifted with a mere earthly love. Nor was her hope deceived. Louis XIV. found it easy to abandon his favorites, but he could not brook their abandonment; and he consequently no sooner received the letter of his fugitive mistress than he dispatched M. Colbert to Chaillot with a letter entreating her immediate return. As the sound of carriage-wheels within the precincts of the convent reached her in her gloomy cell, the heart of La Vallière bounded—He was

there! Once more he had come to claim her! and all her mortifications, all her cares, and even all her remorse forgotten on the instant, she rushed to the parlor, where she found only the minister awaiting her. For an instant her head swam and her heart sunk; but in the next the letter of the king was in her hands, and her eyes eagerly devouring every line: nothing could be more tender, nothing more touching than its contents; but even as she read she remembered that on a former occasion he had been his own messenger, and she hesitated.

Colbert, perceiving her indecision, assured her that he dared not return alone, coupling the assurance with a lively picture of the distress exhibited by Louis when her flight had been made known to him. Colbert was eloquent, and La Vallière subjugated by her still unextinguished passion; and thus, even while blushing at her own weakness, she at length consented to emerge a second time from the retreat in which she was to have buried alike her sorrow and her fault: but a dark misgiving still weighed upon her spirit; and as she wrung the hand of the abbess at parting, she murmured amid her tears, "This is not a farewell. I shall assuredly return; and perchance speedily."

Her first welcome was, however, well calculated to allay all her fears. The king shed tears as he strained her to his heart, and thanked her for her generous compliance with his entreaties; Madame de Montespan wept over her, as over one whom she loved, and had believed to be lost to her forever; and the imitative courtiers crowded her saloons, and once more made her the idol of the hour.

La Vallière almost succeeded in persuading herself, for a time, that she had regained the lost affections of the fickle monarch; she had yet to learn that there is no resurrection for a dead passión, and that the marchioness was a rival little likely to permit her the opportunities

necessary for the trial. Even while affecting to disguise her power over the king, Madame de Montespan assumed a position at court ill suited alike to her real rank and to the respect which she owed to the queen her mistress; and in her chateau of Clagny,* where she was surrounded by luxury and state, she amused herself by entertaining foreign ambassadors, accepting at their hands costly presents, and introducing them to her children as though they had been princes of the blood-royal of France. Yet, despite all these demonstrations, and the fact that the court had long ceased to be hoodwinked by the shallow mystery with which she had seen fit to surround herself, the deluded and credulous Maria Theresa still refused to believe in her guilt; the inuendoes of those about her, and even the anonymous letters by which she was assailed, failed equally to make her suspicious of a friend who had so openly and so bitterly condemned the errors of La Vallière; and the Count de Vexin was born, and the Duke du Maine had already been confided to the care of Madame Scarron, ere the unhappy and indignant queen was ultimately condemned to recognize this new treachery.

The voice of the church was, however, raised against the haughty favorite, even while the outraged wife wept over her wrongs in silence. A short time subsequent to the birth of the Duke du Maine, a general jubilee took place in France, involving the free pardon of all past sins, in consideration of certain prayers to be said, certain visits to be paid to the several churches, and certain fasts to be observed. These great Papal absolutions, which were generally consequent upon the election of a new Pope, extended over all Roman Catholic countries, and excluded no sinner, however great might be his crimes, from

* The superb chateau of Clagny was situated in the magnificent stretch of country which skirts the forest of Villars d'Avrai, beyond the boundaries of Versailles. It no longer exists.

their operation; and it was, consequently, almost with a delirious joy that these great festivals of pardon were welcomed by every class of the population.

The jubilee in question was no sooner officially announced in Paris than the popular preachers commenced their labors by inveighing against the reprehensible excesses and illicit attachments by which the interests of religion were injured in the capital itself; and the very first sermon delivered before the court was emphatically directed against Madame de Montespan.

The second was still more uncompromising, and barely left her name unuttered; while in the third, the orator, directly addressing himself to the king, related the whole episode of David and the heifer which was stolen from him while he was yet a shepherd, and restored through the intervention of the patriarch of his tribe, who punished the thief; nor did he spare the subsequent passage in which David, become a monarch, carried off the wife of his servant, and excusing himself upon the plea of her beauty, was deaf to the voice of the injured husband, who besought him to yield rather to the dictates of justice than to those of passion, and to restore to him the wife of his bosom; but who was, nevertheless, compelled to suffer the penalty of his own disgrace, and perished miserably!

This plain speaking mortified Louis XIV., who dared not appear to appropriate the denunciation; and he accordingly desired the marchioness to withdraw during the period of the jubilee to her chateau at Clagny, which she lost no time in doing, being equally anxious to escape from the unmeasured indignation of which she felt herself to be the object; but, on the very day succeeding her arrival there, to her extreme annoyance, a servant announced the visit of M. de Bossuet,* the Bishop of Con-

* Jaques Bénigne de Bossuet, afterward Bishop of Meaux, was born at Dijon in 1627. The extraordinary genius of his eloquence

dom, who, after a somewhat stern salutation, laid before her the enormity of her position, and conjured her, not only for her own sake, but for that of the monarch and the public, scandalized by her example, to retire immediately to the convent of Fontevrault, assuring her at the same time that the exhortations of the priesthood had effected the cure of the sinful passion which the king had hitherto indulged for her.

As, however, Madame de Montespan declined to profit by the pious advice of the bishop, he ultimately placed in her hands a letter from Louis himself, to the same purport; but even amid her agitation the marquise at once detected an ambiguity of expression which convinced her that the king by no means desired her obedience. Satisfied of this fact, she speedily recovered her self-possession; and when, after a tolerably long silence, the prelate requested to be informed of her definitive resolution, in order that he might be enabled to communicate it to His Majesty without delay, the insolent favorite, after having established herself more luxuriously among the cushions of her *fauteuil*, raised her eyes steadily to his, and replied, with a smile upon her lips, that she was convinced of the sincerity of the holy men who had waited upon the king, when they endeavored, as he had just expressed it, to induce His Majesty *to offer an example of self-abnegation to his people;* that, moreover, she was quite of their opinion, and that she thought as he did, as well as the Pope and the preachers of the jubilee; but, being imbued with the conviction that the shepherds owed it to their flock to point out the possi-

soon rendered him famous, especially his funeral orations, which were master-pieces of energy, sublimity, and Christian boldness. Elected a member of the French Academy, he subsequently became the preceptor of the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV., for whom he wrote his *Discourse on Universal History*, and his *History of Variations*, both of which eminently exhibited the grasp and versatility of his genius. His religious controversies with Fenelon are not worthy of the same praise.

bility of such a reformation, she, for one, would only consent to sacrifice the society of the monarch when he, the Bishop of Condom, should have separated himself from that of Mademoiselle de Mauléon des Vieux.

For once, however, the malice of Madame de Montespan missed its aim. She had anticipated the discomfiture of her unwelcome visitor, but the undisturbed serenity of the bishop at once convinced her that the court scandal had belied him, and only subjected her to a deeper humiliation; as the prelate, having contrasted her own licentiousness with the pure and pious life of the virtuous woman whom she had maligned, rose from his seat, and took his leave, observing that his errand was at an end, and that he had nothing more to do than to abandon her to her conscience, which, however, appeared so tranquil that he should reproach himself for any further attempt to awaken it.

A second letter, sent by a less holy messenger, reconciled Madame de Montespan to the mortification which she had entailed upon herself by her own insolence, and she remained quietly at Clagny until a week after the close of the jubilee, when she was recalled to Versailles, where the king received her with every mark of affection and regard; her saloons were inundated with enthusiastic friends; her enemies left their names at her door; and her fauteuil, her cushions, and her praying-chair were replaced in the tribune of the chapel.*

We have alluded to the formal reception of certain ambassadors at Clagny by the marchioness; but it is necessary that we should be more explicit, as one of the results of the embassy in question was of a most melancholy nature. The African king of Arda, informed of the conquest of Candia by the French monarch, and anxious to secure so powerful a friend, dispatched to his court several envoys to propose to him a political and commercial alliance, and to ask his support against the

Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

English and Dutch settlers upon his coasts. They were charged to present to Louis himself a tiger, a panther, and two superb lions; and to the queen a golden pheasant which possessed the faculty of laughing like a human being, and a Moorish dwarf, of upward of ten years of age, whose height did not exceed twenty-seven inches. This duty performed, they next proceeded with the same state to wait upon Madame de Montespan, whom they addressed as *the second wife of the king*, and to whom they delivered, in the name of their own monarch, a string of large pearls, two bracelets of immense value, and an enormous sapphire.

The curiosity of the favorite being excited by their familiarity with her position at the court of France, she inquired from whom they had derived their information; when they replied, through their interpreter, that three traveling *missionaries* had resided for two months with the King of Arda, their master; and that these holy men had not only acquainted them with the fact that Madame de Montespan was the second wife of the great monarch, but had also themselves selected the presents which it was expedient to offer to her.

The queen, delighted at the new plaything with which the African envoys had provided her, caused the dwarf to be richly habited in the costume of his country, and covered him with jewels; after which she employed him to bear her train as she passed from one apartment to another, and derived great amusement from the liveliness of her pigmy attendant, who frequently diverted himself by suddenly stopping, and thus impeding her own progress, or in burying his head and face in the folds of the train to excite the mirth of the courtiers. All these antics, which differed so widely from the habitual monotony and ceremonial of her existence, were a source of continual delight to Maria Theresa, who retained the Moor constantly about her and he was perpetually to be seen in

her apartment, either gamboling upon the rich carpet, or perched upon the bureau, or seated on the sofa, or even upon the very lap of his royal mistress.

Instantly it became the fashion among the great ladies of the court to have Moorish dwarfs to carry their trains; and from this caprice, short as was its vogue, arises the fact that Mignard, Le Bourdon, and other high-cast painters of the time, have introduced negro boys into their pictures.

Nevertheless, Louis XIV. could not reconcile himself to this extraordinary favorite, whose appearance and familiarity were alike distasteful to him; but the queen clung so pertinaciously to her new toy that he at length forbore all further remonstrance. Could he have foreseen the disastrous effects of his indulgence, much misery might have been spared alike to himself and to the ill-fated Maria Theresa.

Osman was still in the zenith of his favor when prayers were publicly put up for the safety of the queen and of the new prince whom she was about to give to France. On one occasion, as she was traversing her chamber, absorbed in thought, the dwarf, who was weary of inaction, suddenly bounded from an obscure corner of the apartment, and flung himself across her path. The queen fainted from the shock, and in a few hours gave birth to a daughter, perfectly black from head to foot. The secret was scrupulously kept by those in attendance; and after she had received a hurried baptism, the unfortunate child was privately conveyed to Gisors, whence she was afterward removed to the Benedictine convent at Moret, where she was compelled to take the veil;* while the *Gazette de France* officially announced that the royal infant had died a few minutes subsequently to its baptism.†

Monsieur, wearied of his widowhood, after having, as

* Her portrait is still to be seen in the winter saloon of the Library of St. Genevieve, College of Henry IV.

† Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

we have shown, been rejected by MADEMOISELLE, once more appealed to the king to provide him with a second wife; and Louis XIV., in compliance with his request, demanded for him the hand of the Princess Palatine, Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, who, although fully aware of all the circumstances attending the death of her predecessor, at once accepted the alliance. Her advent at the French court created the greatest consternation. Only in the June of the previous year its inmates had seen in the Duchess d'Orleans one of the most graceful and accomplished princesses in Europe, delicate to fastidiousness in her habits, young, elegant, and fascinating; and no contrast could be more striking than that presented by the new duchess, who was received with repugnance by *Monsieur*, and with reluctance by the king; but the alliance was dictated by policy, Louis XIV. being anxious to secure by this measure the neutrality of the Elector Palatine, the father of the princess, during the war which he meditated against the Dutch.

She had, according to Madame de Sévigné, coarse features, a heavy figure, robust health, and an indifference which almost amounted to an aversion for dress, etiquet, and all such occupations as involved restraint. The portrait which she has drawn of herself in her memoirs is even less flattering. "I was born," she says, in Heidelburg, in 1652, and was a seven-months' child. I must necessarily be ugly, for I have no features, small eyes, a short, thick nose, and long, flat lips; and such a combination as this can not produce a physiognomy. I have heavy, hanging cheeks, and a large face, and nevertheless I am short and thick; to sum up all, I am an ugly little object. If I had not a good heart I should not be bearable anywhere. To ascertain if my eyes have any expression, it would be necessary to examine them with a microscope, for in any other manner it would be difficult to form a judgment. There could not probably be found on earth

hands more hideous than mine; the king has often remarked it to me, and made me laugh heartily; for not being able, with any conscience, to flatter myself that I possessed any thing good-looking, I have made up my mind to be the first to laugh at my own ugliness. I have found the plan very successful, and frequently discover plenty to laugh at."

Even making every allowance for the exaggeration of this bitter pleasantry, it will readily be understood that the apparition of such a princess as Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, in the midst of the most beautiful and refined women in France, must have produced an extraordinary effect. Nor were her personal habits less opposed to those of her new associates than her appearance: unlike the great ladies of the court, who received their guests in their *ruelles*,* she sprung from her bed the moment she awoke, whatever might be the hour, and seldom partook of breakfast. Despising alike tea, chocolate, and coffee, she luxuriated in soups composed of milk, beer, or wine—devoured saur-crout, and restored her system, after any temporary indisposition, by a diet of ham and sausages. She was exceedingly partial to dogs and horses, and assumed male attire whenever she rode out; but, despite these strange and startling peculiarities, she was a woman of strong mind and ready wit, sarcastic, shrewd, and clever; and she had no sooner presented herself at the French court than she became instantly aware of the impression she had produced. Even in her presence ridicule was not spared, and she required no prompting to feel convinced that in

* The space occupied by the bed, which was inclosed within a low balustrade. It was esteemed a high honor to be admitted to the *ruelle* of a royal personage; and Madame de Sévigné even speaks of being upon her knees in the *ruelle* of MADEMOISELLE when she went to condole with her on the rupture of her marriage with Lauzun. In a more general way the *ruelle* was the hotbed of coquetry, scandal, and intrigue.

her absence she was still more roughly treated; but she supported the conviction with a philosophy which might well have disarmed her adversaries.

Resolved, nevertheless, to leave no doubt upon the minds of those about her of her perfect acquaintance with the fact, she seized an opportunity when she discovered that she was the victim of the malicious raillery of Madame de Fienne, and taking her by the hand, she led her apart, and said, firmly, "Madam, you are very amiable and extremely witty; and, moreover, you possess a style of conversation which is endured by the king and *Monsieur*, because they are accustomed to it; but I, who am only a recent arrival at the court, am less familiar with its spirit; and I forewarn you that I become incensed when I am made a subject of ridicule. For this reason I was anxious to give you a slight warning: if you spare me, we shall get on very well together; but if, on the contrary, you treat me as you do others, I shall say nothing to yourself, but I shall complain to your husband, and if he does not correct you I shall dismiss him."

From that moment Madame de Fienne, who had hitherto spared no one, never ventured to utter a witticism on the subject of the Duchess d'Orleans.

Meanwhile, Lauzun was passing his time drearily enough in the somber fortress of Pignerol, where he was confined in a grated chamber, and not permitted to hold intercourse with any one; but ere long he became so seriously indisposed that it was considered necessary to allow the visit of a confessor, who had, however, no sooner approached his penitent than the latter seized him by the beard, in order to convince himself that he was not a fictitious monk sent to discover and betray his secrets. The Capuchin, unprepared for such a reception, called loudly for assistance, but was soon appeased by the explanation given by the sick man, to whom he afforded his assistance, and who was shortly afterward restored to health.

This was no sooner the case than Lauzun, like every other captive, began to entertain vague hopes of effecting his escape, and he accordingly commenced, cautiously but energetically, to remove the stones in a dark corner of his cell; but his labor availed him only in so much that it brought him into communication with some of his fellow-prisoners who had been similarly engaged, and enabled him to discover that his immediate neighbor was no other than the superintendent Fouquet, who had already been an inhabitant of the citadel for seven dreary years, without the slightest communication with any one beyond the walls. The recognition was, consequently, a joyous one for the controller; and the two prisoners labored so successfully that they were soon enabled, not only to converse, but even to visit each other in their respective cells.

Eager as Fouquet was, however, to learn all that had passed at court since his imprisonment, he soon ceased to yield perfect credence to the information afforded by his companion. Nor could it well be otherwise—for Lauzun naturally commenced by a narrative of his own fortunes; and when Fouquet heard this young adventurer, who, when he remembered him, had been only too grateful for a home under the roof of the Marshal de Grammont, assert that he had been a general of dragoons, captain of the royal guards, and in command of a portion of the army, he began to suspect that his mind was disordered; and as he proceeded to explain the unhappy accident by which he had failed to be appointed grand-master of the artillery, and his subsequent quarrel with the king, he became more and more convinced that he must be laboring under a delusion; but when, in the course of his tale, he arrived at his betrothal to MADEMOISELLE, and related all the circumstances by which the marriage had been prevented, Fouquet no longer hesitated to consider him as a confirmed lunatic, and from that time avoided his society from fear for his personal safety.

When the court finally saw fit to mitigate the rigor of his captivity, and to permit him to receive the visits of his wife and a few individuals of Pignerol, one of his first cares was to pity and explain the lamentable condition of the unhappy Marquis de Péguilian, whom he had left with a noble career before him, and who was then a lunatic in the fortress. Nor was it without extreme difficulty that he could be induced to believe that Lauzun had deluded him in no single circumstance, but that the romantic history to which he had listened was true from first to last.*

While these things were passing at Pignerol a new and successful candidate for the good graces of the king had appeared at court in the person of the young Duke de Longueville, who was, as we have stated elsewhere, born at the Town-Hall of Paris during the Fronde, and who had, upon the death of his father, in 1663, succeeded to his title and estates.

In addition to these advantages the young prince possessed a handsome person and captivating manners, which soon rendered him popular, not only with the king himself, but with the whole court; and in the height of his success, when he was beginning to weary of amusement, his happiness attained its climax by an order which he received to follow the sovereign in the approaching campaign in Holland, for which the necessary preparations were nearly completed.

* Mémoires du Duc de St. Simon.

CHAPTER XIII.

Alarm of the Dutch—The Army of Louis XIV.—The secret Treaty—Appeal of the States-General—Haughty Reply of Louis XIV.—Pretext for War—The royal Household—The Prince of Orange—Advance of the French Army—The Passage of the Rhine—Imprudence of the Duke de Longueville—The Skirmish—Death of the Duke de Longueville—Wound of Condé—Dispersion of the Dutch Forces—Will of the Duke de Longueville—Legitimation of his natural Son—A convenient Precedent—High-spirited Reply of the Prince of Orange—Death of Turenne—Gallantry of the Count de Guiche; his Death—Third Son of Madame de Montespan—Abandonment of the Duchess de la Vallière; her projected Retirement from the Court—Opposition of the King—The Carmelite Convent—Bitter Mortification—Bossuet and the Penitent—Offer of Louis XIV.—The Queen and La Vallière—The fatal Day—Parting of the King and La Vallière; her Reception by the Community—A conventual Interior—Death of the Duke de Vermandois—Humility of the ennobled Novice; her Death—European Consequences of the Dutch Invasion—Progress of Literature in France—The Three Dramatists—Louis XIV. and Britannicus—The Chevalier de Rohan—The Conspiracy—Madame de Villars—Execution of the Conspirators—The Poisoners.

The Dutch had witnessed with alarm the manifestations which we have already described, and of which it was impossible to misunderstand the purpose. All the nobility had been convoked, and every castle had furnished a chief, followed by his vassals ready armed, after the fashion of the feudal times. One hundred and eighteen thousand men and a hundred pieces of ordnance formed the strength of the invading army, which was, moreover, augmented by a crowd of volunteers, partisans, and carbineers, who, already looking upon Holland as a rich and certain booty, joined themselves to the regular forces in order to better their fortunes. The generals of Louis XIV. were Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg, and Vauban.

The lamentable death of *Madame* had delayed, but by no means altered, the designs of the French and English sovereigns. The spoils of the republic which they were about to annihilate had been already amicably shared, in a secret treaty, between the two courts; just as, in 1635, Flanders had been shared with the Dutch themselves. The report of this intended invasion had already been noised throughout Europe; but Europe listened in silence, and remained passive. The Emperor of Germany was fully occupied with the seditions in Hungary, and Sweden laid to sleep by intricate negotiations; while Spain, always weak, tardy, and undecided, left a free path to the ambition of Louis XIV.

To complete the misfortune of Holland, the Dutch were divided into two violent factions. On one side were the rigid republicans, to whom every shadow of despotic authority was odious, and on the other a more moderate party, who were anxious to establish the young Prince of Orange in the possession of his ancestral rights. The grand-pensionary, John de With, and his brother Cornelius, were at the head of the opposition, but the party of the prince was beginning to predominate; and these domestic dissensions so occupied the public mind, that

its attention was dangerously diverted from external enemies.

As the peril became imminent, however, the States-General roused themselves sufficiently from their lethargy to address a letter to the French king, in which they inquired if the hostile demonstrations then on foot in his country were, indeed, directed against themselves, his old and faithful allies—in what they had offended him, and what reparation he required at their hands. But to this very pertinent appeal the haughty monarch vouchsafed no other answer than that "he should make such use of his troops as his dignity exacted, and was bound to give an account to no one." The only pretext alledged, meanwhile, by his ministers being, that the Gazetteer of Holland had been guilty of insolence toward Louis XIV., and that it was asserted Van Benning had struck a medal injurious to his renown.*

On his side, Charles II. advanced an equally puerile reason for his hostility, by complaining that the Dutch fleet had not lowered their flag before an English vessel; and that a certain painting had been executed in which Cornelius de With was represented with all the attributes of a conqueror, the background of the picture being occupied by dismantled and captured ships. The English ministers, who delivered in a written statement of the "grievances" of their monarch, designated this an *abusive picture;* and the States, who invariably translated all ministerial documents into French, having rendered the word abusive by *trompeur*, replied that they could not comprehend what was meant by the *deceitful picture* of which complaint was

* "There had been bestowed on Louis XIV. the device of the sun with the motto, '*Nec pluribus impar*,' and it was asserted that Van Benning, whose Christian name was Joshua, had caused himself to be represented also with the sun, accompanied by the words, '*In conspectu meo stetit sol*;' but such a medal never in reality existed."—*Le Siècle de Louis XIV.*

made—never for an instant suspecting that allusion was made to the portrait of one of their own citizens, and thus they were unable to imagine the real nature of this strange pretext for war.

While Louis XIV. and his minister expended the enormous sum of fifty millions (equal in the present day to a hundred millions) in the bare preparations for invading the petty States of the United Provinces, Charles II., if necessarily less profuse, was at least equally active, and augmented the English fleet, under the command of the Duke of York, which already consisted of a hundred ships of war, by thirty fifty-gun vessels.

The most remarkable feature of the campaign was, however, the newly-formed household of Louis XIV. It consisted of four companies of body-guards, each composed of three hundred noblemen, among whom were a number of unpaid cadets, subject, like the rest, to the regulations of the service; two hundred gendarmes of the guard; two hundred light-horse; five hundred musketeers, all men of birth, selected for their youth and personal beauty; twelve companies of gendarmerie, subsequently augmented to sixteen. Even the "hundred Swiss"* accompanied the king, and his regiments of French and Swiss guards acted as sentries over the house or tent which he chanced at the time to occupy. These troops, who were nearly all covered with gold and silver embroidery, were at once the objects of terror and admiration to the Dutch, among whom every species of magnificence was unknown.

Moreover, Louis XIV., sure of success, carried also in his

* The hundred Swiss were a privileged company of infantry, armed with halberts. The sovereigns of France, from the year 1453, had in their service Swiss soldiers, who received high pay, and who formed, in some sort, their body-guard. Their costume was a blue Spanish coat (afterward changed to red) laced with gold. They were suppressed toward the close of the reign of Louis XVI. Re-established under Louis XVIII. in 1827, they took the name of the grenadier body guards of the king; but they were again disembodied in 1830.

train the historian Pélisson, the faithful friend of Fouquet, who was intrusted with the record of the campaign.

Never was a greater contrast afforded, both in the accessories and the actors, than that exhibited between the adversaries in the forthcoming struggle. The Dutch collected with considerable difficulty an aggregate of twenty-five thousand men, ill appointed, and worse disciplined. Their general-in-chief was the Prince of Orange, then only twenty-two years of age, who had been elected by the nation, and who, although destined at a later period to ascend the English throne, and to cast his shadow also over that of France, gave, at the moment of which we treat, no symptom of his after-greatness.

Unlike his magnificent opponent, he was cold and grave, and the thirst of glory and ambition, of which his actions subsequently revealed the extent, had never been betrayed by his words. He saw himself trammeled, not only in his actual resources, but also by the jealousy of the States, who limited the extent of his authority. His available funds were scanty, his experience null, his natural tastes ascetic, and his temperament feeble; and at the very commencement of the campaign he found himself utterly unable to arrest the torrent which swept forward like an avalanche, and threatened to overwhelm his unhappy country. Four cities were simultaneously placed in a state of siege, and all four were taken. The Duke de Lorraine, who endeavored to raise troops, in order to unite his fortunes with those of the republic, had the mortification of seeing his principality seized by the French forces, and the whole of Holland was in danger of the same fate so soon as Louis should have passed the Rhine. The Prince of Orange had originally designed to defend the river; but he had no sooner completed his preparations than he became aware of the impracticability of the attempt, and fell back upon Holland in order to collect all his strength upon the opposite bank.

He was, however, deceived by the rapidity of his enemy's movements, for the French king reached the shores of the Rhine while he believed him to be still occupied with the besieged cities, and measures were already mooted in the hostile camp for passing the stream; while all the military posts upon its border, as well as upon the Issel, surrendered without a struggle. Several of the governors of the frontier fortresses forwarded to him the keys of their citadels; while many of the officers deserted from the towns in which they were garrisoned, even before the enemy had made any hostile demonstrations, and thus increased the general alarm.

Nothing could appear more propitious for the invaders, who at once decided on passing the river, in order to cut off all communication between the Hague and Amsterdam, and to make an end at once of the army of the Prince of Orange. Their first idea was to effect the passage by means of a bridge of boats; but a long drought having greatly diminished the volume of water, and even formed an apparent ford across a branch of the stream, near an old tower known as the tower of Tol-Huys, which was garrisoned only by a score of men, it was resolved that the ford should be attempted, in order to discover if it were practicable; and Condé immediately sought a volunteer among the superior officers for this dangerous duty. The Count de Guiche, who, since the death of *Madame*, had only sought for opportunities of self-sacrifice, offered himself on the instant; and having passed and repassed the river, under the fire of the enemy, returned with the announcement that, with the exception of about twenty paces in the center of the current, the horses would have footing from one bank to the other. It was, consequently, decided that on the morrow the army should avail themselves of this mode of transit.

The French camp was distant about six leagues from the river; but by commencing their march at eleven

o'clock at night, the whole body were enabled to reach the Rhine by three in the morning; and the Count de Guiche, acting as their guide, was the first to leave the bank, closely followed by the cuirassiers of Revel and the corps of vol unteers. The king then moved forward, declaring that he would lead his household across; but Condé, who from a severe attack of gout could not venture the passage on horseback, detained him by the remark that, should His Majesty persist in swimming to the opposite shore, it would be impossible for him to follow in a boat.

Unfortunately for his fame, Louis XIV. yielded to this suggestion, and suffered the troops to pass without him, contenting himself by complaining of *his greatness which confined him to the bank.*

This pusillanimity (for those who were aware of the pertinacity of the monarch on all occasions where his personal inclination was concerned could view his present conduct in no other light) was the less excusable, as the landing was comparatively easy, being opposed only by four or five hundred mounted soldiers and two weak regiments of infantry, without ordnance; while the French artillery protected the advance. A few of the Dutch cavalry, indeed, entered the stream; but they were soon compelled to retreat, and having again reached the shore, they fled precipitately before their enemies; while the infantry, throwing down their arms, demanded quarter, and attempted no opposition. Fifteen thousand men thus passed the river, only the Count de Nogent, and a few of the more impetuous, who disregarded the limits of the ford, being swept down by the current and drowned; after which Condé made a safe passage in his boat.

It is probable that no other lives would have been lost had not the young Duke de Longueville, who was panting for an opportunity to distinguish himself under the eyes of the monarch, become incensed at tne non-resistance of the enemy; and, as he spurred his horse up the steep bank

upon whose summit the Dutch troops were standing unarmed, falling upon their lines, shouting indignantly, "No, no! no quarter for this rabble," firing his pistol as he uttered the words, and killing one of their officers.

The effect of his rashness was electrical; the Dutch sprung instantly to their arms, and by their first volley brought down a score of the royal army, and among the rest the duke himself, who received a ball in his heart and fell dead from his horse; while, at the same instant, a captain of the Dutch cavalry, who had not fled like the rest, rushed toward the Prince de Condé, who having landed from the boat was about to mount his horse, and presented a pistol at his breast. Condé had only time to turn aside the barrel with his arm, when it was fired, and his wrist was shattered by the ball; upon which the French soldiery, irritated by the wound of the prince and the death of the duke, vigorously attacked the Dutch regiments, who made a rapid and disorderly retreat.

A short time afterward the body of the handsome, gallant, but imprudent Duke de Longueville was conveyed to the opposite bank of the river, flung across the back of the gallant steed which had borne him so bravely to his death; but he did not escape unmutilated; for some miscreant, attracted by the splendor of a diamond ring which he wore on his left hand, had profited by the confusion of the moment to cut off his finger.

The king passed the Rhine upon a bridge of boats at the head of the infantry.

We shall pursue the campaign no further, but proceed at once to mention the advantage taken by the king of a circumstance consequent on the death of the unhappy young duke. His untimely fate excited universal commiseration in the capital, and a great sensation was created by a bequest contained in his will, of five hundred thousand crowns to a natural son, whose mother was a married woman of high rank.

Louis had no sooner ascertained the circumstance than he took immediate steps to soothe the wounded honor of the husband; and being desirous to establish a precedent of which he might subsequently avail himself, he sent an order to the parliament of Paris to legitimatize the son of the Duke de Longueville, without mentioning, in the act, the name of the mother—a proceeding which had never hitherto been attempted, which was illegal, but which, nevertheless, did not experience the slightest opposition.

Louis XIV. soon wearied of a campaign which he had commenced from pride rather than principle—a campaign in which Condé and Turenne sustained their already brilliant reputation, and the Prince of Orange acquired the fame due to his military genius. And he afforded a palpable proof that such was the case by conceiving the idea of a marriage between Mademoiselle de Blois, the daughter of La Vallière, and the prince his opponent, at a period when his own prosperity and success would have appeared to render such an alliance the greatest honor and advantage which could accrue to the gallant young soldier. But Louis deceived himself. William of Nassau, who was the grandson of Charles I. of England, haughtily replied that the Princes of Orange were accustomed to contract marriages with the legitimate daughters of kings, but not with their natural children—a reply which wounded Louis XIV. so deeply that he never either forgot or forgave the insult, and even occasionally acted against his better judgment in order to harass and injure the prince.*

The two great catastrophes produced by this struggle were the burning of the Palatinate and the death of Turenne, who was cut in two by a cannon-ball; while the Count de Guiche, who, throughout the whole period, exposed his life wherever there was danger, was not fated to meet so honorable a death; in vain did he throw himself into the thickest of the fight, and volunteer for every duty

* Mémoires du Duc de St. Simon.

which was considered as almost desperate; although his wounds were numerous no one of them proved mortal, and this gallant and gifted young man ultimately died at Creutznach, in his thirty-fifth year, of a broken heart.

At this period Madame de Montespan had lost her eldest son, the Count de Vexin, and had given birth to a third, upon whom the king bestowed the same name, and to whom he gave the royal abbey of St. Denis; while La Vallière, who had endeavored to cheat herself into a belief that Louis had recalled her from her retreat from affection and regard, saw his attentions diminish day by day, until she became once more abandoned and almost forgotten, save by her more happy rival, whose malice reached her even in her solitude. Her heart was broken by this new disappointment, for now she could no longer deceive herself; but for one whole dreary year she supported all the bitterness of her fate in silence; cold and impassive, not even the impertinence to which she was subjected, even from those who had once vowed to her an eternal friendship, could rouse her into resentment. Her one great sorrow had absorbed all minor suffering; but at length she found that she could no longer sustain the struggle.

Madame de Montespan, who alone had accompanied the king to Holland, was all-powerful at court, and spared neither sarcasm nor insult which could increase the bitterness of her position; and once more she resolved to retire from the unequal contest and leave the stage free to the triumphs of her rival.

The Marquise de Rémy, delighted by a resolution so consonant with her own wishes, at once advised her to withdraw to her duchy of Vaujours, where she offered to bear her company and to assist in the education of her children; but the spirit of the forsaken favorite was broken, and she no longer felt that she possessed sufficient energy to enter upon so responsible a life. Still, grateful for the anxiety of her mother, she consented to submit this project

to the king, and to abide by his decision, although her thoughts yet recurred to the night which she had passed at Chaillot, and she sighed for the more perfect seclusion of a conventual life.

When the proposition of her retirement to Vaujours was submitted to the selfish monarch it was negatived upon the instant, on the pretext that she was too young and too handsome to be left so entirely to her own guidance; nor would he listen to the idea of her retiring to Chaillot, alledging that Mademoiselle de la Motte having taken the vows in that community, whose favor had never equalled that of Madame de la Vallière, there ought necessarily to be an equal difference in the place of their retreat.

A short time subsequently, having accompanied the queen, whose continued friendship was her only consolation, to the Carmelite convent, where Her Majesty was accustomed to retire upon all solemn festivals, and where two of her personal friends had professed, the impression produced upon the mind of the penitent was so powerful that she consulted her confessor upon the subject, who strongly urged her not to resist a feeling which had evidently been divinely inspired. Her heart went with him; she was weary of her burden, and longed to be at rest; and when, a few weeks afterward, she ascertained that the queen, on speaking of the convent in the king's presence, had declared that she was deeply moved by the extraordinary devotion of Madame de la Vallière, who had accompanied her on her last visit, and that his answer had been that, if she was resolved to withdraw from the court, the Carmelites was the only retreat suitable to her, she embraced every opportunity of visiting the community, who received her with kindness, although utterly unaware of her identity.

Her first mortification under this holy roof was a bitter one. On one occasion she accompanied a friend who accidentally called her by her name, and the effect which it produced struck her to the heart. Every eye was averted

and every lip closed, and the courtly sinner, in her purple and fine linen, felt herself to be an object of avoidance to the pure and pious women among whom she stood.

Nevertheless, La Vallière, remorseful and spirit-worn as she was, could not look upon the cloister without a shudder. She was still young, still beautiful, still loving. Her life had been one of luxury, and even her sorrows had been pillowed upon velvet. She was, moreover, a devoted mother, and her affection for her children was like a chain of iron binding her to the world. Her *human nature* rebelled, and she hated herself for her weakness; but it was stronger than her will. The Marquise de Rémy, indignant at the objection of the king, still urged her to retire to Vaujours; her friends counseled her to remain at court; even Louis himself expressed his dissatisfaction at her resolution; and it is probable that she might have consented to prolong her martyrdom, had not Bossuet been beside her to lay bare the sin and danger of the position to which she clung. The victim of a passion which even neglect and contumely could not extinguish, she was subjected at every instant to the commission of some new error; surrounded by all the adventitious advantages of rank and wealth, the body was pampered even while the soul suffered; exposed to the malice of a powerful enemy, her worst passions were excited against others, when she should only have been weeping over her own sins: in short, in her present position, the world was in her and about her; she clung to possibilities instead of reading the stern lessons of the past, and forgot the promises of heaven in the deceits of earth.

As she listened to his exhortation, the heart-broken penitent resolved at once to escape from the yoke which had pressed upon her so heavily—the yoke of sin, whose ways had been bitterness; but Bossuet would not consent to permit a merely impulsive sacrifice, and condemned her to another year of trial. The period was not quite accomplish-

ed when the strength of the unhappy woman suddenly failed, and a long and dangerous illness supervened, during which her life was for many days in danger.

Even the supreme egotism of Louis XIV. gave way when he learned her peril, and he visited what was at the moment considered to be her death-bed, accompanied, not by Madame de Montespan, but by Madame de Maintenon, who exhibited the most sincere sympathy for the sufferer. But such a demonstration of interest came too late. La Vallière had found herself at the very gates of the grave and felt the enormity of her transgression. Some human shrinkings there were still—some clingings to the ties and temptations of a world by which she had once been worshiped; but they were weakened alike by bodily suffering and by mental remorse, and although she still struggled on for a few weeks, her resolution had become decided.

In vain did the king represent to her the extreme austerity of the order which she had selected, and bid her make choice of any of the richest abbeys of France, declaring that she should become the abbess of whichever she might prefer; La Vallière declined to avail herself of this last mark of consideration, alledging that she who had not been able to govern herself was ill calculated to undertake the control of others; and this painful interview once over, she hastened to take leave of her children, her worst and greatest trial, and to send them away from her, for she feared to expose herself to their presence and caresses, lest her heart should fail her at the last moment. This done, all that remained to be accomplished was comparatively easy; for she regulated her worldly affairs like one in a dream, without a tear or a regret.

On the day which preceded that of her retreat she went at an early hour to the apartment of the queen, where, throwing herself upon her knees, she implored her pardon for all the sorrow she had caused her; when Maria Theresa, moved to tears, raised her up and embraced her, de-

siring that she would, like herself, forget the past errors for which she was about so nobly to atone.

The fatal day at length dawned, and by a singular coincidence Louis XIV. was to depart immediately after the grand mass to join the army in Flanders, at the same moment that the forsaken favorite was to set out for the living grave to which she had herself consigned her youth. Throughout the whole of the service she remained in deep and earnest prayer, and never once raised her eyes; but, at its conclusion, as she advanced to the tribune to take leave of the king, her countenance was as pale as death, and she staggered, and must have fallen had she not been supported by her mother.

This weakness was, however, not contagious. The eye of Louis was dry, and his voice firm, as he bade her farewell and expressed a hope that she would be happy in her cloister; after which he stood composedly to see her enter her carriage with a tottering step and drive away. Not a sign of emotion escaped him, and the equipage had no sooner disappeared than he entered into conversation with those about his person as calmly as though he had never loved the unhappy woman whose life was to be thenceforward one of trial and privation.

On arriving at the grate where the superior of the Carmelites was awaiting her at the head of her community, the repentant sinner cast herself upon her knees, declaring that she had hitherto made so ill a use of her will that she came to resign it up into the hands of the abbess forever, and entreated that, even during the year of her novitiate, she might be permitted to wear the dress of the order.

Nothing could be more exemplary than her resignation —nothing more unaffected than her piety. The hard and narrow pallet, the vigorous fasting, and the hours of unbroken silence exacted by the order, awoke no murmur upon her lips. She complained only of the flat and unwieldy sandals by which her feet were wounded and her

thoughts occupied, when she would fain have detached them wholly from earth. The visits of the court were irksome to her; she longed to be more thoroughly severed from her memories of the past, and, in the extent of her humility, had requested permission from the abbess to profess as a lay-sister, which was, however, refused, her strength not being considered equal to the life of labor which such a vow would have entailed.

All the trials of the sister Louisa of Mercy, however —for such was the name of her adoption—were not destined to end at the dark portal which she was never again to cross.

The death of her brother, the Marquis de Vallière, was a heavy blow, for which she was wholly unprepared; and, seven years subsequently, that of her son, the Count de Vermandois, grand-admiral of France, was announced to her by Bossuet. For a moment she stood motionless, as if turned suddenly to stone, with her hands tightly clasped together, and her pale face bent down upon her bosom; but in the next instant she rallied, and raising her large blue eyes to heaven, she said, in a resigned and humble accent, "It would ill become me to weep over the death of a son whose birth I have not yet ceased to mourn."

For six-and-thirty dreary years did the hitherto delicate and pampered duchess exist amid the privations, hardships, and austerity of a convent, increasing, whenever she was permitted to do so, every humiliation and every fatigue; until at length the death for which she sighed finally released her from all further suffering, in her sixty-sixth year, in the arms of the daughter whom she had so fondly loved, bequeathing to her affection a memory which had been purified by piety and prayer.

Something so gentle and so touching is attached to the name of La Vallière, despite her error, and this second phase of her life awakens so deep and sincere an interest, that we have permitted ourselves to dwell on it at con-

siderable length, feeling that we shall be pardoned for our prolixity.

Return we now, however, to the current of our narrative.

The invasion of Holland, which had originated in vanity, and which Louis XIV. had fondly believed would be readily accomplished, changed the whole aspect of affairs in Europe. When he crossed the Rhine all the neighboring nations were his allies; but the uncompromising display of power which he had deemed it expedient to make on that occasion had convinced them of their individual danger, should they persist in a neutrality which must tend at once to increase his strength and to weaken their own means of resistance. Spain was the first to declare itself; after which Germany, which had already assumed a menacing attitude, took up arms, and marched upon the invading army; and ultimately England joined the league.

The war had thus become European; and France, instead of finding herself in a position to annihilate a petty republic, was suddenly opposed to three powerful nations, while Sweden alone had remained faithful to its engagements. It therefore became necessary for Louis to accomplish a peace; but as he saw that a general treaty would only involve endless negotiations from the conflicting interests of the coalesced powers, he instructed his plenipotentiaries to treat with each cabinet separately. Holland, exhausted by the previous struggle, and mistrustful of William of Orange, who was about to form an alliance with the eldest daughter of the Duke of York, was the first to accept a peace; Spain followed, and ultimately Germany; but Louis was compelled to make many concessions in order to effect his purpose. The treaties were, however, finally signed, that with the emperor being designated the peace of Nimègue.

The war had in no degree interrupted the progress

of art and literature in the capital; the drama flourished; Racine, Corneille, and Molière continued their glorious rivalry; the first was firmly maintaining the supremacy which his youth had for a time tended to cloud; the second, despite his seventy-five years, still retained a portion of the force of his earlier age; while Molière was on the very pinnacle of his greatness. The author of *Britannicus* had, moreover, blent wisdom with his wit, and taught even Louis XIV. a lesson by which he did not fail to profit. On the first representation of this drama, which took place in the presence of the king, he was startled by the following lines, which he at once appropriated:—

> "His great ambition and his highest aim
> To guide his car triumphal through the ring;
> To strive for gauds unworthy of his hands,
> And be himself a spectacle to Rome."

From the moment in which these words fell upon his ear, Louis XIV. determined never again to dance in a ballet, and he maintained his resolution.*

An actual tragedy, meanwhile, took place in Paris, which produced a powerful effect all over the kingdom. The Chevalier de Rohan,† exasperated by his exile from the court, full of ambition, and eager for notoriety, had entered into a conspiracy with Spain, which was intended to overthrow the monarchy and to render France a republic.

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

† Louis, Prince de Rohan, better known as *The Chevalier*, was born in 1635, and was the son of Louis de Rohan, Duke de Montbazon, Prince de Guemenée. Appointed grand-master of the hunt in 1656, on the death of his father, and subsequently colonel of the guards, he rendered himself conspicuous at the court of Louis XIV., by his adventurous intrigues and his ruinous expenditure. Exiled by Louis XIV., who suspected him of encouraging the vicious tastes of his brother, Philip d'Orleans, he entered into a conspiracy which had for its object to place the Spaniards in possession of several of the fortresses in Normandy.

Overwhelmed with debt, sacrificing every thing to the gratification of the moment, and without any settled principle, he was open to every temptation which promised to reinstate his shattered fortunes. The Prince and Princess de Soubise,* hopeless of reclaiming him by remonstrance or example, had utterly estranged themselves from his interest, and never mentioned his name; and thus he became a traitor to his king without even the apology of a mistaken patriotism.

The citizens of Messina, exasperated against Don Diego de Soria, their governor, had cast off the Spanish yoke, and offered their allegiance to the crown of France, which had received and welcomed its new ally—a circumstance so disloyal in the eyes of the King of Spain, that he resolved at the first opportunity to avenge it. The disposition of Rohan was well known, nor were his embarrassments matter of less notoriety; and the Marchioness de Villars was commissioned by the Count de Monterey to offer to the chevalier alike a guaranty for his personal safety, and a promise of abundant remuneration, should he consent to head the conspiracy. Madame de Villars was a desperate gambler, and a woman devoid alike of principle and modesty, who, as an earnest of the goodwill of Spain toward its agents, received twenty thousand crowns on undertaking the commission, with the promise of a million, should the conspiracy prove a successful one; and she exerted her influence so skillfully, that she not only induced M. de Rohan to accept the offer which she was authorized to make, but also to be guided in every respect by her counsels.

She it was who conducted the ciphered correspondence between the chevalier and the court of Spain, and was the soul of the intrigue; but as it was above all essential to secure an intelligent and trustworthy courier, she introduced to De Rohan a ci-devant schoolmaster who was at

* Heads of the Rohan family.

that period residing at Picpus; and accompanied by this individual the chevalier privately met the Count de Monterey in Flanders, where it was agreed between them that on a certain day, at the hour when the tide would serve, Admiral Tromp with his fleet should arrive in the harbor of Honfleur or Quillebœuf in Normandy; and that, at a given signal, La Truaumont,* the Chevalier de Préaux, and De Rohan himself, should deliver up both the port and the town to the King of Spain.

The plot was, however, discovered before it had ripened; and the conspirators were arrested, conveyed to Paris, and put upon their trial as traitors at the Tournelle.† The previous popularity, the ancient name, and, above all, the fearful memories called up by this impeachment, of the sufferings of the nobility under Richelieu, created universal consternation; and every exertion was made to induce the clemency of the king, but he remained inflexible. The marchioness and the two chevaliers lost their heads, and the schoolmaster was hanged; while La Truaumont, who was in the very pride of his youth and strength, avoided the scaffold by resisting his jailers so desperately as to lose his life in the struggle.‡

New, and even more alarming circumstances were, however, taking place at this period, which soon withdrew the attention of the court from the fate of M. de Rohan and his colleagues, and turned their thoughts upon their own safety.

To the tragical death of the Princess Henrietta had succeeded many others, all sudden, mysterious, and inexplicable; in many cases they had occurred at the precise moment in which individual vengeance would seem to

* Son of a councilor in the Chamber of Accounts.

† The Tournelle was a parliamentary tribunal, composed of a given number of judges, taken in rotation from the Upper Chamber and the Chambers of Inquiry, for the purpose of trying criminal causes.

‡ Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

nave called them down, and yet no trace of foul play could be detected. The dead lay calm, and apparently untouched by human hands; but it was, nevertheless, impossible to doubt the agency of poison, and the public were the more confirmed in their suspicion by the fact that this fearful crime had latterly made considerable progress in the kingdom. Even during the period of civil war so treacherous a weapon had been unknown, and by a singular fatality its use had been withheld until a time when France was reveling in pleasure and renown, even as it had previously reserved its mysterious horrors for the palmy days of the Roman republic.

CHAPTER XIV.

Discovery of the Criminals—The Marchioness de Brinvilliers—La Voisin and La Vigoreaux—Fiendish Association—Public Excitement—Arrest of suspected Persons—Wit of the Duchess de Bouillon—Flight of Madame de Soissons; her Arrival in Spain; Distrust of the Spanish Monarch; her Favor with the Queen—The Marriage of Maria Louisa d'Orleans and Charles II. of Spain; her Repugnance to the Alliance—Intimacy of Madame de Soissons and the German Ambassador—Death of the Queen by Poison—Evasion of Madame de Soissons; her Death at Brussels; her utter Destitution—Trial of the Duke de Luxembourg; his noble Defense, and partial Acquittal—Execution of La Vigoreaux—Diabolical End of La Voisin—Family of Louis XIV.—The Dauphin; his Betrothal—Court Appointment of Madame de Maintenon—Inveteracy of Madame de Montespan—Indignation of the King—The old Favorite and the new one; their Interview—Household of the Dauphiness—Arrival of the Princess—The military Confessor—Portrait of the Dauphiness by Madame de Sévigné—The royal Marriage—Children of the Duchess de la Vallière—Mademoiselle de Blois; she marries the Prince de Conti—The Marriage—The Count de Vermandois; his Profligacy; his Imprisonment—Children of Madame de Montespan—The Count de Vexin—The Duke du Maine—Mademoiselle de Nantes—Mortifications of Madame de Montespan; her scandalous Revenge; her

Protégé—Mademoiselle de Fontanges; her Portrait—Infatuation of the King—Gayety of the Court—Mademoiselle de Fontanges created a Duchess; her Levity and Exactions—Contempt of the Queen—Frivolous Ostentation of the new Mistress—Vindictiveness of Madame de Montespan—Père la Chaise—A royal Dilemma—The Mediatrix—Insolence of Madame de Fontanges; her Egotism—A King's Refuge—Accouchement of Madame de Fontanges; her Sickness; her Retreat; her Death—Indecent Joy of Madame de Montespan—Accusation against her—The Dead forgotten.

THE public mind might have remained upon the rack for an indefinite period on the subject of these frightful visitations, which spared neither sex nor rank, had not the confessional enabled the Grand Penitentiary of Paris to ascertain the use of poison in several different instances; and the increase of the crime became so rapid and so alarming, that he considered it his duty to apprise the authorities of the fact. Immediate investigations were set on foot in consequence, by which it was elicited that two Italians, named Exili and Destinelli, after having labored for a considerable time in pursuit of the philosopher's stone, in connection with a German apothecary, and sacrificed in this useless speculation the little money they possessed, had endeavored to recruit their finances by the fabrication of subtil and fatal poisons, which they vended secretly, and of which the most frightful feature existed in the circumstance that they left no outward trace of their agency.

These men were at once committed to the Bastille, where Destinelli shortly afterward died; while Exili remained a prisoner, although he was never convicted of the crime of which he was accused, and employed himself, even in his cell, in imparting to some of his former associates the fatal secret by which he had convulsed the capital. The celebrated Marchioness de Brinvilliers was one of the first to profit by this fearful knowledge to the destruction of half her family; but her history is matter of such notoriety that we shall simply glance at the fact.

while it will be expedient to be more explicit as regards some individuals of inferior rank, who, not content with employing their secret for the purposes of personal vengeance, made a traffic of their iniquitous knowledge to an extent which infested the whole capital.

La Voisin, a popular fortune-teller, who was consulted by all the high nobility of Paris, was the first to venture upon this diabolical trade; she saw at a glance how much her reputation must profit by so sure an opportunity of realizing her own predictions; and, ere long, she not only foretold to expectant heirs the speedy removal of their wealthy kindred, but she even undertook to insure to them the exact period when they should enter upon their inheritance; and as her pledge was almost universally redeemed, she found the number of her clients increase so rapidly that she was compelled to take into her confidence another fortune-teller, named La Vigoreaux, and two priests, Lesage and d'Avaux.

This fiendish association was no sooner formed than Paris was inundated with murder. No precaution sufficed for safety. Death lurked in every object of daily use—a glove, a perfume, a glass of water, or a missal, each in its turn did the work of the conspirators. Friends shrunk from receiving the gifts of friends; fathers looked with suspicion upon the hospitality of their sons, and sons in their turn forbore to grasp the hand of their fathers; the young beauty shuddered at the cosmetics upon her toilet, and the grave matron at the relics upon her rosary; the soldier could not handle his weapon without suspicion, and magistrates bent with dread over their parchments.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the morals of these wretched women were of the most depraved description; and that, as they had no scruples of conscience to contend against, the evil continued to increase from day to day. They sold different liquids, essences, pomatums, and perfumed toys; and under cover of this commerce they

attracted to their residence persons of every rank, from the prince to the artisan, and from the duchess to the courtesan.

It was impossible that such a state of things as this could be suffered to exist; even the king trembled in his gilded chambers; and it was accordingly decided that a *Chambre Ardente** should be immediately established, with full power to enter upon the trial of all suspected persons. The parliament complained of this exceptional assembly as an encroachment upon its privileges; but, in reply, it was informed that, as in all probability many of the highest personages of the realm might prove to be more or less implicated, it was necessary that the tribunal should hold its sittings with as much secrecy as those of Venice and Madrid; and it was accordingly established at the Arsenal near the Bastille.†

La Voisin, La Vigoreaux, and the two priests were first arrested, the extreme popularity of their establishment having at length excited the suspicion of the police, who soon discovered that it was the center of intrigue and seduction, and that their commerce, apparently so trivial and innoxious, was, in fact, a barter of death for gold. Along with them were also arrested a number of the very dregs of the people, who, having been convicted of the same unholy traffic, were summarily put to death; while, although the examination of the original criminals did not transpire, it soon became apparent that they had also implicated many persons of high rank.

Monsieur, it was asserted, had twice visited the wizards, and had repaid their revelations by sums nearly amounting

* The *Chambre Ardente* was a meeting established in each parliament by Francis II. for the extirpation of heresy, whose sentences were beyond appeal, and in most cases immediately put in force. The tribunal of poison, under Louis XIV., assumed the same name from the fact of its awarding punishment by fire.

† Siècle de Louis XIV.

to five thousand pistoles; but he had simply sought to obtain information as to the fidelity of his first wife. The queen had also, in her turn, on one occasion consulted La Voisin, although merely from curiosity to see a person who occupied so much of the public attention; and upon the witch proposing to supply her with a philter which would compel the affection of the king, fearing to endanger the health of His Majesty, she had refused to receive it, and had never seen her again. The Countess de Soissons had been less scrupulous—it was known that she had visited the house of La Voisin more than thirty times, and had also admitted her to her own apartments. Her principal aim, it was said, had, however, been to possess herself of the immense inheritance of her uncle, the cardinal, to the exclusion of his other relatives, and to regain her influence over the monarch; for which purpose she had delivered to the sorceress many articles of apparel which he had worn, and even, as it was asserted, a lock of his hair, and some drops of his blood in a small phial.

Fouquet, it was also ascertained, had, previously to his arrest, been in frequent communication with La Voisin, upon whom he ultimately settled an annuity which was, even at that period, continued by his family.

The Count de Bussy Rabutin, the Duke de Lauzun, the Duchess de Bouillon, the Duke de Luxembourg, and the Cardinal de Bouillon, had each in their turn been guilty of the same imprudence, but, like *Monsieur*, for the most puerile purposes; and only three persons of the court were cited before the judges—the Duchess de Bouillon, the Countess de Soissons, and the Marshal de Luxembourg. The accusation brought against the duchess was a mere absurdity, quite beyond the jurisdiction of any law court, but she nevertheless obeyed the summons without opposition; and, upon being asked by M. de la Reynie, the lieutenant of police who presided, if she had ever seen the devil, whose apparition La Voisin was accused of calling

up, she answered calmly, "No, sir; I had not previously seen him, but I do so at this moment; he is very ugly, and disguised as a councilor of state."

The examination was not pursued.

Madame de Soissons was not even subjected to this ordeal; for the king, from respect to the memory of her uncle, directed her to be informed that if she felt herself guilty of the charges which were about to be brought against her, he advised her to leave the country without delay: to which she replied that, although innocent, she had such a horror of a court of justice that she preferred banishment to subjecting herself to its power; and she accordingly retired to Brussels, after having been compelled to dispose of her charge as controller of the queen's household, which was purchased by Madame de Montespan; while at the same period the king appointed Madame de Maintenon mistress of the wardrobe to the Dauphiness Mary Anne Christina Victoria of Bavaria, whose hand he had already demanded for his son, from her father, the Elector Ferdinand

M. de Soissons had died in a sudden and mysterious manner while serving with the army in Germany, in 1673, and suspicion had been excited that in his case poison had also been employed, while it was murmured that the countess was not guiltless of the crime; but as her favor at court appeared at that time to be firmly reëstablished, no one ventured to accuse her openly. She remained but a short time in Brussels, and then proceeded to Spain, to the great astonishment of her friends, who, aware that foreign princes were not acknowledged in that kingdom, were at a loss to imagine her motive; feeling that to a woman of her haughty disposition, who had been preëminently pertinacious on the subject of her rank, it must be a sensible mortification to find herself treated as a mere private individual.

Maria Louisa d'Orleans, the daughter of the unfortunate Princess Henrietta, who had, in 1679, reluctantly given her hand to Charles II., was at that period Queen of Spain.

Originally intended by Louis XIV. to become the wife of the dauphin, she had been reared in that expectation, and had exerted herself to attain all the accomplishments necessary to adorn so exalted a station. Young, beautiful, and graceful as her mother, whom she strikingly resembled, she had already secured the admiration of the whole court and the affection of the king; when, remembering that this alliance would necessarily greatly tend to increase the influence of his brother, not only over the dauphin himself, but also over the ministers, Louis determined otherwise, and at once acceded to the demand of her hand made by the Spanish monarch.

This intelligence was a heavy blow to the princess; and when she was compelled by etiquet to appear at Versailles to make her acknowledgments to the king, her uncle, her agitation was so great that she could scarcely articulate, while large tears chased each other down her pale cheeks. It was nevertheless certain that it was her country and the court which she regretted rather than the dauphin himself, who was ill calculated to gain the affections of a refined and sensitive woman. As he approached in his turn to congratulate her, and a slight flush had already risen to her brow, the blood was forced back to her heart by the first words he uttered.

"My dear cousin," said the witless prince, "I am quite anxious for you to arrive in Spain, that you may send me some *toura*. I am so fond of it." The king bit his lip; and, taking the hand of the trembling princess, said how much he grieved to see her tears, and that he begged her to remember that he had made her Queen of Spain, and could have done no more for his own daughter.

"That is true, sire," sobbed out the victim of his policy, "but you might have done more for your niece!"

Maria Louisa was married in state in the great chapel at St. Germain, where the Cardinal de Bouillon, as grand-almoner of France, performed the service; after which,

with painful and undisguised reluctance, she departed for Madrid. Her youth and beauty at once secured the affections of her husband, who, although bigoted and constitutionally melancholy, soon loved her with a sincere and absorbing passion which rendered him suspicious of all who approached her; indeed, her empire over the heart of Charles became ultimately so great that the cabinet of Vienna were alarmed lest she should, from her affection for her native country, exert her influence to induce her husband to declare in favor of France against them selves.

The Count de Mansfeld was German ambassador at Madrid at the period when the Countess de Soissons arrived at that court, and an intimacy was immediately established between them; while the unfortunate young queen, who clung to every thing which could remind her of her home, expressed the greatest desire to see and converse with her. In vain did the king, who had heard the history of her past career, and who had already been warned that the queen had numerous and dangerous enemies, endeavor to combat this inclination; the entreaties of Maria Louisa were so earnest that he at length consented to the reception of the countess, but still only on condition that she should be privately introduced into the palace by a back stair-case, and in his own presence; but as the society of the courtly exile became more and more agreeable to the queen, and that he could not on all occasions be at her side, he at length conceded that she should continue to see the countess, provided that she would promise not to partake of any food from her hands which he had not previously tasted in his own person—a pledge which was given more carelessly than it was demanded.

On one occasion, overcome by the heat of the weather, the queen, who chanced to be alone with her new friend, remarked how much she regretted the scarcity of milk at Madrid, and how greatly she should enjoy a long draught

at such a moment, when she was almost fainting from the exhaustion produced by the sultriness of the atmosphere; upon which the Countess de Soissons assured her that she knew where to procure some which was excellent, and that, with Her Majesty's permission, she would in a few minutes have it iced and bring it to her with her own hands. The queen eagerly consented, and Madame de Soissons immediately leaving the palace, drove, as it was asserted, to the residence of the Count de Mansfeld. She was not long absent; and Maria Louisa, receiving with a smile of acknowledgment the coveted beverage, swallowed it at a draught.

In half an hour she was dangerously indisposed.

Amid the confusion consequent on this event the countess contrived to leave the palace and return home, where her baggage being already prepared, she forthwith escaped from the capital. The king, apprised of all the circumstances, sent in pursuit of her without loss of time, but unavailingly. Her arrangements had been so long and so skillfully made that it was found impossible to overtake her. The queen died in a few hours in the same agony as her mother had previously done, and was mourned by the whole kingdom; while the countess made the best of her way to Germany, where for a short time she lived in retirement, although the Count de Mansfeld was recalled and appointed to one of the first posts at the court of Vienna. Ultimately, however, when the Spanish monarch contracted a new alliance with a German princess, Madame de Soissons obtained permission to return to Flanders, and in the year 1708 died at Brussels, poor, despised, and forsaken, not only by all who had formerly been her friends, but even by her son, the Prince Eugène; and so great were her necessities during the latter period of her life, that on one occasion she was driven to apply for assistance to the Duke de Mazarin, who sent her two thousand francs for her support.

The Duke de Luxembourg,* who, when first accused, instantly delivered himself up, had been sent to the Bastille by his enemy, Louvois, to await his trial; where, not content with depriving him of his liberty, he caused him to be confined in a cell only six feet in length, and it was from this narrow dungeon that he passed to the tribunal. The first interrogatory addressed to him was still more unfortunate than that which had been put to the Duchess de Bouillon; for he was asked if he had not entered into a compact with the devil, in order to effect the marriage of his son with the daughter of the Marquis de Louvois.

"Sir," replied the marshal, with a gesture of supreme disdain, "when Matthew de Montmorency married the widow of Louis le Gros, he did not address himself to the devil, but to the States-General; who declared that in order to secure to the infant king the support of the Montmorencies during his minority the marriage was a matter of necessity."†

His acquittal followed on the instant; but he neverthe less remained a prisoner for many months.

La Vigoreaux was hanged, after having been subjected to the most rigorous torture, which failed to extort a confession of her crimes or a revelation of her secret, and died with a courage worthy of a better cause. The death of La Voisin was still more frightful. After having under gone the question, both ordinary and extraordinary, by which every bone in her body was broken, and all trace of her humanity almost destroyed, she continued to utter oaths and blasphemies, at which even the soldiers by whom she was guarded were appalled, and as the flames reached her, poured forth her last breath in a hideous oath.

At this period a death took place which must not be left unnoticed. It was that of the Cardinal de Retz, who, during his sojourn at Rome, had contested the popedom with

* Francis Henry de Montmorency Bouteville, duke, peer, and marshal of France.

† Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

Innocent XI., and even obtained eight votes, but who had returned to Paris three years previously, only to die amid the scenes in which he had once acted so prominent a part, and to take his final leave of a world by which for the last twenty years he had been almost forgotten.

Turn we now to the immediate family of Louis XIV. The unfortunate queen, after becoming the mother of six children, had at this period only one surviving son, the dauphin, whose governor was the Duke de Montausier, and his preceptor Bossuet. His character was one of those singular anomalies which almost defy analysis. Incapable of either affection or hostility, he was the slave of every impulse. The example of his guardians had inspired him with a few amiable qualities, but his natural vices defied eradication, and were only subdued by discipline, but never corrected. His constitutional tendencies were all evil; his greatest pleasure consisted in annoying those about him; but occasionally, as the precepts of his instructors flashed upon his memory, he did not hesitate to compensate the person he had offended. Those who were the most conversant with his humor could never guess the temper of his mind; he laughed the loudest, and affected the greatest amiability when he was the most exasperated; and scowled defiance when he was perfectly unruffled. He could not be esteemed intellectual, although he occasionally exhibited a quickness of perception which astonished those about him. His only talent, if it deserve so to be designated, was a keen sense of the ridiculous, not only as regarded others, but even himself. Nothing escaped him that could be tortured into sarcasm, although no one could have guessed, from his abstracted and careless demeanor, that he was conscious of any thing that was taking place in his presence.

His greatest terror existed in the idea he must one day become the sovereign of France; not because such a circumstance would necessarily involve the death of his father,

but simply that he shrunk from the exertion which the responsibility must entail upon him. His indolence was so extreme that he constantly neglected the most important duties; and his favorite amusement was lying stretched upon a sofa, tapping the points of his shoes with a cane. Never, to the very day of his death, had even his most intimate associates heard him express an opinion upon any subject relating either to art, literature, or politics. Nevertheless, when he did exert himself to speak, and that he was in the humor to do so, his expressions were well chosen, and even elegant; while, on other occasions, he talked like an idiot. One day he uttered sentiments which gave earnest of the most tolerant and liberal ideas, and the next he declaimed like a tyrant who had no sympathies with his fellow-men. He made no favorites, but was not the less jealous of the attachment of every one by whom he was approached. His greatest ambition was to conceal his real feelings, and nothing annoyed him so much as to discover that they had been understood. Humble and timid before his father, he never ventured to assert his privileges as dauphin of France; the only person toward whom he ever betrayed a dislike being Madame de Maintenon, while even this aversion was accompanied by the most perfect submission to her will.*

In person he was somewhat above the middle height, stout, without being heavy; with a lofty carriage, and without any thing repulsive in his manner. His face would have been pleasing, had not the Prince de Conti, when wrestling with him in their boyhood, given him a fall which broke his nose. His hair was a fine shade of auburn, his face full and healthy, but totally without expression, his limbs finely formed, and his feet small and slender.

At the close of the year 1679, Louis XIV. demanded for him, as we have elsewhere stated, the hand of the Princess Mary Anne of Bavaria; and as the monarch had always

* Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

asserted that personal beauty was essential to the wife of every prince likely to be called to a throne, great curiosity was excited by the announcement of the negotiation. It was fated, however, to signal disappointment by the declaration of Louis, that his selection of the Bavarian princess had been entirely dictated by policy—that she was not handsome, but that he trusted MONSEIGNEUR would be able to live happily with her. The miniature which had been forwarded to France, although evidently flattered, presented a plain, and even a repelling countenance, with deeply sunk eyes, alike cold and stern in their expression; but the dauphin was altogether careless upon the subject; and, after having inquired if his intended bride were free from any deformity, and receiving an assurance to that effect, he asked no further questions.

The appointment of Madame de Maintenon to the distinguished post of mistress of the robes to the dauphiness greatly excited the wrath of Madame de Montespan, who witnessed with ill-concealed uneasiness the rapid progress which "the widow Scarron" was making in the favor of the king; and she even ventured, as Louis recapitulated to her the members of the new household, to indulge in an impatient gesture, which did not escape his notice. He immediately demanded to whom, among those he had named, she had taken exception, remarking that they were all persons for whom he cherished a sincere esteem, and that he could only pity her if she did not entertain the same feeling toward each and all of them. Carried away by her jealousy, she nevertheless replied, with considerable asperity, that she could not approve the selection of Madame de Maintenon, as it was impossible for the courts, either of France or Bavaria, to have forgotten the ridiculous name of the poet Scarron.

The time was, however, past when Louis could be turned from his purpose by a sarcasm from her lips; and he consequently observed, with considerable coldness, that it

behooved every one to forget what he had himself forgotten, and that he was astonished she should take pleasure in overlooking circumstances which his gratitude had fixed unalterably in his own memory. Undaunted even by this reproof, the haughty marquise retorted by declaring that she was aware, and ready to acknowledge, that Madame de Maintenon had nursed her children with care and fidelity; but that as she had received a marquisate as her recompense, and moreover a superb hôtel at Versailles, she had no right either to complain, or to expect further benefits.

More and more irritated by the tone of dictation assumed by his mistress, the king remarked severely that the estate of Maintenon barely compensated her care of the sickly childhood of the two Counts de Vexin, and that Madame de Montespan would do well to remember that she had also educated four others, for which she still remained unrecompensed.

At this rejoinder the patience of his interlocutor fairly gave way. "Give her, then," she exclaimed angrily, "another estate and a sum of money; for it is by money that services like hers should be requited; but why should you invest her with an important office, and retain her at court? She dotes, as she declares, upon her old castle of Maintenon; do not deprive her of such an enjoyment. If you make her mistress of the robes, you will thwart her inclinations."

"In that case," said the king, with an ambiguous smile as he rose to leave the apartment; "she will accept the appointment *to oblige me.*"

Baffled, but not discouraged, Madame de Montespan next endeavored to persuade the stately gouvernante to decline the honor which had been proposed to her, and by which the independence for which she had so long sighed would once more be utterly sacrificed; but the wily favorite was destined to be as unsuccessful in the one attempt

as in the other; in vain did she represent the incompatibility of sincere religion with the etiquet, the ceremonials, and the restraint of a court; Madame de Maintenon meekly replied that true piety depended upon the heart alone, and was independent of external circumstances; that her first duty was obedience to the king her master; and that should it be indeed the pleasure of His Majesty to elevate her to so responsible an office as that named by the marquise, she did not consider that she possessed any right to combat his will.

In short, it was evident that the offer had been already made and accepted; and Madame de Montespan, fearful of still further irritating the monarch, was compelled to conceal her annoyance as she best could, and to terminate the visit without having accomplished her object.*

This was the period of struggle between the two former friends; but Madame de Montespan, although she resolved not to yield, could no longer conceal from herself that she was rapidly losing ground in the affections of her royal admirer; for not only had she to contend against the sound judgment and high reputation of Madame de Maintenon herself, but also against a preference less worthy than that which this lady had secured by the propriety of her conduct and the value of her services. The haughty favorite had already reached her thirty-ninth year, and although still handsome and fascinating, she had lost the charm of youth, and it was evident that Louis still clung to her rather as the mother of his children than from any more tender feeling; while the court was radiant with grace and beauty, and all eyes, as he was well aware, were turned toward himself.

One of the most earnest candidates for his favor was the Princess de Rohan-Soubise, who was, indeed, so certain of her power that she even ventured, in her turn, to assert her claim in defiance of that of Madame de Maintenon, and to apply to the king for the appointment which he had re-

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

solved to bestow upon the latter; but her letter remained unanswered, and, in the height of her indignation, she made so indecent a display of her claims upon the monarch that she received an order to leave the court.

Louis XIV. had now attained his forty-second year, and found himself even less disposed than he had previously been to remain subject to the caprices of a tyrannical and exacting woman. More than once he made an effort to separate himself entirely from Madame de Montespan, and to induce her to retire to one of her estates; but the force of habit was still too strong upon him, and her reproaches and remonstrances only tended to lead him into new errors, even while the violence of her temper added to his actual estrangement.

The births of her last two children had, greatly to her annoyance, been as sedulously concealed from the knowledge of the public as those of the Count de Vexin and the Duke du Maine, and the king had to support all the effects of her irritation. Their quarrels became frequent; and, in the height of passion, the marchioness spared neither sarcasm nor insult. On these occasions Louis found a refuge and a consolation in the friendship of Madame de Maintenon, who, even while she soothed his wounded vanity, never failed to remind him that these mortifications had been the result of his own excesses; and thus he became gradually accustomed to hear his conduct canvassed and condemned without resentment. The esteem which he had learned to feel for his new monitor gave additional weight to her respectful but firm admonitions; while the playfulness of her conversation, at other moments, rendered her society a constant resource.

The contrast between the former friends was, consequently, striking, and its effect dangerously inimical to Madame de Montespan, who became conscious that each day increased the influence of her adversary, while her own star paled in the same proportion. The king began to ob-

serve with less attention the courtesies of society when he compelled himself to visit her; he exaggerated his politeness and diminished his respect. As he always remained a given time in her apartments, the last ten minutes were invariably spent in watching the progress of the time-piece upon her mantel; and he took occasion, at no very rare intervals, to dilate upon her defects, and to criticise her temper.*

Thus were things situated when the appointments to the household of the dauphiness having been publicly announced, the most magnificent preparations were put in progress for her reception, and among these none were more splendid than the costumes of Madame de Maintenon, which were covered with jewels and embroidery in gold and silver. There can be no doubt that this profusion was the will of the king rather than that of the *Dame d'Atours* herself, who had retained until that period the primitive attire in which she first appeared at court—a pertinacity which was, however, doubtlessly to be attributed as much to a refined coquetry as to a natural preference for so lugubrious an attire; for Madame de Maintenon, although in her forty-fifth year, had lost no charm save that of youth, which had been replaced by a stately grace and a dignified self-possession that rendered it almost impossible to regret the lighter and less finished attractions of buoyancy and display. Her hands and arms were singularly beautiful, her eyes had lost nothing of their fire, her voice was harmoniously modulated, and there was, in the whole of her demeanor, an unstudied ease which was as far removed from presumption as from servility.

Such was Madame de Maintenon at the period of the dauphin's marriage, and even her jealous rival was betrayed into the declaration that she "pitied the young foreigner, who could not fail to be eclipsed, in every way, by her mistress of the robes."

* Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

At the commencement of the year 1680 Madame de Maintenon and M. Bossuet proceeded to Schelestadt to receive the future dauphiness, whose advent in France was rendered more than usually embarrassing by a circumstance which had been utterly overlooked. She had scarcely welcomed her new courtiers, and taken an hour's repose, when it became necessary for her to confess herself, before she could proceed to the ceremony of marriage by proxy; and as she was not accompanied by a domestic chaplain, and that she would not use any language but her own, the difficulty appeared for a time to be insurmountable.

Madame de Maintenon was in despair, and appealed to Bossuet, to learn whether he, who had educated the dauphin, and had written a *Discourse on Universal History*, did not understand sufficient German to relieve the princess from her dilemma; but the Bishop of Meaux excused himself from the trial, alledging that although he was familiar with Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew, he was utterly ignorant of German. A strict inquiry was then made throughout the neighborhood, and at length it was ascertained that a priest speaking the required language had been found. The punctilious mistress of the robes raised her eyes in thankfulness, and desired that he should be immediately introduced; but she almost started from her chair with horror as he entered the apartment. He was gayly attired in a colored vest, lined with silk, a flowing wig, and wore spurs upon his boots. The indignation of Madame de Maintenon was extreme, and she reproached him with considerable vehemence; but Bossuet, who was fortunately a greater casuist than herself, reminded her that, in cases of urgency, form must be disregarded; and having compelled the amphibious personage to remove his spurs, he thrust him into the confessional, and drew the curtain close; after which the Bavarian princess was apprised of his arrival, and, ignorant of the masquerade by

which her *Dame d'Atours* had just been so deeply moved, confessed the sins of her past life to the species of military-priest who had obeyed the summons of the bishop.*

The king and MONSEIGNEUR advanced as far as Vitry-le-Français to receive the dauphiness in their turn, whence they conducted her to Châlons, where the queen was awaiting her arrival. She was not, as the monarch had already declared, a beautiful woman; but she possessed a style of face which made a more favorable impression after the first interview. "She had something," as Madame de Sévigné informs us, "about her nose and forehead which was too long, and which at first produced an unpleasant effect; but she was so graceful, her hands and arms so beautiful, so fine a figure, so admirable a carriage, such handsome teeth, such magnificent hair, and so much amiability of manner, that she was courteous without being insipid, familiar without losing her dignity, and had so charming a deportment that she might be pardoned for not pleasing at first sight;" while her ready wit and perfect self-possession may be estimated by her reply to the king, when during their conversation he remarked to her that she had not mentioned the fact that her sister, the Princess of Tuscany, was extremely beautiful. "How can I remember, sire, that my sister monopolized all the beauty of the family, when I, on my part, have monopolized all its happiness."

The Cardinal de Bouillon performed the marriage ceremony in the cathedral of Châlons, and the festivals and rejoicings were continued for eight days. In order to reconcile Madame de Montespan to the new honors of her rival, Louis XIV., who was well acquainted with her judgment in all matters connected with the toilet, and especially with her knowledge of jewels, intrusted her with the preparation of the nuptial casket, which was so magnificent that it excited the jealousy of the queen, who complained

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan

loudly that the same outlay had not been made in her case, although her family was far superior to that of the dauphiness.

Agreeably surprised by the appearance and deportment of the Bavarian princess, the king devoted himself almost entirely during the first few months to render the court of France agreeable to her; but although she received these attentions with complaisance and gratitude, and appeared totally unembarrassed by the etiquet and magnificence of her new condition, it soon became evident that the perpetual whirl in which she was involved was repugnant to her tastes; and whenever she could escape for a few hours, she invariably spent them alone in her chamber, where she was surrounded by musical instruments and books in the several languages with which she was familiar;* and she did this with the less reluctance, as it was soon whispered to her that all these unwonted attentions on the part of the monarch were due to his desire of thus procuring an available method of enjoying the society of her mistress of the robes.

This intimation, in which she felt her own dignity to be involved, rendered her still less scrupulous than she might otherwise have been; and she accordingly withdrew herself gradually from the dissipations of the court, and passed the principal portion of her time in retirement. In vain did the king endeavor to render her immediate circle more cheerful, by increasing the number of her maids of honor; nothing could induce her to forego her studious and solitary habits, and the rather that Madame de Montespan had imbued her with a perfect dislike and suspicion of her rival, whose remonstrances were, consequently, treated with indifference. Ultimately, hopeless of inducing any change, either by indulgence or expostulation, Louis abandoned her to her primitive tastes, carefully observing the rules of the most punctilious politeness, but avoiding all interference with her domestic arrangements.

* Lettres de Madame de Sévigné.

There can exist no doubt, however, that the resolute retirement of the dauphiness might be attributed, in no slight degree, to the mortification which she experienced on discovering that her husband, although heir to the throne, was a mere cipher, without influence or authority, shrinking, whenever it was possible, from all contact with the monarch, utterly devoid of moral courage, and wasting his life in mindless and undignified frivolities. Her pride was hurt, and her affections wounded; she felt her position to be a false one, and had too much self-respect to accept the mere externals of her rank without their relative privileges; and thus her sole endeavor was to make the present suffice to her happiness, without any recurrence to the hopes of the past, or any anticipations on the events of the future.

Next to the dauphin followed the two legitimated children of Madame de la Vallière—Mademoiselle de Blois and the Count de Vermandois. Mademoiselle de Blois was one of the most beautiful and the most interesting women imaginable. Her figure was tall, slight, and graceful; she was highly accomplished, and the watchful care of her mother had secured to her not only an admirable education, but also a sense of self-respect and strict propriety which enhanced all her other attractions. The expression of her countenance was serious, like that of the king, to whom she bore a striking likeness: she had the same large brown eyes and Austrian lip—the same elegantly-modeled hand and slender foot, and even the same quality of voice. Several foreign princes had asked her hand; but, on every occasion, Louis XIV. had declined the proposition, declaring that the presence of his daughter was as necessary to him as light and life, and that he could not consent to her leaving France.* In 1680 the king accordingly married Mademoiselle de Blois to the Prince de Conti, the nephew of the great Condé; and we can not do better than tran-

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

scribe the brief but lively description given by Madame de Sévigné of some circumstances incident on the event.

"I as yet know nothing," she writes to her daughter, Madame de Grignan, "of what passed at the wedding; I am ignorant whether it were by sunlight or by moonlight that it took place; but I will tell you the greatest and the most extraordinary piece of news which you can learn, and that is, that the prince was shaved yesterday—actually shaved: this is not an illusion—not a thing said at random—it is a truth; all the court were witnesses to it, and Madame de Langeron, seizing her opportunity when he had his paws across like a lion, made him put on a vest with diamond button-holes; while a valet-de-chambre, also presuming upon his patience, curled his hair, powdered him, and at length compelled him to be the handsomest man at court, with a head which threw all the wigs into the shade. That was the prodigy of the marriage. The costume of the Prince de Conti was inestimable; it was an embroidery, in large diamonds, which defined all the pattern of a black velvet plush raised upon a ground of straw-color. The duke, the duchess, and Mademoiselle de Bourbon had each three dresses, trimmed with different jewels, for the three days. But I was forgetting the principal point: the sword of the prince was incrusted with diamonds.

La famosa spada
All' cui valore ogni vittoria è certa.

The lining of the mantel of the Prince de Conti was of black satin, studded with brilliants like minever. The princess was romantically beautiful, superbly dressed, and happy."

The motive which induced the House of Condé to desire this alliance was, according to Madame de Caylus, sufficiently expressed in the playful congratulation of the Count de Grammont to the bridegroom. "Sir," he said, with a smile, "I am delighted at your marriage; take my

advice: humor your father-in-law, do not cavil with him, nor take offense at small matters. Live on good terms with your new family, and take my word for it that you will find the connection a very good one."

The king caused the same ceremonies to be observed at the marriage of Mademoiselle de Blois as though he had been giving a daughter of the queen to the King of Spain. Her dower was the usual one with crowned heads, that is to say, it amounted to the sum of five hundred thousand golden crowns; which were, moreover, paid, and not a mere ornament to the contract.*

The Count de Vermandois, to whose death we have already alluded, abandoned, after the retreat of his mother, to a governor who was inadequate to the duties of his office, became haughty, presumptuous, and dissipated to so fearful a degree that the king banished him from his presence. His repentance had, however, partially restored him to favor, when sober history affirms that a sudden illness carried him off while he was serving with the army at the siege of Courtrai, in 1683. Other rumors were, nevertheless, afloat at the time; and it was asserted that having on one occasion had a dispute with the dauphin, which terminated in his striking that prince, the council assembled on the subject unanimously condemned him to death, when Louis XIV., whose paternal affection could not countenance so extreme a measure, commuted the sentence to imprisonment for life, and that, in consequence, an opportunity was taken at Courtrai of spreading the report that he was suffering under a contagious disease, which enabled those intrusted with his arrest to forbid all ingress to his tent, and, after having announced his death, to convey him privately to the island of St. Marguerite, whence he was afterward transferred to the Bastille, where he remained until 1703, under the name of the Iron Mask.†

* Lettres de Madame de Sévigné.

† Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

Madame de Montespan had become the mother of eigh- children. The elder, who was the first Count de Vexin, died in his eleventh year, from over application to his studies. Madame de Maintenon had never loved him, and he amply repaid her dislike, although he never ventured, until he was on his death-bed to express his aversion; but, when conscious that he was beyond her power, he reproached her bitterly with her harshness and her ingratitude to his mother. Two hours afterward he was a corpse.

The Duke du Maine, the especial favorite not only of the king, but, what was far more fortunate for him, of Madame de Maintenon also, was, even at the early age of thir teen, an accomplished courtier. He was slightly lame, from a fall during his infancy—a circumstance which was to him an endless source of mortification. Nothing could exceed the inherent subtilty of M. du Maine; but his intellect, no less than the graces of his person, enabled him to win the confidence of all around him. Affecting the most artless, frank, and natural demeanor, he possessed, to an extreme degree, the art of insinuating himself into the favor of those from whom he considered himself likely to obtain the greatest services, and while assuming an appearance of piety and indifference to worldly advantages, he nursed the most ambitious hopes and the most extravagant designs, which his well-acted timidity enabled him effectually to conceal. Innately malignant, envious, and false, he was profoundly deceitful, haughty, and unforgiving; while he possessed a ready wit and a fascination of manner which disarmed caution and captivated the affections of all whom he was anxious to conciliate. Of a cowardice which exceeded belief, he never hesitated to sacrifice, when he could do so without danger of detection, every thing and every body, in order to ward off from himself the effects of his own pusillanimity. His one affection was for Madame de Maintenon, to whom he was devoted; but he had little regard for his mother, looking

upon himself as wronged by the stain that rested on his birth, and which the legal legitimization bestowed upon her children by the king, could never, as he was conscious, effectually efface.

Mademoiselle de Nantes, the next in succession, although not precisely a pretty woman, was full of grace and buoyancy, and inherited much of her mother's wit and sarcasm, although she never condescended to wield those formidable weapons with the same coarseness. Slightly lame, like her brother, she nevertheless danced admirably, and managed each of her movements with so much skill, that in her case it almost appeared to be a new charm. Winning in her manners, always ready to sympathize in the amusements of her circle, and to banish all constraint wherever she appeared; totally regardless of the interests of others—a fact which was well known; but so fascinating that even those who had the greatest cause for mistrust and dislike were compelled constantly to bear their wrongs in mind lest they should be betrayed into placing themselves again in her power: she was at once a false friend and a dangerous enemy. Lively and prepossessing; gifted with a presence of mind which no circumstance could weaken; fond of frivolous amusements; proud, and implacable in her resentments; cruel in her reprisals, and regardless of the feelings of those for whom she professed the greatest regard; idolized by the king, and worshiped by the court, Mademoiselle de Nantes was alike feared and courted.

Of the remaining children of Madame de Montespan little need be said at this period. Mademoiselle de Tours died in 1681, and the Count de Toulouse and the second Mademoiselle de Blois were both still in their infancy.

Their mother continued, despite the perpetual mortifications to which she was subjected by the increasing favor of her rival, to make herself conspicuous at court by the

splendor of her appearance and the exuberance of a wit more brilliant than refined; but she was compelled to acknowledge to herself that both the one and the other had ceased to produce any effect upon the affections of the king, while she was, moreover, becoming every day more conscious that Madame de Maintenon, although five years her senior, had, from her different style of life, retained a purity of complexion and an elasticity of form which were rapidly failing in herself. The crisis was critical, but the marchioness was a person of expedients; and after having maturely reflected upon her position, and the slight probability which there existed that she should ever again be enabled to monopolize in her own person the affections of the monarch, she resolved, mortifying as was the expedient, to weaken his growing regard for Madame de Maintenon, by contrasting her matronly attractions with those of some young beauty whose charms the susceptible monarch should be unable to withstand. The personage of her drama was soon found, and this point accomplished, she lost no time in expatiating in the presence of the king and Madame de Maintenon upon the beauty of her young *protégée*. The curiosity of Louis was piqued, and he inquired the name and family of this unknown marvel.

"Her name is Fontanges," said the marchioness, "and she comes from Provence, sire, like other beautiful objects, such as silk, gold, and silver. Her parents are anxious to place her among the maids of honor of the queen; and if loveliness be a claim to the office, I will be her pledge that in that respect she is unrivaled."

Madame de Maintenon listened with calm and unmoved politeness, but without the slightest demonstration of either interest or annoyance; while the king remarked, with some bitterness, that the young person in question must indeed be something extraordinary, since even Madame de Montespan could praise her with so much

vivacity, and they should no doubt be ere `ong enabled ıo form their own judgment of her taste.

The wily marchioness had chosen her time admirably. The king was becoming weary of the familiar faces by which he was surrounded, and annoyed by the disappointment to which he had been subjected by the dauphiness. Incapable of self-amusement, and not yet sufficiently imbued with the sober tastes with which Madame de Maintenon was endeavoring to inspire him, he found his time hang heavily on his hands, and was glad of any opportunity to escape from himself. The words of Madame de Montespan, therefore, were not forgotten; and two days subsequently the destined victim accompanied her protectress to court, where her extraordinary beauty even surpassed the expectations of the monarch. It was, however, a beauty merely physical, and without one ray of intellect. Her features were as regular as those of a statue; her complexion had all the glow of her eighteen summers; her figure was at once full and flexible; and her only defect was the color of her hair, which was of too warm an auburn.

Mary Angelica d'Escorailles de Roussille, who in a month or two after her appearance at court was created Duchess de Fontanges, was so beautiful in her infancy, that it is gravely asserted as a fact, that her depraved and shameless family destined her from her very cradle to the career of unblushing profligacy, which death alone rendered less disgraceful in its duration than they had sought to make it. Her education had consequently all tended to that one point; and she was utterly devoid alike of principle and modesty. Until her eighteenth year no opportunity had occurred for bringing her under the notice of the king; when, as we have already stated, the unlooked-for agency of Madame de Montespan at once accomplished the desired object.

The modest charms of La Vallière had captured the

affections of the monarch when his passion was still the timid and self-abnegating principle of youth; the haughty beauty of Madame de Montespan had flattered the foible of his riper years, when his taste for magnificence and display had become more powerful than the mere indulgence of personal attachment. But he had now attained his forty-second year, a period at which the sentiment of the lover was absorbed in the selfishness of the voluptuary; and this was the only point of view in which the peculiar beauty of Mademoiselle de Fontanges was calculated to attract. Frivolous, fantastical, and vain, she was incapable of deep or earnest affection; but none understood better than herself the value of a glance or a gesture.

The king was instantly struck by her extraordinary loveliness, nor did he restrain his admiration even in the presence of the queen. Seizing his opportunity of approaching Madame de Montespan, who lost no time in presenting her young friend to His Majesty, he honored her with a most gracious welcome, and conversed with her for several minutes; during which time, although she had not uttered one word which was worthy to be remembered, she had smiled so sweetly, her large and languishing blue eyes had been so eloquent, the golden veil cast by her redundant hair over her brow and shoulders had so marvelously enhanced their dazzling fairness and their faultless outline, that the triumph of the marchioness was complete.

During the last six or seven years, the king, as if feeling that his age no longer authorized the frivolities in which at an earlier period he indulged so lavishly, had modified his dress; the Spanish and chivalric costume so well suited to his lofty demeanor had been gradually abandoned; the floating plumes no longer waved above his forehead; the scarf which he formerly wore diagonally across his breast was laid aside; and the gold and silver embroidery had disappeared from his boots.

Suddenly, however, all these luxuries were resumed.

The richest materials were employed upon his dress; the feathers once more decorated his beaver, and the most costly jewels blazed upon his person.

Nor was this all; for the monotony which had been for some time gradually enveloping the court was swept away like a morning mist before the sunrise of Mademoiselle de Fontanges. All the amusements of the royal circle in its most palmy days were once more in full action. Allegorical representations, concerts on the water, ballets danced to the melodies of Lully, and comedies sparkling with the humor of Molière, succeeded each other with dazzling rapidity. The saloons of the new favorite were hung with tapestry representing the victories of her royal adorer; money and jewels rained upon her footsteps, which she squandered as recklessly as they were bestowed; and Madame de Montespan, although bewildered by the result of her own intrigue, bore all with patience until the petted beauty insisted upon having her charms enhanced by the blazon of a duchess, a concession which was made within the week.

For twelve long years the marchioness had been reclaiming the same honor, pleading at one time the example of La Vallière, and at another the respect due to her children, declared princes of the blood; but although the king had humored her by affecting an assent, and even taking sundry steps toward such an object, which he was well aware would be thwarted by the marquis, he had never seriously entertained an intention of gratifying her wish. Whatever were his motives, it is certain that his will must have sufficed, and that it was never exerted.

The mortification of Madame de Montespan was accordingly severe; but she resolved to confine it to her own bosom, and not to increase the triumph of the new duchess by the spectacle of her annoyance, or to suffer it to be supposed that she could condescend to feel any jealousy of the new plaything with which she had herself provided the monarch.

Mademoiselle de Fontanges was no sooner authorized to place a ducal coronet above the lozenge of her shield, and to drape it with a peer's mantle, than her presumption exceeded all bounds. On one occasion she passed before the queen, not only without a courtesy, but even without affecting to see her. The brow of the Infanta flushed for an instant, but she silenced the murmurs of those about her by the remark that it was evident the young lady was losing her senses, or had never possessed them; and, meanwhile, Louis XIV., with whom the strict observances of etiquet had previously been as a principle of his existence, looked upon all the heartless levity of the unhappy girl without making one effort to restrain it; and, save the mere routine of public business, every thing was neglected in order that he might conduce to her amusement.

The splendid equipage of the *parvenue* duchess, with its eight white horses, was constantly to be seen in the *cours*, or the principal streets of the city, with the fair face of its beautiful owner inundated by the bright profusion of her golden hair and her floating feathers, radiant with pride and happiness, at the window, watching with delight the effect produced by her splendor.

Still, for a time, Madame de Montespan indulged a hope that the king would weary of the exacting inanity of his new idol; but it was in vain that she watched for any symptom of a change; Louis was thralled; and after wasting her sarcasms for a time, both upon the infatuated monarch and his childish mistress, she at length poured them forth, not only unsparingly, but even indecently, upon the Père la Chaise, his confessor; for whom, while he had tolerated her own excesses, she had affected both veneration and attachment.

Père la Chaise was a nephew of the famous Père Cotton, who had been confessor to Henry IV., and like him was a Jesuit. He had originally been rector of Grenoble and Lyons, and subsequently provincial of his

province.* He was of noble birth, and his family was tolerably ancient and well connected; while his father would have been wealthy, had he not been called upon to provide for twelve children. One of his brothers, who was deeply learned in the lore of dogs, horses, and field sports, was for a considerable time the equery of the Archbishop of Lyons, the brother and uncle of the Mar shals de Villeroy, and afterward Captain of the Gate, a post in which he was succeeded by his son.

The two brothers were residing at Lyons, the one as provincial, and the other as equery, when Père la Chaise was summoned to Paris, in 1675, to undertake the charge of the king's conscience, as the successor of Père Ferriez. He was, according to the testimony of St. Simon, a man of confined intellect, but of excellent disposition—upright, honest, well-judging, and gentle, and a determined enemy to all violent measures—alike honorable, just, and humane, and always affable, modest, and respectful to his superiors, as well as grateful for the services which he received from others.

With these qualities, which were, moreover, considerably counterbalanced, as regarded the duties of his vocation, by a want of firmness and moral courage, the peace-loving confessor had won distinguished favor in the eyes of Madame de Montespan while he tolerated her own intimacy with the monarch; but she no sooner perceived that he was equally pliable in the case of Mademoiselle de Fontanges than she gave free vent to her malice in a variety of witticisms too gross for repetition, and so outraged the new-made duchess, by indulging in them in her presence, that a disgraceful quarrel ensued between the two

* "Provincial" signified the superior of any religious order throughout a province, to whom the heads of the different monasteries within his jurisdiction were subject. The authority of the provincial was differently modified by the particular clauses contained in the rules and statutes of each individual order.

rivals, and Louis found himself compelled to entreat the intervention of Madame de Maintenon, who had remained perfectly passive throughout the whole intrigue.

To accomplish this end, the latter did not venture to address herself to the marchioness, for she felt the utter futility of any attempt at conciliation in that quarter; but trusting to the youth of Mademoiselle Fontanges, and her comparatively short career of crime, she endeavored to make her sensible of the indecency of compromising the monarch by undignified and unwomanly brawls, in which his name was introduced in a manner unsuited alike to his exalted station and to the respect which was due to his feelings. She could, however, make no impression upon the childish and petted favorite, who affected the utmost contempt for the discarded mistress, and overwhelmed her with ridicule; and who, after having vented her passion in the most puerile invectives, nevertheless saw fit to consider herself insulted, and to appeal to the king for justice in so demonstrative a manner that Madame de Maintenon resolved, despite the ill success of her first attempt, to make one more effort to restore harmony. She had already seen enough of the virulence and egotism of Mademoiselle de Fontanges to comprehend that she must forbear all allusion to the marchioness, and, accordingly, she took higher ground, and endeavored to set before her in its true light the enormity of the life which she was leading. More and more incensed, the vain and heartless beauty received her counsels with bitter derision and passionate insult, and attributed every annoyance to which she was, as she declared, perpetually subjected, to the jealous envy of those with whose ambitious views she had interfered; more than hinting that Madame de Maintenon herself was among the number. She was, however, answered only by a placid smile; and instructed to remember that those who sought to share her triumphs and her splendor, must be content at the same time to partake her sin, which was a

price too heavy even for the smiles of a monarch—a fa x which she appeared herself to have forgotten.

In vain did the flushed and furious beauty plead the example of others higher born and more noble than her self; the calm and unmoved monitress instantly availed herself of this hollow argument to bid her, in her turn, set an example which the noblest and the best born might be proud to follow.

"And how can I do this?" was the sullen inquiry.

"By renouncing the society of the king," firmly replied her visitor. "Either you love him, or you love him not. If you love him, you should make an effort to save both his honor and your own. If you do not love him, it will cost you no effort to withdraw from the court; while in either case you will act wisely and nobly."

"Would not any one believe who heard you," exclaimed Mademoiselle de Fontanges passionately, "that it was as easy to leave a king as to throw off a glove?" and this was the only rejoinder that she vouchsafed. It is consequently needless to do more than remark that the mission of Madame de Maintenon signally failed; for the expression which had escaped the lips of the young duchess sufficed to convince her that all further interference would be useless. It was the monarch whom the weak beauty loved in Louis de Bourbon, not the man. The monarch—whom her vanity translated into gauds and glitter, luxury and ostentation, brocades and jewels. But, as we have before remarked, Louis was thralled, and the reign of Mademoiselle de Fontanges was an endless succession of caprices, exactions, demands, and pretensions—some so exorbitant, and others so puerile, that the unfortunate sovereign had continually cause to repent the weakness which had placed him in the power of a child.*

* Mémoires de Madame de Maintenon, par M. de la Beaumelle. Laurence Angleviel de la Beaumelle was born in the diocese of Alais

"You must imagine her," writes Madame de Sévigné, full of regretful memories of La Vallière, "precisely the reverse of the little violet which hid itself among the herbage, and which blushed alike to be a mistress, a mother, and a duchess."

And in these few words she painted to perfection alike the one and the other. Gifted with an effrontery which was proof against every mortification, and affecting an ingenuousness which might have misled those who were unacquainted with her real character into a belief that she was unconscious of her fault, Mademoiselle de Fontanges was never happy save when the eyes of the whole court were upon her; and she no sooner discovered that, when wearied by her caprices, the king took refuge in the society and conversation of Madame de Maintenon, than her jealousy exceeded all bounds, and many a vow of vengeance did she utter, whose accomplishment she only deferred until the birth of the child which she was about to bring into the world.

But this child was not fated to exist. It survived only a few months, and even thus it was destined to outlive its young and lovely mother; for, in a few short weeks, the beauty which had been alike her glory and her bane, had faded, and, with his usual egotism, the passion of the king died with it. Nor did he make an effort to conceal the fact from his dying victim. His desertion, for ere long it became such, was more than she could support; and extreme in all things, she demanded permission to retire to the convent of Port Royal, which was at once conceded; but the exertion might have been spared, for her hours were already numbered, and ere long she became so

in the year 1727, and died in 1773. A learned scholar and an accomplished critic, he is nevertheless now principally known by his *Mémoires de Madame de Maintenon*, a work entitled *Mes Pensées*, and his diatribes against Voltaire, who, on his side, overwhelmed him with personalities and insult.

conscious of the fact, that she entreated, as a last favor, to see the king once more before she died. Louis XIV. refused. He had an antipathy to death-beds, and he was anxious to forget all subjects of self-reproach; but on this occasion his confessor ventured to expostulate, and at length the worldly monarch was induced to grant the request of the erring girl. He found her faded, withered, and ghastly—all unlike the radiant beauty whom for a few brief months he had worshiped, and, egotist as he was, he could not restrain his tears. Her glassy eyes never left his countenance; her clammy hand was fastened upon his own; her livid lips quivered in their last effort, as she besought him to pay her debts, and sometimes to remember her. Louis promised all she asked; and as she sunk back upon her pillow, she gasped out the declaration that she should die happy, as she saw that the king could weep for her.

In a few moments she was unconscious even of his tears.

The indecent exultation manifested by Madame de Montespan on this occasion severed the last link between herself and the monarch, and thenceforward her very name became odious to him. Such a death-bed—a death-bed without repentance, and almost without hope—made an impression even upon his stolid nature, which for a time nearly amounted to remorse; and he found his best feelings outraged by the heartless self-gratulation of the very woman by whose means he had been involved in so tragic a catastrophe. Nor was his aversion lessened by a report which reached his ears, and which is distinctly mentioned by the princess-palatine in her memoirs, that the unhappy young duchess died from poison, which she herself asserted to have been administered to her through the agency of Madame de Montespan. Madame de Caylus, however, denies this assertion; but be the fact as it may, it is at all events certain that she was soon

forgotten amid the new pleasures and new interests by which she was succeeded. The populace only regretted the brilliant spectacle of her gorgeous coach, with its eight cream-colored horses, for she had neither sympathized in their sorrows, nor relieved their necessities; while the courtiers merely remembered the profusion of her entertainments, and the splendor of her saloons, and looked forward with confidence to the reign of a new favorite, who might once more supply them with the same luxuries.

CHAPTER XV.

Influence of Madame de Maintenon—Père la Chaise—Birth of the Duke de Bourgoyne—A delicate Mission—Court Cabal—Madame de Montespan—Madame de Richelieu—Indignation of the King—Generosity of Madame de Maintenon—Effects of the Conspiracy—Forebodings of Madame de Montespan—A Provisional Retreat—The Convent of St. Joseph—The Projected Palace—Birth of the Duke d'Anjou—The Journey to Flanders—Mortification of Madame de Montespan—Progress of the Court—Journey to Alsace—Illness of the Queen—Death of the Queen—The Ring—Character of the Queen—Emotion of Louis XIV.—The Lying in State—The Funeral—Heartlessness of the Dauphin—Accident of the King—Mademoiselle at Choisy—The royal Visit—The Liveries—Mademoiselle and the Duke du Maine—The Mission of Madame de Maintenon—Donation of Mademoiselle to the Duke du Maine—Partial Liberation of Lauzun; his Return to Pignerol; his Concession and Liberation; his Discontent; his Pretensions—Coldness of the King toward his old Favorite—Ingratitude of Lauzun—Lauzun a Duke—Separation of Lauzun and Mademoiselle—Departure of Lauzun to England

These expectations were, however, fated to disappointment, for the power of Madame de Maintenon over the king was that of a strong mind over a weak one; Louis XIV. was ill constituted to grapple with the difficulties constantly entailed upon him by his own vices and selfishness; and as he found not only comfort, but also support in the inflexible judgment and sober good sense of the mistress of the robes, he became daily more attached to her society; while she, on her part, found a powerful ally in Père la Chaise, who zealously aided her endeavors to rescue the monarch from a career of profligacy which sullied the glory of his reign, and set a dangerous and baneful example to his subjects. To effect this purpose they adopted at once the wisest and the most effective means, by reminding him that, although still in the full vigor of manhood, his youth was already spent, and that he had as yet attempted little toward his eternal salvation. Let the momentary grievance be what it might, their arguments and their consolations all tended to that one point; and the king listened the more readily as he was constitutionally devout, and had not altogether forgotten the entreaties and example of his mother.

While this revolution was taking place in the spirit of Louis XIV. the dauphiness gave birth to the Duke de Bourgoyne, an event which caused universal joy. "You will hear," says Madame de Sévigné, "of the lively demonstrations of the whole court, and with what eagerness this delight was exhibited to the king, the dauphin, and the queen; what shouts, what firing, what a pouring forth of wine, what a dance of two hundred Swiss guards around their barrels, what cries of *Vive le Roi*, what a ringing of all the bells in Paris, what an explosion of cannon, and what a succession of compliments and harangues, and then all will be told." Bussy-Rabutin, however, enlarges upon this description of the events of the day, by informing us in his memoirs that the king, in gratitude

to God, made a donation of a hundred thousand crowns for the liberation of imprisoned debtors, a hundred thousand francs to those of Paris, and the remaining two hundred thousand to those of the provinces; and that, even grave and majestic as he was in his deportment, he could scarcely contain his joy; but desiring his guard to disperse, permitted himself to be approached indiscriminately by all comers, to whom he gave his hand to kiss without distinction of ranks; while the Swiss guards, in their enthusiasm, fed their bonfire with every description of timber which fell under their hands, even to a pile of planks which had been prepared to floor the apartments, and the poles of the sedan-chair of the Duke d'Aumont; and, finally, having consumed all the wood within reach, gave a last glory to the flaming pile by the sacrifice of their straw palliasses.

Meanwhile, all the bells in Paris and Versailles rung out their endless peal of joy, and labor and sleep appeared alike to be forgotten. In every street and square groups were to be seen drinking, dancing, feasting, and singing; the king himself being their Amphitryon; while Lully, resolved to contribute his portion to the general festival, caused his Perseus to be played gratuitously; and on the day of its representation the audience entered the theater under a triumphal arch, which at night was brilliantly illuminated, and whence a rising sun, composed of a thousand jets of flame, slowly detached itself, and mounted into the horizon, while the two fountains at the base of the fiery crescent ran wine until midnight.

Bontems, the king's favorite attendant, contemplating the destruction which ensued at Versailles, from the encroachments of the populace, who had invaded every avenue to the palace, could at length no longer control his murmurs, and even ventured to point the attention of his royal master to the ruinous effects of the popular enthusiasm; but Louis XIV. was in no mood to speculate

upon its results, and answered buoyantly, "Let them enjoy themselves; we can easily renew the walls and floors, while the general joy of a people is of rare occurrence."

The one great drawback to the happiness, not only of the king himself, but also of the dauphin and dauphiness, was, however, the necessity under which they found themselves of listening to the harangues and addresses that poured in upon them on all sides, and by which they were overwhelmed for an entire week. "Heavens and earth!" was at last the exclamation of *Monseigneur* at the close of an oration delivered by the representative spokesman of one of the learned societies, which had been unusually lengthy and abstruse, "how low-spirited I should become if I were long compelled to amuse myself in this way."*

The dauphin had flattered himself that when this auspicious event took place, the princess, his wife, whose personal importance would be so greatly increased by the fact of her having given an heir to the crown, would consent to appear more frequently in public, and to render her individual court more attractive; but as she resolutely refused to emerge from her retirement, he at length became wearied by the monotony of his own palace, and sought elsewhere for the amusements which he had previously hoped to find at home.

The circle of the Princess de Conti was the only one which at that period retained a portion of the elegant license and sportive wit which had formerly characterized the society of Anne of Austria, and still later that of Louis XIV.; and it was, consequently, in her brilliant saloons that the prince took refuge from the monotony of his own deserted apartments.

At the period of Madame de Conti's marriage, the king had appointed as a sort of governess, rendered necessary by her extreme youth, a certain Madame de Bury, a

* Chroniques de l'Œil Bœuf.

woman of estimable character, fine temper, and perfect high breeding; and this lady no sooner found herself established in the household of the princess, than she summoned from Dauphiny her niece, Mademoiselle de Choin,* whom she placed about the person of her mistress, with the title of maid of honor.

"She was," says Madame de Caylus, in one of her sprightly letters, "of an ugliness that was remarkable;" but she was also quick-witted and clever; and ere long the dauphin became so much impressed by her singular turn of mind and powers of amusement, that his preference was observed by the whole circle. Madame de Lillebonne and her two daughters, who, although of the powerful family of Lorraine, were so poor as to find it expedient to make friends by whom they could be maintained in a position suited to their birth, and who had long enjoyed the intimacy of the dauphin, were the first to perceive the influence of Mademoiselle de Choin, and to cultivate her friendship; while many of the nobility, who were aware of the facility with which the prince suffered himself to be governed by those toward whom he felt a predilection, followed their example; and thus a strong party was formed, which, however, failed to attract the attention of the court, in consequence of the discovery of a cabal, in which both the king himself and Madame de Maintenon were more immediately involved.

The united efforts of Madame de Maintenon and Père la Chaise to effect the great moral change in the habits and feelings of the monarch to which we have elsewhere alluded, had meanwhile been earnestly pursued; and their remonstrances were powerfully assisted by the fact that at this very period, while in a state of robust health, he was suddenly afflicted by a fistula, of so dangerous a character

* Maria Emily Joly de Choin was the descendant of a noble family of Bresse, but originally from Savoy.

that serious apprehensions were entertained by the faculty of its result.

We have already shown that the monarch had a morbid terror of death; and in this extremity, far from endeavoring to allay his fears, both his confessor and Madame de Maintenon rather strove to increase them, and to excite in his breast a horror of his past excesses. In this attempt they naturally turned his attention to the equivocal nature of his position with the Marquise de Montespan, representing the absolute necessity of its immediate and final termination; and as the period was past when the sacrifice would have been difficult, the king at once admitted the validity of their arguments, and entreated Madame de Maintenon to inform the former favorite of his firm determination never again to regard her in any other light than that of a friend and the mother of his children.

The commission was one of both delicacy and difficulty, and for a considerable time the prudent mistress of the robes respectfully declined to become the bearer of so serious and responsible a message; but as her reluctance only increased the pertinacity of the suffering monarch, she frankly declared that she could not undertake to make an announcement, which she feared that, once restored to health, the king would not have strength to ratify. This doubt aroused all the pride and self-dependence of the monarch, and assuring her that she did not appreciate his character, he converted his request into a command, when opposition was no longer possible.

The position of Madame de Maintenon in this conjuncture was rendered tenfold more invidious by the fact that a cabal had recently been formed against herself, headed by the Marquise de Montespan, who had secured the coöperation of M. de Louvois and Madame de Richelieu, and of which the aim was the disgrace and dismission of the mistress of the robes from the court. Each was

prompted to the attempt by personal jealousy: the marquise was jealous of the king's preference; the minister, of her influence over the royal mind; and Madame de Richelieu of her obligation to one whom she had formerly befriended, when, as the poor and helpless widow Scarron, she had received her into her house, and afforded her both assistance and protection; forgetting at the same time, that to the gratitude of Madame de Maintenon she was at that moment indebted for her appointment of lady of honor to the dauphiness.

The part which the marchioness reserved to herself in this dishonorable drama was that of rendering Madame de Maintenon ridiculous in the eyes of the princess: an office in which she was admirably calculated to excel, and to which the antecedents of her rival's history unfortunately lent themselves. The vices of her father, the squalid poverty of her youth, her expulsion by the Ursuline nuns, her numerous lovers—who had, as her enemy asserted, been any thing but unsuccessful—and her marriage with a deformed cripple, were all detailed with a bitter but sprightly malice, which enlivened the solitude of the dauphiness; while her assumed ingratitude to Madame de Richelieu afforded an opportunity for high-spirited indignation and virtuous disdain. The province of Madame de Richelieu was less laborious; she had merely to confirm the accusations, and to vouch for the authenticity of the whole narrative, seasoning her comments by malicious insinuations of the delight exhibited by the king in the society of the victim, and his evident annoyance when he was deprived of it, Louvois, meanwhile, contenting himself by directing their machinations, and seizing every available opportunity of strengthening the impression produced upon the mind of the princess by the combined efforts of his associates. The natural result followed; and it ere long became perfectly evident to the conspirators that they had succeeded in inspiring

the dauphiness with a marked aversion to her mistress of the robes.

This result was, however, far from sufficient to satisfy their malice, and the same methods were consequently adopted to estrange the queen, in her turn, from Madame de Maintenon, but without effect. From the period at which Louis XIV. had attached himself to her society, and been swayed by her counsels, the single-hearted and devoted Maria Theresa had become conscious of a marked change in the manner of the king toward herself. She had no longer to encounter the cold and careless indifference which seemed to rebuke her affection; he no longer avoided her society; and even, at times, displayed toward her tenderness of manner, for which she thanked him with her tears. Thus the attempt to shake her confidence in, and respect for, the stately friend of the monarch proved a signal failure. "Why," she inquired with the frank honesty which formed so marked a feature of her character—"why should I suffer myself to be prejudiced against Madame de Maintenon? So far from having a right or a desire to injure her, I firmly believe that God has raised her up to restore to me the heart of which I had been robbed by the Marquise de Montespan; for never did the king display so much affection toward me as since she has been his friend." And then, as if apprehensive that this declaration would not suffice to convince the enemies of the persecuted mistress of the robes of the extent of her confidence and gratitude toward one to whom she felt herself to be so deeply indebted, she took an early opportunity of presenting to the gratified court-lady her portrait, enriched with diamonds: a present which excited the envy of Madame de Montespan, who, as a member of the queen's particular household, considered herself affronted by so invidious a preference.*

Meanwhile, carefully as the plot had been carried out,

* Mémoires de Madame de Caylus.

it nevertheless reached the ears of the king; and, at once indignant and weary of these perpetual intrigues, he insisted upon a full and complete explanation, by which Madame de Maintenon was thoroughly justified in the eyes of her royal mistress, but, nevertheless, without securing her confidence or favor, the impression produced upon her mind having been so strong as to render the prejudice which she had conceived against her too powerful to be overcome.

The first impulse of the king, when all the circumstances of the cabal became known to him, was to dismiss Madame de Richelieu; but she was spared this humiliation at the entreaty of Madame de Maintenon herself, who, when she was preparing to obey the royal command already quoted with regard to the Marquise de Montespan, was once more startled to hear Louis XIV. add to his former order his pleasure that she should, moreover, instruct the marchioness, in his name, to leave the court altogether.

Again did the persecuted mistress of the robes venture to expostulate and to entreat, but for a time the king was inflexible. He was anxious to free himself from these vexatious annoyances, and he saw no shorter and more effectual method of so doing than by enforcing the absence of the principal conspirator; nor was it until the perplexed and weeping Madame de Maintenon compelled him to understand the injury which must accrue to herself from such a measure, and the impropriety of her becoming in her own person the bearer of such a sentence, that he consented to limit his severity, and to satisfy himself by the enforcement of his original command.

Not venturing to hope for any further concession, Madame de Maintenon accordingly prepared to fulfill her ungracious mission; and whatever may have been her other faults, it is at least certain that on this occasion she acted with singular generosity; for, after having announced to

the discarded favorite the pleasure of the king, in order to spare her the bitterness of a public revelation of the total cessation of her influence over the mind of the estranged monarch, she entreated her, whenever she had a favor to request, to make herself the medium: an offer of which the mortified marchioness did not hesitate largely to avail herself, in order to preserve her apparent power over the king. Nor did Louvois escape the effects of his imprudence; for, although no immediate proofs of the royal displeasure were visited upon him, there can be little doubt that the antipathy of Madame de Maintenon toward this minister owed its commencement to the circumstances just detailed, as well as the coldness of Louis XIV., who thenceforth tolerated him only from a conviction that his services were necessary to the well-being of the kingdom.*

Bitterly as the mortification of Madame de Montespan could not fail to be felt, it was, nevertheless, not altogether unexpected. She had long been painfully conscious of the decrease of her influence; and with that spirit of self-preservation habitual to her, she had, even before the death of the Duchess de Fontanges, resolved to secure to herself a retreat in which she should continue to rule supreme, although in a more limited sphere. In order to effect this purpose in its fullest extent, she determined to construct and endow a convent—not indeed of the gigantic proportions and regal magnificence of those of Val-de-Grace or Fontevrault,† but suited to a small community, where the

* Mémoires de la Beaumelle.

† The Abbess of Fontevrault, whose community owed its origin to the Abbey of St. Benoit, founded by Robert d'Arbrissel in 1100, at Fontevrault on the Maine and Loire, and which had become the principal establishment of the order, held jurisdiction over all the convents of the nuns of St. Benoit. In her house all the princesses of the blood-royal of France were educated, and her position was one of great honor and importance. In 1817 a royal ordonnance appropriated this fine abbey as a place of confinement for culprits of both sexes, condemned to solitary imprisonment for more than twelve months, and for

sisterhood, depending entirely upon her own liberality for their support, would necessarily embrace all her interests, prejudices, and opinions.

The idea flattered her self-love; and she accordingly lost no time in authorizing her steward to select a spot favorable for her design, which he did in the faubourg St. Germain;* when, having satisfied herself of its perfect eligibility, the works were immediately commenced; and, by a singular coincidence, the first stone was laid at the very moment in which the Duchess de Fontanges ceased to exist.

The nature of the intended edifice was no sooner publicly ascertained than a rumor became current, that, in imitation of La Vallière, Madame de Montespan was about to take the veil: a report which she did not attempt to contradict, although she smiled at its absurdity. She contemplated a retreat, not a prison—a miniature kingdom, not a place of penance: and even while urging her architect to his greatest speed, and herself overlooking his progress, she resolved to convince the triflers who believed her capable of so inane an act of self-abnegation that she had far other views.

On the birth of the Duke du Maine, the king had presented her with a small but luxurious house in the rue St. André-des-Arcs;† but her ambition had long outgrown so circumscribed a dwelling, and she caused the famous Blondel‡ to design for her the plan of a superb hôtel in imitation of the Louvre, of which the probable cost was

females sentenced to hard labor. It is capable of accommodating 1200 men, and 500 women.

* What still remains of this building is now appropriated to the uses of the war office. † Still in existence, and known as No. 61.

‡ Francis Blondel, member of the Academy of Sciences, professor of mathematics at the College of France, adjutant-general, and councilor of state, was born at Ribemont, in Picardy, in 1617. He was the architect of the triumphal arch of the Porte St. Denis; and, in addition to many other works of miscellaneous literature, he wrote a *Course of Architecture*, the *Art of Throwing Bomb-shells*, and a *System of Fortification*. He died in 1696.

estimated by the architect at eighteen hundred thousand livres,* exclusive of its internal decorations.

This enormous outlay by no means alarmed the marchioness, who once more gave orders for the selection of an appropriate site; and then, anxious to terminate one undertaking before she commenced a second, she so vehemently urged forward her workmen, that the convent was soon completed and in a condition to receive its inmates, when the haughty foundress bestowed upon it the name of St. Joseph, and busied herself in all the details of its interior economy. Her own portion of the building was superbly although simply fitted up, and opened into the chapel, where her closet, inclosed by glass doors, faced the high altar. Her first decision was declared at the moment in which the community was formed; and was to the effect that she should alone possess the privilege of naming the abbess throughout her life; but that this authority should not devolve upon her heirs; that the great bell was to ring for twenty minutes whenever she visited the sisterhood; and that she was to receive the honors of the incense at high mass and vespers, as foundress of the community.

The great bell, and the humility of the recluse sisters of St. Joseph were unceasing attractions to the imperious marchioness, and her visits to the community were consequently frequent; while the whole affair created so much curiosity at court that Bossuet offered to consecrate the building; when, with her usual insolence, the lady, with a light laugh, bade him reserve his oration for her funeral.

"Be it so," said the bishop, with a profound bow; "to you, madam, I can refuse nothing."†

About this period the dauphiness became the mother of a second son, who received the title of Duke d'Anjou; and the king, on the receipt of the welcome intelligence,

* A sum exceeding seven millions of livres of the present day.

† Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

accompanied his congratulations to the princess by an oriental casket, containing a superb suit of pearls, and four thousand louis-d'ors in gold.

Ever since the birth of the Duke de Bourgoyne the court had entertained a hope that the dauphiness would abandon her secluded habits; but they were fated to disappointment, for she still appeared only on state occasions, and even then with evident repugnance.

The last blow was given to the ambition of Madame de Montespan just as her asylum was completed; for on the July succeeding the death of the Duchess de Fontanges, the king, whose health had gradually become reestablished, resolved on a journey to Flanders, destined to serve the twofold purpose of affording amusement to himself and his court, and of awing his neighbors into additional respect, by an exhibition of his magnificence and strength. In this journey he was accompanied by the queen, the dauphin and dauphiness, and their separate suites, in every case selected by himself; and as these journeys were the touchstone of royal favor, great was the consternation of Madame de Montespan when she ascertained that the name of her dreaded rival headed the list of the princess's attendants, while her own, although superintendent of the queen's household, had not found a place. In the excess of her mortification, she hastened to shut herself up at St. Joseph, and even meditated a final retreat to Fontevrault; but when the first paroxysm of her anger had passed by, she contented herself with retiring to her chateau of Petit-Bourg, accompanied by Mademoiselle de Blois; the king having strictly forbidden the removal of the Count de Toulouse from Paris.

The first halt of the court was at Boulogne in Picardy, where the fortifications were in progress of preparation; and on the following day the king proceeded on horseback to inspect the port of Ambleteuse, whence he pur-

sued his way along the coast to Calais, while the ladies of the court journeyed thither by a more direct route. There the monarch visited the harbor, and amused himself by making excursions upon the water.

The next point of pause was Dunkirk, where the Marquis de Seignelay (the son of Colbert) had stationed a fine ship of war for the use of Their Majesties, which, under the command of an able officer, went through all the various manœuvers consequent upon a maritime combat and defense—a spectacle entirely novel to the illustrious party, and rendered still more attractive by a sumptuous banquet which terminated the day.

This was succeeded on the morrow by a sham fight between two frigates, separate barks having been prepared for the king and queen, whence to witness the combat, of which the pleasure was enhanced by the extreme calmness and splendor of the weather. At the close of this amusement, the monarch, after having expressed his entire satisfaction to the officers and crews of the several vessels, proceeded on board the man-of-war, in order to receive the congratulations of the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Duke of Villa-Hermosa (the Spanish governor of the Low Countries), who had been dispatched by their several sovereigns to express their sympathy on his recovery. A lofty throne, covered by a costly awning, was erected on the quarter-deck of the ship, and the audience had all the pomp and ceremonial which could possibly be required by the ostentatious monarch.

On quitting Dunkirk the court made a regular progress to Ypres, and reached Lille on the first of August; whence, after a halt of several days, they proceeded to Valenciennes and Condé, everywhere greeted with the most enthusiastic welcome; and after returning to Sedan by Quénoy, Bouchain, and Cambray, finally reëntered Versailles at the end of the month.*

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

During this brief absence, Louis XIV. had not, however, suffered himself to be absorbed by pleasure; but, faithful to the spirit of self-aggrandizement, which was his leading passion, had invested the important city of Luxembourg with an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of the Marshal de Créqui, and taken it after a resistance of eight days. Thence he marched upon the Electorate of Trèves, and possessed himself without difficulty of the town, which was nevertheless condemned to see its fine fortifications leveled to the ground, while fire, pillage, and ruin extended throughout the whole electorate; the destructive genius of Louvois having suggested that these unnecessary spoliations would tend to increase the authority of his royal master, by inspiring a greater terror of his power.

In 1683, while the Turks and Germans were contending upon the plains of Hungary, the king, followed by his whole court (whence Madame de Montespan was once more excluded), proceeded to the frontiers of Alsace, where he reviewed his army, and gave a succession of brilliant fêtes. The season chanced to be one of excessive sultriness; and the queen, although a native of Spain, suffered so severely from the heat, that as soon as it could be accomplished the royal party returned in all haste to Versailles, where the unfortunate Maria Theresa had no sooner arrived than she complained of indisposition, which, although at first slight, rapidly increased in severity, and an abscess formed under the arm.

At this crisis, Fagon,* her physician, in opposition to

* Guy Crescent Fagon was born in Paris in 1638, and devoting himself to the study of medicine, obtained his diploma as a physician in 1664. He was the first member of the faculty who upheld the theory of the circulation of the blood. In consequence of his botanical knowledge he was intrusted with the plantations of the Royal Gardens, by which he obtained the title of professor of botany and chemistry. In 1668 he was appointed physician to the Dauphiness, and subsequently to the Queen and Princes of France; and in 1694

the opinions of all her other medical attendants, resolved on letting blood. At eleven in the morning the queen had declared herself in a state of intense suffering; at mid-day a vein was opened and an emetic was administered, and at three in the afternoon she was a corpse.

Thus perished, to all appearance, through the profound ignorance or willful mismanagement of her medical attendant, the unfortunate Maria Theresa, just as she had began to hope for a return of the affection which from the first day of their marriage she had lavished upon her royal husband, the consequence of whose undisguised indifference had been a timidity in his presence which she had never been able to overcome. To the last, she trembled whenever he approached her; and whether it were by the directions of the king, or simply from a desire to conciliate him, she bore with the presence and society of his mistresses without comment or expostulation, and even carried her indulgence so far as to caress their children; but she never degraded herself by any demonstration of regard toward themselves so long as they persisted in their irregularities.

Her partiality for Madame de Maintenon, whose commerce with the monarch was always irreproachable, we have already cited; but its most convincing proof was given in the fact that on her death-bed she withdrew a superb ring from her finger, and presented it to that lady, to whom the last words which she uttered were addressed: "Adieu, my very dear marchioness," she said, in a feeble accent; "to you I confide the happiness of the king."*

Blameless in her conduct, and naturally amiable, Maria

became head physician to Louis XIV. In 1699 he was admitted a member of the French Academy, and in 1718 he died. He left behind him, among other works, *Treatises* on *Bark, Coffee*, and *Tobacco*, and a *Latin Poem on Botany*.

* Mémoires de la Beaumelle, and Madame de Montespan.

Theresa no sooner became the wife of Louis XIV. than she made it the one great business of her existence to study his pleasure in all things, however it might militate against her own comfort and happiness; and although deficient both in education and intellect, she possessed a dignity of deportment well suited to her exalted station. Short in stature, and inclined to corpulency, she appeared taller when seated than either walking or dancing, having acquired an ungainly habit of bending her knees, by which she lost much of her height. She was passionately fond of play, and seldom passed an evening without cards; although she constantly lost largely, from her inability to master the difficulties of any game that she attempted. Her passionate attachment to the king was never shaken, even by his constant infidelities; and whenever he chanced to smile as he addressed her, she could scarcely control her delight.

Louis XIV. had never loved her, but she had compelled his esteem, and he wept bitterly at her death; as, however, he had previously wept at his separation from Mary de Mancini, La Vallière, Henrietta of Orleans, and Mademoiselle de Fontanges, although with a less remorseful feeling; and she had no sooner expired than he retired to St. Cloud, where he was followed by the dauphiness and Madame de Maintenon, who both appeared before him, attired in deep mourning, and with so much grief imprinted on their countenances, that the king, whose mood chanced to be infinitely less lugubrious than their own, jested with them on their excessive sorrow.*

On the third day after the queen's decease, the monarch, accompanied by the dauphin, and all the members of the royal family, with the exception of MADEMOISELLE, who pleaded indisposition, assembled in the Hall of Peace at Versailles, which was hung with black, and furnished with

* Mémoires de Madame de Caylus.

four temporary altars, to sprinkle the body with holy water; and the aspect of the funereal chamber with the small coffin in the midst, in which reposed all that was mortal of his late gentle and forgiving wife, produced a visible effect upon the king, who exclaimed as he entered, "Kind and forbearing friend! This is the first sorrow that you have caused me throughout twenty years."

The ceremony of aspersion was no sooner terminated than the monarch and his court again retired to St. Cloud, there to await the removal of the royal corpse to St. Denis, which, previously to its interment, lay in state for ten days, perpetual masses being performed at each of the altars from seven in the morning until dusk; and finally the body of Maria Theresa left forever the gorgeous palace which had been her home, for the somber vaults of the antique abbey. A long train of carriages followed the funeral car, filled with the great officers of the crown, and the ladies who had composed her household; and the procession was escorted by a numerous body of guards, gendarmes, and musketeers. Nothing, however, could exceed the indecency with which the journey was performed. From all the carriages issued the sounds of heartless jest, and still more heartless laughter; while the troops had no sooner reached the plain of St. Denis, than they dispersed in every direction, some galloping right and left, and others firing at the birds that were flying over their heads.*

But even yet more revolting was the conduct of several members of the royal family. The dauphin, instead of confining himself to his apartment on the day of the funeral, in order at least to assume the semblance of regret, and to avoid giving offense to public feeling, proceeded to the Palais-Royal, where he passed the evening gayly, in the society of the dauphiness, the princess-palatine, and a score of his favorite associates; after

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

having amused himself for an hour or two in the forenoon by the feats of a learned pony, which had been brought to the fair of St. Laurent for exhibition, and which was ordered to the Tuileries by the prince, in consequence of a command issued by the king, that the court should abstain from visiting the fair from respect to Her Majesty's memory, although he declined the proposition of the city authorities to defer it until a more fitting season.

Nor did Louis XIV. himself display more propriety of conduct, having passed the day in hunting; an amusement which was, however, abruptly terminated by the circumstance of his horse plunging headlong into a ditch so overgrown with vegetation as to deceive its instinct, and by throwing the king over its head, causing the dislocation of his arm.*

Sometime before the death of the queen, MADEMOISELLE, who had regained a portion of the good opinion of her royal cousin by the rigid observance of her court duties, despite her grief at the protracted captivity of the Marquis de Lauzun, purchased the estate of Choisy, near Vitry, where she amused herself by building a palace, of which the fame soon reached the ears of Louis XIV., and so excited his curiosity that he proposed to Madame de Montespan that they should pay the princess a visit unannounced, and thus surprise her in the midst of her operations.

The exterior of the building somewhat disappointed the monarch, who considered the elegant simplicity of its architecture not sufficiently elaborate or regal; but the situation he declared to be faultless. The palace stood on the higher bank of the Seine, surrounded by magnificent gardens, and boasted stately woods perforated by spacious avenues, and washed by the waters of the river.

MADEMOISELLE did the honors of her new abode with unconcealed delight; and with all the petty pride of a

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

parvenue, led the king into a handsome gallery hung with he portraits of her ancestors, relatives, and allies, each duly furnished with the name and rank of the original, where she drew his attention to the fact, that no less than three full-length likenesses of himself decorated the principal apartments.

On reaching the state bedchamber the princess preceded her royal guest; but her precaution was not sufficiently well taken to prevent the malicious marchioness from discovering that she had hastily caused the removal of a portrait of Lauzun which hung above the fireplace; while the king expressed his surprise that throughout the whole suit of rooms he had perceived no likeness of the duke, her father. MADEMOISELLE accounted for the circumstance by declaring that she had purposely delayed its admission to her saloons, as its appearance there would have entailed the necessity of its accompaniment by that of her step-mother, Marguerite of Lorraine, and that she intended to open her house only to her friends.

Little did the princess imagine the result to which this remark would tend, as Louis XIV. replied with a smile that he was the more happy under those circumstances, to see that she had already afforded space to those of the Duke du Maine, and the Count de Toulouse, especially as he had a favor to request of her. Every one was aware of her attachment to the former, who was now no longer a child, and for whom he was about to form a household; and the request which he had to advance, was her permission that the duke might assume her liveries.

Delighted by so eminent a mark of favor, MADEMOISELLE replied by expressing her sense of the honor designed toward her by the monarch; and with a sigh of sentiment somewhat discordant with her mature age—for she was at that period in her fifty-second year—she added, that she only wished the opportunity were afforded

to her of offering a more signal evidence of her desire to oblige the son of His Majesty.

The king made no reply, but these words did not fall unheeded; and he had scarcely passed the boundary of Choisy on his return to Versailles, when he recalled them to the recollection of his companion, remarking that had her manner been more conciliating, he would have engaged her to request an interview with the princess, and to have urged her to explain their actual meaning. To this suggestion Madame de Montespan haughtily replied that she could not consent to subject herself to any contact with the imperious and overbearing humor of MADEMOISELLE, for the furtherance of a merely equivocal speculation; but that doubtlessly Madame de Maintenon, who was sincerely attached to the Duke du Maine, and who was more pliant than herself, would readily undertake the mission, if such were the desire of His Majesty, and prove a much more welcome ambassadress than herself.

Satisfied of the truth of this observation, the king accordingly explained to the mistress of the robes the disposition of MADEMOISELLE as regarded her pupil; and she at once cheerfully undertook to conduct him to Choisy to pay his respects to the princess, and to offer his acknowledgments for her condescension on the subject of her liveries, pledging herself not to suffer any opportunity of serving his interests to escape her.

Her success was perfect. The little duke unconsciously played his part to admiration; and when MADEMOISELLE had wept out all her sorrows upon the bosom of the gentle and sympathizing visitor, who listened with moistened eyes and condoling words, she at length threw herself on the generosity of Madame de Maintenon, declaring that, satisfied of her influence over the mind of the king, she would place all her hopes of happiness in her hands; and that, should she succeed in obtaining the liberation

of Lauzun, she would present to her one of her finest estates.

"Rather," said her companion, "if indeed Your Highness be willing to make so great a sacrifice, bestow that estate at once and unconditionally upon our dear Duke du Maine; and trust to my assurance that the king, touched by so great a benefit conferred upon his favorite son, will, in the excess of his paternal affection, willingly concede a point which by any other means he can only reluctantly suffer to be wrung from him, without leaving one hope that it will ever be followed by any important return of favor."

MADEMOISELLE did not hesitate. She at once appreciated the force of this reasoning; and when Madame de Maintenon at length quitted Choisy, she was authorized to announce to the king that the princess had made a donation to the Duke du Maine of the countship of Eu and the sovereignty of Dombes; following up her tidings by soliciting the liberty of the Marquis de Lauzun; which was in so far conceded at the instant, that an order was issued, authorizing the prisoner to proceed to Bourbon l'Archambault for the benefit of the waters, under the guard of M. Maupertuis, and a detachment of musketeers.

As MADEMOISELLE had previously bestowed the very estates which, in order to effect the liberation of Lauzun, she now presented to the Duke du Maine, upon the marquis himself, it became necessary, in order to render the donation strictly legal, that it should be ratified by him; and, in the hope of inducing him to consent to this spoliation, Madame de Montespan followed him to Bourbon, to arrange the terms upon which it was to be conceded. Rejoiced, however, as Lauzun had been to find himself once more comparatively free, and to have escaped the gloomy prison latterly rendered still more melancholy by the death of Fouquet, he resisted all the

blandishments and braved all the violence of the baffled marchioness, declaring that he would rather return to Pignerol, and end his days between the four walls of a dungeon, than submit to such an alternative as the cession of the required estates.

Once more, therefore, he became a prisoner; but the following year he again received permission to visit Bourbon, and it would appear that the intervening twelve months of captivity, after the glimpse of liberty which had been afforded him, overcame his philosophy; for it is certain that, after sundry interviews with Madame de Montespan, whom he found domesticated there with her invalid daughter on his arrival, and for whom he evinced a regard and attention which extorted the acknowledgements of the king, he consented to ratify the donation to the Duke du Maine, on receiving, in lieu of the contested lordships, the duchy of St. Fargeau, then let on lease at twenty-two thousand livres annually; and the town and barony of Thiers, in Auvergne, one of the finest estates in the province; together with an income of eight thousand livres on the duties of Languedoc; although, regardless of this additional sacrifice on the part of MADEMOISELLE, he made an extreme merit of his concession, and complained that the equivalent was so disproportioned that he felt considerable difficulty in accepting it.*

The necessary papers were, however, eventually signed, and M. de Lauzun was set at liberty, upon the understanding that he was not to quit the provinces of Anjou and Touraine. He endured this exile for four years, after having suffered an imprisonment of the previous eleven; but such an arrangement by no means met the views of the princess, who complained that she had been deceived, and who was unsparing in her reproaches of the conduct of Madame de Montespan, by whose

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier

representations she had been misled into a measure by which she found herself impoverished in means and almost equally unhappy in position; and as she expressed herself publicly and in strong terms, Louis XIV. at length considered it expedient to withdraw the onerous condition attached to the liberation of Lauzun, and to permit his return to the capital—limiting even this concession, however, by an absolute command that he should not fix his residence within two leagues of any of the royal palaces.*

Nevertheless, he was free; and MADEMOISELLE, convinced that she was at length about to realize her dreams of happiness, was preparing to set forth to meet him in a superb equipage drawn by six horses, when the king caused it to be privately intimated to her that she would do well to be less demonstrative, until she had ascertained in how far M. de Lauzun might prove worthy of her excessive regard; for the ungrateful aversion of the marquis toward his benefactress had long been known to the monarch, and he dreaded lest the superannuated passion of his royal cousin should excite a ridicule in the world, from which even her exalted rank would be inadequate to preserve her. Time alone, as he well knew, could suffice to open her eyes to so ungracious a truth; and, meanwhile, all representation and expostulation were useless; and he, consequently, contented himself by controlling, to the extent of his power, the excess of her imprudence.

Lauzun, although a brave man, was full of the most extravagant caprices, and appropriated all the good fortune which fell into his way as a natural tribute to his deserts, while he was utterly incapable of steadily pursuing such a line of conduct as might have justified the belief. The king had pardoned him out of consideration for the feelings and gratitude for the generosity of

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

MADEMOISELLE to the Duke du Maine; but he could no longer he deceived by the outward seeming of the hollow-hearted courtier; and, resolved never again to suffer him near his person, he authorized the sale of his company in the body-guards and his command in the *Becs-des-Corbins*,* directing M. Colbert to pay over to him the amount, with all the arrears that had accumulated during his captivity—a sum which collectively produced a capital of nine hundred and eighty thousand livres.†

This was immediately transmitted to the duke in bills upon the treasury, which were as available as ready money; but, instead of receiving the kindness of the king with gratitude, the infatuated Lauzun burst into a frenzy of rage, and threatened to consign the treasury bills to the flames, declaring that he desired to retain his position at court, and not to receive money for which he had no use.

Nevertheless, Louis XIV. consented to permit him to appear once more in his presence, and received him with a marked although chilling courtesy, which even his repeated genuflexions and elaborate professions were unable to animate into a more hopeful welcome. Nor did his appearance tend to ingratiate him with the punctilious monarch; for by an impertinent affectation, and as if with a view of recalling the extent of his imprisonment, the marquis presented himself in the same court-suit which he had worn before his incarceration, and a wig of similar date—a circumstance rendered the more glaring by the fact that the costume, being modified yearly, carried its date without a possibility of error. No remark was, however, vouchsafed upon the subject by

* The *Bec-de-Corbin* was a sort of short halbert, or partisan, of which the blade was fashioned like the beak of a raven, and which was carried by the companies of noblemen who formed the immediate body-guard of the sovereign.

† Nearly 4.000.000 of the present day.

the king; while curiosity, amusement at his eccentricities, and, in many cases, a wish to mortify the imperious princess by withdrawing him from her society, opened to the marquis all the hôtels of the nobility. *Monsieur* invited him to St. Cloud and the Palais-Royal; the dauphin received him with marked favor; and he found himself once more the spoiled child of the court circle.

From the moment of his liberation he displayed the most heartless ingratitude to MADEMOISELLE, whose absurdities, engendered by a weak and unworthy preference, however they might have excited the smiles and comments of the idle, should have been sacred in his eyes; nor did he even seek to see her until after his presentation to the king, alledging that his long captivity had so seriously impaired his health, that he was unequal to any great exertion; while, on the following day, when he visited her at Choisy, he assumed all the authority of a husband, and was audacious enough to accuse her of wanton extravagance in purchasing such an estate, and constructing such a palace, when she had parks and chateaux enough already, and must be aware how greatly he should be in need of money; adding, that as she had seen fit to do so, the only reparation which she could make was by dislodging her pages and officers of the household from their wing of the building, and fitting up a suite of apartments for himself, where he could occasionally pass his time and entertain his friends, and providing an equipage with six horses for his especial use during his residence.

Nothing, in short, could exceed his arrogance and presumption; and even while he put forward these extraordinary and unbecoming claims, the unfortunate self-victim of his egotism became painfully aware that she was at once the object of his repugnance and of his ridicule; and that the hours which she had fondly hoped would have been devoted to herself were spent with the

different ladies of the court and at the gaming-table, where his excesses were the theme of universal comment.

Nor was neglect the only indignity with which he visited her weakness even in her presence, for while princes of the blood who had become the husbands of the princesses of the royal family, continued to treat their wives with all the respect exacted by their propinquity to the throne, the upstart courtier upon whom MADEMOISELLE had lavished an affection as exaggerated as it was ill placed, not satisfied by bowing her pride to his own level, ventured, in the excess of his unmanly insolence, to degrade her to the rank of an inferior; and on one occasion, when he returned from hunting, reeking with wet and covered with mud, was even seen to throw himself upon a velvet sofa in the apartment of the princess, exclaiming, authoritatively, "Louise de Bourbon, draw off my boots."

Further forbearance was of course impossible; and as, not satisfied with this first insult, the infatuated man made a gesture with his foot which called all the blood of her royal ancestors to her cheek and brow, the granddaughter of Henry IV. drew herself up to her full height, and, waving her hand haughtily, retorted, "Leave the room, sir; and remember that I henceforth forbid you to appear in my presence."

After such an occurrence, it can scarcely, therefore, be a subject of surprise, that wearied at last of so invidious a position, in which, coupled with the annoyances of a wife, she was subjected also to the indignities of a mistress, MADEMOISELLE should, as a parting present, obtain for him the brevet of a duke, and then declare that she left him at full liberty to pursue his career as he might see fit, provided he attempted no further interference with herself.

The new duke at once accepted these conditions; and dissatisfied with the persevering coldness of the king,

solicited the royal permission to reside for a time in England. The request was immediately granted, and in a few weeks Lauzun departed, little suspecting the prominent part which he would there be called upon to play, and to which we shall hereafter have occasion to allude.

CHAPTER XVI.

Death of Colbert; his Unpopularity; his noble Works; his Death-bed; his Funeral; his Successors; his Children—Policy of Louvois—The Bombardment of Genoa—Treaty of Peace—Submission of the Doge—Palace of Versailles—Reception of the Genoese Representatives—Mot of the Doge—Increased Gravity of the King—Change of Costume—Daily Etiquet—The Female Devotees—Influence of Madame de Maintenon; her Mental Attributes; her Court—The Office of Charity—Foundation of St. Cyr—The Monks of St. Denis—The Canonesses—The Abbé de Fénélon—A forced Vocation—Position of Madame de Maintenon—The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—The Abbé du Chayla; his Sufferings; his Cruelties—Signing of the Revocation.

The year 1683 was destined to be one of bereavement to Louis XIV. Colbert, whose health had long been giving way under the weight of his perpetual labors, was not destined long to survive his royal mistress; and despite all the magnificent services which he had rendered to his country, he was regretted neither by the sovereign nor the people. Louis XIV. disliked him, because he was obnoxious to Madame de Maintenon and Louvois; the nobility, because, although a man of ob-

scure birth, he had succeeded in raising himself to eminence, both social and political; the citizens, because he had effected the suppression of the revenues of the Hôtel de Ville; and the populace, because he had become powerful and wealthy; and that thus he was, in their eyes, a legitimate object of hatred.* Naturally simple and unassuming in his deportment, Colbert was, nevertheless, quite conscious of his just value. He desired, above all things, the prosperity of France, and the glory of her monarch: and to secure these immense advantages, he sacrificed alike his time, his health, and his prejudices.

His works are his best eulogy. He found the resources of the kingdom crippled by a long civil war, and he restored them by an extended commerce: he dug canals, formed harbors, created a formidable navy, and erected arsenals, barracks, hospitals, and manufactories. He organized colonies, and built innumerable fortresses, aqueducts, fountains, and bridges. To him Paris is indebted for its Observatory, and the royal edifice of the Invalides; and France, for the stately palaces of the Tuileries, Vincennes, Marly, with its stupendous hydraulic machine, and the means of completing the vast and regal pile of Versailles, with its marble Trianon. He it was who founded the Gobelins, and raised the Royal Library above the gardens and galleries of the Mazarin palace, with its vast and costly collection of books, manuscripts, and medals; and when overtaken by death in his sixty-fourth year, he was occupied in the erection of the spacious pile of the Salpêtrière, and the colonnade of the Louvre—two undertakings which would have sufficed of themselves to immortalize his memory.

Nevertheless, the popular feeling against him was so strong, that it was not considered expedient to pay him the respect of a public funeral; nor would Louis XIV. permit his son, the Marquis de Seignelay, either to leave

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

the palace to attend his death-bed, or to visit him in his own person. Almost in his dying moments, a gentleman of the royal chamber was dispatched by the monarch to ask tidings of his condition; and this was the only courtesy which was vouchsafed to the upright and zealous minister, to whom France was indebted for the prosperity which had, at that period, placed her at the head of all the nations of Europe. Even this, however, might have been spared; for as the messenger approached his bed, the dying sufferer turned away, exclaiming, "I will not hear that man spoken of again. If I had done for God what I have done for him, I should have been saved ten times over; and now I know not what may be my fate."

On the morrow of his death, at one o'clock in the morning, the body of Colbert was deposited in a shabby hearse, and conveyed to the church of St. Eustache, escorted only by a few of the officers of the city watch. The Marquis de Louvois succeeded to his most important offices, Seignelay, his elder son, merely retaining his appointment as secretary of state to the navy; while Louvois obtained, among others, that of superintendent of public works, which had been promised to the younger (M. de Blainville Colbert), by the king himself.*

The other children of the deceased minister were Louis, abbot of Nôtre-Dame de Bon Port, and prior of Rueil; Charles Edward, knight of Malta; and the three duchesses of Beauvilliers, Saint Agnan, Mortemart, and Chevreuse, to each of whom the king had presented the dower of a million of livres.

The policy of Colbert had been peace; and, until his death, Louvois, at once his rival and his enemy, had constantly been an advocate for war, well knowing the thirst of Louis XIV. for military fame; but his adversary was no sooner in the grave than Louvois, in his turn, began to deprecate all idea of foreign aggression, believing that, in

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

his new capacity of controller of the public works, he might, by encouraging the monarch in his taste for building, secure to himself an undivided influence which would render him all-powerful. He had, however, an unsuspected enemy to contend against, in the person of the Marquis de Seignelay, who, as minister of marine, resolved to dispute in his turn the popularity of his father's enemy, and thus to acquire to himself some portion of the royal favor. With this view he merely changed the theater of war; and, instead of threatening Flanders and Germany, turned his attention to the Mediterranean.

He had not long to seek either for the scene of his meditated exploits, or the pretext upon which they were to be founded. Genoa had excited the indignation of Louis XIV. on several occasions, any one of which would have sufficed to a monarch so tenacious of his prerogative, and so prompt in taking offense. Algiers had been already reduced to submission; and Seignelay had contributed to its surrender. It is therefore not surprising that the king turned a willing ear to the representations of the zealous and ardent minister of marine, and dispatched without hesitation two *lettres de cachet*, one of which directed the exempt of the provost-marshal immediately to secure the person of the Sieur Marini, the Genoese envoy; while the other authorized M. de Besemaux, the governor of the Bastille, to receive him into that fortress, permitting him, however, the privilege of exercise.

Finally, the French fleet, destined to avenge the wounded honor of Louis XIV., sailed from Toulon on the 6th May, 1684, and arrived before Genoa on the 17th of the same month. It consisted of fourteen large ships, twenty galleys, ten bomb-ketches, and several frigates; the larger vessels were under the command of the veteran Admiral Duquesne, and the galleys under that of the Duke de Mortemar, the brother-in-law of Seignelay, who accompanied the expedition in person, and who, full of

ambition, courage, intellect, and activity, would not consent to forego, in his character of minister, the honors of the enterprise.

On anchoring before Genoa, several thousand bombshells were directed against the city, which reduced a great portion of its marble edifices to powder; and four thousand troops were then landed, who, advancing to the very gates, burnt the faubourg of San Pietro d'Arena, and compelled the authorities to make submission in order to save their city, and avert its total ruin.* The damage caused by this bombardment was estimated at nearly a hundred millions of livres; and Seignelay, omnipotent amid the havoc to which he had been mainly instrumental, caused the doge to be informed, that if he did not, without loss of time, offer to the king his master the satisfaction which was required from him for the insults that he had offered to the French nation, he should return in the ensuing year and recommence hostilities. This done, the fleet weighed anchor and returned home, without vouchsafing further parley.

A treaty of peace was, however, concluded on the 2d of February, 1685, and the Genoese envoy was liberated. The first article of this treaty set forth that "The doge then in office, and four of the senators, should proceed in the course of the following month, or, at the latest, before the 10th of April, to the city of Marseilles, whence they should journey to whatsoever place His Majesty might at the moment honor by his presence; and that, being then and there admitted to an audience, attired in their state robes, the said doge, acting as spokesman, should express, in the name of the republic of Genoa, their extreme regret at having incurred the displeasure of His Majesty; and should make use, throughout the course of his address, of the most submissive and respectful expressions, and such as should tend to demonstrate their

* Le Siècle de Louis XIV

sincere desire to merit for the future, and carefully to maintain, the good will of His Majesty."

By virtue of this article of the treaty the Imperial Doge Lescaro left Genoa on the 29th of March, accompanied by the senators Lomelino, Garebardo, Durazzo, and Salvago; and on the 18th of April took up his abode in a spacious hôtel of the faubourg St. Germain, which had been prepared for him, in order to await the promised audience, which was not conceded until the 15th of May, when the Marshal d'Humières was sent to conduct him to Versailles; but on his refusing to allow the marshal to walk at his right hand, M. d'Humières was recalled, and replaced by M. de Bonneuil, an individual of inferior rank; and the doge was at the same time informed that he must have the arms withdrawn from his carriage, this distinction being reserved to sovereigns, and persons of the blood royal.

The palace of Versailles was at that period, although still unfinished, sufficiently magnificent to impress the minds of the Genoese representatives with a high idea of the splendor of the monarch to whom they were about to tender their submission, and already surpassed the fading glories of Fontainebleau and St. Germain. Every obstacle had been overcome, but at a fearful sacrifice of human life. For the space of three months cart-loads of dead laborers had been borne away from amid the waste of hewn stone, destroyed by the impurity of the atmosphere, and exhausted with toil. Now, however, the regal pile bore no evidence of the blood by which its walls had been cemented, no vestige of the suffering through which it had grown into majesty and beauty. Amid stately trees, transported at enormous cost from the forests of Fontainebleau, Marly, and St. Germain, already rose on the soft turf of spacious lawns, and amid groups of flowering shrubs, the marble creations of Coysevox,*

* Antoine Coysevox, a celebrated sculptor, was born at Lyons, in 1640. At the age of twenty-seven years he proceeded to Alsace, in

Girandon,* Desjardins,† and Puget.‡ On the ceilings already began to breathe, beneath the pencils of Le

order to decorate the superb palace of Saverna for the Cardinal de Furstemberg. On his return to France he became a member of the Academy of Art, and produced several busts of Louis XIV. and other members of the royal family, and adorned by his genius several of the royal residences. The animation and delicacy of his figures won for him the appellation of the Vandyke of sculpture. His principal works are the equestrian statue of Louis XIV.; the monument of Colbert; the figures of the Dordogne, the Garonne, and the Masne; the groups of *Abundance*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*; the *Stooping Venus*, the *Shell Nymph*, the *Hamadryad*, and the *Piping Fawn*. Coysevox died in Paris, in 1720.

* François Girandon was born at Troyes in 1630. This famous statuary and architect was the pupil of Laurent Mazière, and succeeded Le Brun as inspector-general of the national sculpture. In the year 1657 he became a member of the Academy of Painting, a professor in 1659, a rector in 1674, and chancellor in 1695. His most striking productions were the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu, the equestrian statue of Louis XIV. (which was destroyed in 1792), the *Rape of Proserpine*, and the groups which embellished the baths of Apollo at Versailles. He died in 1715.

† Martin Bogaert Desjardins, a celebrated sculptor, born at Bréda, in Holland, in 1632, only commenced the study of his art at an advanced age. He principally distinguished himself by his skill in casting statues and monuments in bronze. He executed a statue of Louis XIV. for the city of Lyons; and also produced a virgin in marble, a group representing the cardinal virtues, and the tomb of his friend, Mignard, the painter. He died at Paris, in 1694.

‡ Pierre Puget, surnamed the Michel Angelo of France, was born at Marseilles, in 1623; and was sent at the age of fifteen to Rome by his father, who was himself a sculptor. He commenced his studies as a painter, but soon concentrated all his genius upon the sister art; in which he progressed so rapidly, that after his return home he was once more sent to Italy by Fouquet, on a mission connected with his profession; where he was detained until 1653, in consequence of the dismissal of his patron from office. When he again reached France, Colbert conferred upon him a pension of 1,200 crowns; and after a residence of six or seven months in Paris, he ultimately returned to his native city, where he died in 1694, and where his memory is still held in such honor, that a lofty cliff overhanging the sea, whose outline bears a considerable resemblance to a human head, is called to

Brun and Mignard,* a mythological world, in which Louis XIV. and the members of his family were represented in the garb and with the attributes of the heathen deities; but as if even this luxury of splendor did not suffice for the occasion, additional objects of taste and show were lavished on every side, and the throne prepared for the monarch excited the astonishment even of his own court.

Louis XIV. had caused this throne to be erected at the termination of the great gallery, near the Hall of Peace; and beside him stood the Dauphin, the Duke de Chartres,† the Duke de Bourbon-Condé, the Duke du Maine, and the Count de Toulouse. On either side of the gallery an amphitheater had been raised, and covered with crimson velvet for the accommodation of the ladies of the court; while the nobles, arranged in two lines at their feet, formed a double avenue through which the doge and his attendants passed to the foot of the throne. When the king entered and took his seat, the blaze of the jewels with which he was covered dazzled the eyes of the spectators; and as the doge approached, he placed his hat upon his head, and commanded him to resume the cap of embroidered crimson velvet which he had withdrawn; but the senators remained bareheaded, while the princes of the blood stood covered like the monarch.

The act of submission which had been dictated by

this day, *La Tête de Puget.* His principal works are the *Milon of Crotona*, and the *Andromeda*, which won for him from Louis XIV. the title of "The Inimitable."

* Pierre Mignard was the most celebrated portrait painter of his day; but his best works were considered to be the ceilings of the gallery at St. Cloud, the paintings in the lesser gallery at Versailles, the dome of the convent of Val-de-Grâce, and the superb painting of *St. Charles Borromeo administering the sacrament to the plague stricken at Milan.* He also excelled as a copyist of the old masters He died in 1695.

† The son of the Duke d'Orleans.

Seignelay was then read by the doge, after he had been, as a mark of indulgence on the part of Louis, accommodated with a folding-stood opposite to his own seat. The voice in which it was delivered was firm and haughty, although occasionally, as it proceeded, the velvet cap was raised for an instant and then replaced. At its conclusion, however, the doge withdrew it altogether, and by a simultaneous impulse of courtesy all the princes followed his example.

The king listened throughout with grave politeness; and at the termination of the ceremony treated both the doge and the senators with dignified politeness and magnificent liberality. All the rising wonders of Versailles were exhibited to them; a ball was given in their honor; they were received by the dauphin and the princesses; and on their departure the king presented to his new ally a magnificent box adorned with his portrait, and a suite of tapestry from the Gobelins.

As the Genoese envoys were about to leave the palace, the Marquis de Seignelay, anxious to flatter the self-love of the monarch, inquired of the stately Lescaro, who, despite the difficulties of his mission, had never, even for a moment, forgotten his dignity, what, amid all the wonders of Versailles, had caused him the most surprise? "The fact of my finding myself there," was the calm reply.

The death of the queen produced no change whatever in the habits of the court. Louis XIV. had always been grave in his deportment, and this gravity merely increased. Always attentive to his religious observances, his devotion had become more strongly marked since his intimacy with Madame de Maintenon; and, as we have already observed elsewhere, he had, from the age of thirty-five years, greatly altered his style of dress. The momentary readoption of excessive magnificence in his personal adjustment during his passion for the Duchess de

Fontanges did not survive her decease, and he thenceforward selected some dark shade of brown, occasionally relieved by a slight embroidery of gold, and sometimes only fastened by a single gold button, or a coat of black velvet. His inner vest was, however, always elaborately embroidered, and composed of green, blue, and even crimson stuff; but he displayed no rings, nor any jewels, save in his shoe and knee-buckles, and hat-band. Contrary to all precedent, he also wore his blue ribbon beneath his vest, save on state occasions, when he suffered it to depend at its full length, incrusted with precious stones estimated at eight or ten millions. The hat with its double row of plumes was also discarded, and in its place he substituted a less capacious beaver, ornamented only by a single feather.

The etiquet of his daily existence was rigorously laid down, nor did he ever deviate from its stringent and oppressive formality, but made a species of religion of its strict and minute observance—an example which engendered a large amount of hypocrisy among the inhabitants of the court; and Madame de Caylus relates, on this subject an amusing anecdote which merits mention.

M. de Brisac, a major of the guards, high in the favor of the monarch, and who, sincere and single-hearted, felt an utter abhorrence of every species of deceit, had for a considerable time been indignant to perceive that, whenever the king was about to attend divine service, all the tribunes were crowded with ladies, who never made their appearance there when it had been previously ascertained that His Majesty would not assist at the mass or vespers. On the latter occasions, under the pretext of being enabled to read their prayers, they each carried a small taper, in order that they might be remarked and recognized; and, one evening, when the king was expected, and that the ladies and the body-guards were alike at their posts, the major appeared in front of the

royal tribune, and flourishing his truncheon exclaimed, in an official tone, "Guards, retire. Return to your quarters. The king will not attend the service."

The guards marched slowly from the chapel; a low murmur rose from the tribunes occupied by the court dames; the tapers were extinguished; and, with the exception of two or three, all the fair bevy disappeared. Brisac had posted sergeants at the different doors of the chapel, with orders to cause the guards to return to their posts so soon as the ladies should have withdrawn to a sufficient distance; and they had no sooner done so than the troops resumed their station, and were speedily followed by the king himself, who, astonished at being for the first time confronted with empty benches, inquired, at the close of the service, the reason of so extraordinary an occurrence, when Brisac informed him of the test to which he had subjected the piety of the female portion of his court, and was rewarded by the hearty laughter of the monarch.

Meanwhile, the influence of Madame de Maintenon steadily progressed, for it was based upon esteem devoid of passion; and the death of the queen had rendered Louis XIV. more than ever dependent upon her friendship.

We have already shown that the monarch had, in the first instance, evinced considerable repugnance to her person, and even combated the inclinations of Madame de Montespan when she proposed to make her the gouvernante of her children; nor was it until he became convinced of her superior mental and moral qualifications that he took a less prejudiced view of the subject. He found her affectionate and zealous toward her young charge; indefatigable in her care of their education, which she based upon the most solid principles; patient under the violence of her patroness, which she never sought to avenge; cautious and discreet in the selection

of her friends; trustworthy under all circumstances, however trying; and attached to his interests, and anxious for his happiness, to an extent which rendered her bold enough to remonstrate whenever she saw him about to yield to any of the failings by which he was likely to sully the greatness of his reign, while religion ceased to be austere from her lips—for she talked to him of hope rather than of despair—and pointed his attention to the future rather than the past.

Her cotemporaries, and even those who felt aggrieved by the position to which she had so unexpectedly attained, have one and all admitted the extreme power of her intellect, the delicacy of her perceptions, her conversational talents, her penetration into character, and the soundness of her judgment; and even were it otherwise, the letters which she has left behind her would sufficiently attest her claim to each and all of these qualities. Nor were her personal attractions less calculated to attract than those of her mind; or, doubtlessly, without their effect upon the feelings of the king, who was becoming palled by the meretricious charms of the court beauties. Their fondness for display contrasted advantageously with the stateliness of her more matured loveliness; while, in the calm and dignified deportment which she exhibited, he found a welcome repose from the constant and wearisome pretensions of her self-constituted rivals.

The hopes which had been conceived, therefore, that the king would soon weary of so grave a companion, gradually faded, and it became the fashion to pay a court to Madame de Maintenon as exaggerated as the contempt which had formerly been evinced toward her person; but the mistress of the robes only profited by these demonstrations to effect projects of benevolence which, single-handed, she could not have accomplished. Such, to quote one example of this fact, was the establishment of an office of charity at Versailles, in 1684, of which all the women

of rank readily became members, in the hope of thereby gaining the favor of the sovereign, and of which she herself consented to assume the presidency; while, at the same time, she declined to accept the office of lady of honor, the first appointment at the court.

This self-abnegation provoked many and opposite comments, for while her friends attributed the refusal to a modesty which induced her to consider her position as already sufficiently exalted for her merits, her enemies alledged that she had other and higher views, with which any mere court appointment was incompatible; and meanwhile it is probable that it simply arose from her disinclination to be constantly brought into contact with the dauphiness, of whose dislike she had already received many and mortifying proofs.*

At the period when Madame de Montespan founded the convent of St. Joseph, Madame de Maintenon had already collected, near the palace of Ruel, a number of well-born young women of impoverished families, whom she caused to be educated in a manner at once suited to their high birth and their altered circumstances, by two elderly nuns of talent, experience, and noble blood, who, on the destruction of their community, had applied to her for protection. The existence of this little school, or community, was no sooner ascertained than several families in reduced circumstances solicited for their daughters the benevolence of its founder; and Madame de Maintenon became convinced that the building which she had appropriated for their residence would no longer contain its inmates. A more extensive edifice was therefore purchased near Versailles; but as even this establishment soon proved inadequate to its purpose, the king, who ascertained that nearly all the pupils were the children of men by whom he had been faithfully served, considered that it would be expedient to extend the limits of Madame de Maintenon's

* Mémoires de la Beaumelle.

benevolence, by founding a spacious and noble institution for the education of the daughters of his nobility.

In pursuance of this object he accordingly acquired a vast and venerable chateau, the property of M. Seguier, situated at the entrance of the village of St. Cyr, near Versailles; and having pulled down the original edifice, raised above its ruins the regal foundation which took its name from the adjoining hamlet, and which became, ere long, celebrated throughout Europe. The building itself was of extreme architectural simplicity, but admirably adapted to its purpose, and the gardens were at once extensive and magnificent.

The king, anxious to ascertain its probable cost, consulted M. de Louvois; and that minister, whose estimates were always drawn up somewhat loosely, after directing the attention of the monarch to the fact that the community was to consist of four hundred persons, computed the outlay at five hundred thousand livres annually; while Madame de Maintenon, who had also made her calculation, estimated the expenses at only fifty thousand crowns; and, in this dilemma, Louis XIV. adopted a medium measure, and assigned a revenue of three hundred thousand livres to the establishment.

A short period of practical experience sufficed, however, to prove to Madame de Maintenon that even this princely income would not support an institution which became ere long so popular, that every noble family in the kingdom was anxious to partake its benefits; and she consequently cast her eyes on the rich abbey of St. Denis, which was then vacant, and proposed it to the king as almost sufficient to provide for the maintenance of the new establishment. This proposition startled the monarch; there was no precedent for such an appropriation; but when he reflected that the monks of St. Denis were living under the direction of a prior, and never even saw their abbot (who was generally a powerful noble, neither taking nor affecting any in-

terest in the abbey), he was induced to suppress it, and to consecrate its revenues to the establishment of St. Cyr.

The monks protested in vain: they were referred to Madame de Maintenon, who succeeded, if not in reconciling them to the transfer, at least in silencing their objections; and this was no sooner accomplished than the monarch caused a magnificent suite of apartments to be prepared for himself in the principal quadrangle, in order that he might occasionally assist, alike at the studies and the recreations of the pupils.

In the first instance the education of the children was confided to the care of canonesses; but as these ladies took only annual vows, and were free to retire when the period of their religious engagement had terminated, and as, since the foundation of the seminary, several of their number had already availed themselves of the privilege, while there was reason to apprehend that the example would be followed by others, the Abbé de Fénélon, who was the declared enemy of these temporary and capricious vocations, suggested the expediency of introducing at St. Cyr the same fixed and immutable vows as in other religious houses, and of enforcing them without loss of time.

The poor canonesses were startled by the sentence, and many among them vehemently refused to submit to a fate which they had never contemplated; but the eloquent abbé was proof against both tears and representations. He impressed upon them, that the rivers which had flowed from the beginning of creation had never presumed to arrest their currents, nor to deviate from their course—that the sun had never ventured to abandon its functions, nor to turn back upon its path of clouds—that wise kings never abdicated the thrones to which they had been called—and that God himself steadily pursued his mysterious and unwearied watch without rest or change of purpose, and thus indicated the duty of the creatures whom he had made. Suffice it that St. Cyr became a cloister, and that thence

forward Louis XIV. counted a new convent in his dominions.*

The position of Madame de Maintenon became daily more and more difficult. Regularly at three o'clock each day the king proceeded to her apartments, and there, reclining in an arm-chair near the fire, he passed two or three hours—sometimes watching the progress of her tapestry work, and conversing with her on the events of the day, and at others, listening somewhat carelessly to Racine, who was summoned to read portions of the tragedies upon which he was engaged; at intervals inquiring of the more attentive Madame de Maintenon, "What is the opinion of your solidity on this production?" And thus summoned, the lady put forth all her powers to amuse a monarch who was rapidly becoming unamuseable.†

In truth, a weariness of existence was rapidly growing upon Louis XIV.; he had outlived his loves, his griefs, and almost his ambition; all he wanted was repose, and this he found in the society of an accomplished, judicious, and unassuming woman, who although he occasionally transacted business in her presence with Louvois, never presumed to proffer an opinion, save when he appealed to her judgment, and even then tendered it with reluctance and reserve.

These facts were, however, unknown to the world; and Madame de Maintenon was far from obtaining in general opinion the credit merited by her blameless deportment. In vain had the king, upon more than one occasion, proposed to her a friendship still more intimate. She was proof against so equivocal an ambition, and reminded him of the miseries which former irregularities of this description had entailed not only upon his favorites, but also upon himself; the domestic dissensions—the public reprobation—and above all, the remorse of conscience.

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

† Versailles Ancien et Moderne.

These arguments were as novel as they were startling to the self-worshiping monarch. He had so long been accustomed to see the dishonor, denounced by Madame de Maintenon with indignation, solicited as a favor beyond all price, that there can be no doubt her influence was increased by their utterance; but, meanwhile, her position was, as we have already remarked, one of extraordinary delicacy, while that of the king himself was not without embarrassment. Not even the death of the queen, which raised the dauphiness to the first rank at court, could induce that princess to emerge from her retirement, and her circle was gloomy and inhospitable at a period when Louis XIV. required entertainment. His children were advancing in age, and required more vigilance than he had energy to exert, although his affection toward them was sincere and unwearied. His first illusions were dissipated, and he felt his moral isolation; while his ebbing vanity suffered acutely from the calm and resolute self-respect of Madame de Maintenon.

It was probably this irritation of feeling which induced him to lend a willing ear to the proposition of Père la Chaise and Madame de Maintenon herself, both of whom had been urged to the atrocity of which they thus became the responsible agents, by the influence of the Jesuits (who had long looked with anger and impatience upon the increasing importance of the Calvinists in the southern provinces), that he should hasten to revoke the Edict of Nantes—a step upon which he had, however, long before decided, although he had hitherto deferred its execution.

On ascending the throne in 1643, Louis XIV. had confirmed the privileges of the Protestants, but subsequently all the restrictions to which they had been subjected under Louis XIII. were once more gradually put in force; nor was it long ere the new monarch carried his hostility toward the reformed religion to a height never attempted by his predecessor. In the first instance he had been

wary in his exhibition, but this caution was ultimately laid aside, until his severity was exerted so unequivocally that it compelled the catastrophe which supervened.

Every device which could be suggested to enforce proselytism was eagerly adopted; favors of every description were lavished upon those whom fear or avarice had converted to Romanism; they were exempted from taxation, from guardianship, and from local contributions; were excused their debts, delivered from the coercion of paternal authority, and even permitted to marry without the consent of their Calvinist parents; while they were, moreover, advanced in the several professions to which they devoted their talents. Far different, however, was the fate of those who clung to their persecuted creed for conscience sake.

Even from the year 1630 they had been made the victims of new hardships and of new indignities, until they were altogether deprived of the common rights of citizenship. Their colleges were closed; their youth shut out from every chance of an honorable or useful career; their churches interdicted; their inheritances wrested from them; and, finally, their dead forbidden to share the graves of their ancestors.* But they still lived; and even this privilege was now considered too great for the unfortunate Calvinists.

The aim of Madame de Maintenon, in urging the monarch to an act of such iniquitous barbarity as that of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was, as she averred, the hope of proselytism; she forgot alike the blood and the tears which must inundate the soil of France; she did not pause to remember how much the proscribed reformers had already borne for the sake of their faith; nor to speculate upon the amount of suffering which they might still be willing to endure in its defense. She desired to purge the kingdom of what she considered to be

* Histoire de France. *Anquetil.*

a damnable heresy, and her bigotry closed the eyes of her mercy. Her fatal counsels admit of but one palliation: the idea was not her own; and she did but hasten a catastrophe which, as we have already stated, had long been contemplated by Louis XIV. himself.

As a proof of this fact, he had, in the year 1682, recalled the Abbé du Chayla from India, and had sent him to Mende, with the title of Archpriest, and Inspector of Missions in the Cevennes.

The history of this man is, from first to last, a frightful romance. The Abbé du Chayla was a younger son of the house of Langlade, who had, despite his predilection for a military life, found himself compelled to enter the church; but unable to support the monotony of the ecclesiastical profession in his own country, and eager alike for enterprise and excitement, had resolved on a missionary voyage to India, and arrived at Pondicherry precisely at the moment when the King of Siam had put to death, amid the most cruel tortures, several other missionaries whose zeal for proselytism had excited his displeasure; while, simultaneously with these executions, an order had also been promulgated which forbade all French priests to penetrate into Chinese-India; and the Abbé du Chayla no sooner ascertained this fact than he resolved upon entering the interdicted territory.

Three months afterward he was made a prisoner, and cited before the governor of Balkan, by whom he was summoned immediately to abjure his religion, or in his turn to suffer martyrdom. Undaunted by the terrible nature of his position, the abbé did not hesitate, but bending his knees in prayer, suffered himself to be passively led away by his executioners, and subjected to every species of torture of which the human frame is susceptible. Not even a groan escaped his lips; and, at length, with mutilated hands, wounded body, and legs crushed by their heavy fetters, he fainted from excessive anguish, and was

supposed to have expired. He was then lifted from the ground, and fastened by the wrists to a tree by the road side, where he was left as a warning to those who might be, like himself, disposed to brave the displeasure of the king.

At nightfall, a poor pariah released him from his bonds, dragged him to his miserable but hospitable hovel, and by perseverance restored him to existence. The French ambassador, informed of the fearful butchery to which he had been subjected, and unconscious that he still survived, demanded justice for this violence exerted on a subject of France; and the King of Siam, upon ascertaining that he had escaped with life, gladly restored a mutilated but living being to the minister who had sought only to reclaim a corpse.

Such was the man whom Louis XIV., probably foreseeing the rebellion which would ensue in the southern provinces of France on the promulgation of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, dispatched in an official capacity to the Cevennes, where the persecuted at once became the persecutor, and exercised barbarities hitherto unpracticed in a Christian land.

We have now before us a detailed account of the enormous and fiend-like inventions in which he combined the demoniacal ingenuity of Indian torture with the scientific cruelties of semi-civilization; but we dare not do more than glance at the page on which they are enshrined like a monument of execration. Suffice it that even his most ardent panegyrists—for even this wretched man had his flatterers—and his firmest allies never spoke of him without a feeling of dread and apprehension; while it is recorded of himself, that there were moments in which, as his own acts rose accusingly before his tortured conscience, he was seized with shuddering fits which forced him to his knees, where he frequently remained for hours together, with clasped hands, and so thoroughly mastered by his terror, that big drops of agony started from his pale fore-

head, and rolled like a death-sweat over his haggard cheeks.

And he it was who, aided by M. de Baville, the Intendant of Languedoc, and supported by M. de Broglie, was to enforce in the ill-fated south the execution of the fearful decree which Louis XIV. was about to put forth.

On the 18th of October, 1685, the king ultimately signed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had already been presented to the council in the preceding April, and decided on in the following August; and it was when doing this that Louis XIV. added to the mottoes which he had already adopted that of *Lex una sub uno !** There was no need to write it in blood at Versailles—the hand of death was to engrave it elsewhere.

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle

CHAPTER XVII.

Court Annoyances—Resistance of Madame de Maintenon; her Influence on the Manners of the Court—Louis XIV. wearied of Madame de Montespan; her Banishment determined—The Duke de Vivonne—The Brother and Sister—The Drive to Clagny—Indignation of Madame de Montespan—The Pension—The Lettre-de-Cachet—Return of Madame de Montespan to Versailles—Interview of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan—Egotism of the Monarch—Intemperance of the Marchioness—Appearance of Madame de Maintenon—Madame de Montespan on a Sick-Bed—Threat of Madame de Maintenon—The Duke du Maine—Court Councilors—Interposition of the Dauphin—The unsuccessful Mission—The Court Physician—An indiscreet Inference—Mortification of Madame de Maintenon—Sudden Resolution of Louis XIV.—The Snow-Storm—The Primate of Paris—The Bridal Procession—Marriage of Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon—Departure of Madame de Montespan for Petit-Bourg; her Presentation to the Wife of Louis XIV—The Tabouret—The Duke du Maine—Retribution—Final Departure of Madame de Montespan from Versailles.

Nor was the court itself destined to remain without its intestine warfare; for the king, more and more irritated

by the resolute refusal of Madame de Maintenon to listen to the overtures which he still persisted in addressing to her, and ill at ease as to the results of the fearful enterprise upon which he had entered, found his internal tranquillity menaced from within and without, and succeeded at last in persuading himself that he could not dispense with the possession of her entire affection; while incapable, from past experience, of believing in a virtue sufficient of itself to withstand temptation, he busied himself in endeavoring to discover the real cause of her opposition, when, as a natural consequence, his thoughts fastened upon Madame de Montespan.

It was easy to understand that a woman, however charming and attractive she might still be, must necessarily look with suspicion upon a rival who had once been all-powerful, and who still possessed over herself the advantage of comparative youth; and Louis XIV., with his usual egotism, no sooner imagined that he had discovered the real obstacle to his wishes than he resolved to rid himself of a person who had become not only indifferent, but even obnoxious to him. It is true that she was the mother of the most promising of his children, but he had made those children princes; that she had consecrated to him the brightest years of her life, but in return he had enriched her to a degree which insured not only the comfort, but even the luxury of those which were to supervene; that he had sullied her name with infamy, but it was an infamy which she had worn like a regal robe, and cinctured about her brows as proudly as a diadem; consequently, according to his kingly calculation, they stood upon equal ground.

Moreover, the temper of the marchioness had become soured by the desertion of the monarch; and, as she was utterly destitute of the real dignity which would have prompted her to endure the change in silence, she had not hesitated to overwhelm him with reproaches, which

were couched in no measured or courteous terms. She taunted him with his moral and natural defects; upbraided him with the sacrifices which she had made for his sake; sneered at the want of self-control which had rendered him, in the decline of life, the slave of a mere vain and mindless girl; and ridiculed without mercy the mature graces of his chosen friend.

All this was gall and bitterness to a monarch like Louis XIV., who had from his earliest years compelled the respect of those about him, and been for a time worshiped as something more than mortal; and, consequently, urged on the one hand by his growing attachment to Madame de Maintenon, and on the other by his desire to liberate himself from the thrall of an outworn passion, he determined, could he not otherwise secure the possession of his new favorite, to exact the disparition of Madame de Montespan from the court.

Nothing could be more easy than to form such a resolution, but its execution involved infinitely more difficulty. The timid La Vallière, the proud Mary de Mancini, and the virtuous Mademoiselle d'Houdancourt, had each in her turn yielded without expostulation; but no such calm concession could be anticipated from the fiery and sarcastic marchioness, who pointed haughtily to her children, and spoke loudly of her claims upon the gratitude of the king. It was, therefore, by no means wonderful that Louis XIV. should shrink from personally communicating his pleasure to the condemned favorite; and ere he proceeded to so extreme a measure as her banishment, resolve to have a final explanation with Madame de Maintenon, whose influence not only over himself individually, but also over the manners, and even, to all appearance, the morals of his court, had already produced the most striking effects.

Libertine exploits were no longer a theme of public conversation in the presence of women, and were only

whispered with precaution among the young nobles themselves, to relieve the tedium of a long detention in the royal antechambers, while religious subjects were openly discussed in the presence of the sovereign. The dresses of the court ladies had become more matronly in their fashion, the use of rouge was partially abandoned, and a certain staid gravity had succeeded to the coquetish bearing of the courtiers of both sexes. Balls became rare, and theaters remained empty, while every metropolitan church which boasted an eloquent preacher was filled to overflowing; and instead of the opera, the last intrigue, and the gaming-table, the highborn and the beautiful alike discoursed of Rome, indulgences, and the religious jubilee. The priesthood were rapidly becoming all-powerful, while the monarch, more and more dependent for his hourly comfort upon the tranquil pleasures and unceasing attentions for which he was indebted to Madame de Maintenon, felt the utter impossibility of leaving her free to abandon him, should her confessor urge her to such a step, or, on his own part, to retain her near him in so indifferent a character as that of his friend.

Under this impression he therefore made a last effort to overcome her scruples; but he submitted vainly to this condescension. Madame de Maintenon remained firm, and even threatened to abandon the court should the king again repeat his solicitations. More than ever convinced by so resolute an opposition (jarring as it did with all his previous experience of the sex), that nothing save jealousy could have enabled her so resolutely to maintain her purpose, Louis had no sooner asked and obtained the pardon of his error, than, convinced that by such a measure he should ultimately insure success where he had now so signally failed, he informed her of his desire that she should become the messenger of his displeasure to the offending favorite.*

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf.

Like himself, however, she shrunk from such contact with Madame de Montespan; and after having with great reluctance consented to become an actor in so disagreeable a drama, she sent to request the presence of the Marquis de Vivonne, the brother of the marchioness, a man of prudence and honor, upon whose judgment and good faith she felt that she could rely.

At the close of their interview the marquis drove at once to the apartments of his sister, whom he found languid, discontented, and irritable. Nothing daunted, however, by the unpromising nature of her mood, he proposed to her that she should share his carriage and accompany him to Clagny, alledging that the pure air and exercise would tend to restore the tone of her nerves. To this proposal Madame de Montespan listlessly consented: to her, at that moment, any companionship was preferable to her own thoughts; and the brother and sister were in a few minutes beyond the boundaries of Versailles.

They had no sooner arrived at their destination than the marquis prepared to fulfill his mission, which he did in the most gentle terms, commenting upon the failing health and fading looks of the marchioness, and counseling her at once to abdicate all her pretensions to the favor of the king, and to retire to one of her estates.

Madame de Montespan answered only by a burst of passion; but M. de Vivonne was not discouraged. He reminded her that the monarch, although he had never distinctly commanded her retirement, had more than once hinted to her his wish that she should withdraw from the court, with the dignity befitting the mother of his children; he forced upon her the fact that her influence had long ceased, and that it was not probable, after having failed to maintain her supremacy over so pitiful a rival as Mademoiselle de Fontanges, that she could hope to cope with so powerful an antagonist as Madame de Maintenon; he

urged upon her the respect which she owed to herself, and the sacrifice which was due to the exalted position of her children; and finally he recalled to her memory the daily-increasing piety of the monarch, which caused him to look with bitter compunction upon the effects of a weakness that had led him to a twofold violation of the marriage tie, and drawn down upon him the censures of the church.

Madame de Montespan threw herself back among the cushions of her chair, and waved her hand disdainfully. She was, however, startled from her haughty attitude by his demanding whether the anonymous letters which she had from time to time received had not sufficiently served to intimate the pleasure of the king? and whether after such direct and unequivocal warnings, she was still resolved to expose herself to the indignity of being dismissed from a court whence she must feel assured that her absence was resolved upon, while she had yet time to retire with honor?

At the mention of these letters the eyes of Madame de Montespan blazed with fury. She had, indeed, received such; but believing that they were the mere productions of individual malice, and, consequently, a secret between herself and the writer, she had committed them to the flames, and dismissed the circumstance from her memory. Now, however, she learned that this was far from being the case; and with an ill-concealed tremor in her voice, she inquired if she were to understand that the letters to which he alluded were addressed to her by His Majesty?

The answer did not tend to reassure her; they had been written by the Marquis de Chamarante under the king's dictation, and were intended to open her eyes to the real nature of her position, and to enable her to retire with credit from a scene where her presence had become importunate. Now, however, the marquis proceeded to

declare, she had no longer the privilege of deliberation; for he was commissioned to inform her, that if she did not immediately avail herself of the permission accorded to her through himself, to depart upon the instant from Versailles, she would be formally expelled by a *lettre-de-cachet.*

Madame de Montespan started from her seat. This was an indignity of which she had never dreamed; and she was passionately pouring forth expressions of incredulity and defiance, when the marquis calmly bade her, instead of wasting moments which had now become precious, in idle invective, rather to summon her household to Clagny, and to set forth on the morrow either for his own chateau of Boissy, or for her palace at Petit-Bourg, where, on the following day, he would explain the precise circumstances of her position.

Madame de Montespan insisted, however, upon being fully informed on the instant; and then learned that the king had resolved upon her final retirement, and that he had already settled upon her an annual pension of six hundred thousand livres,* in order that she might be enabled to support the state required for the mother of his children.

Madame de Montespan buried her face in her hands, and remained for a considerable time lost in thought; and when she at length looked up, her lips were pale and her voice trembled. She had not shed a tear, but her breast heaved, and she had evidently come to a decision. Folding her shawl about her, she requested the marquis immediately to drive her back to Versailles, it being necessary, as she asserted, that she should collect her money, her jewels, and her papers; after which she declared that she was ready, for the sake of her family, to follow his advice. M. de Vivonne, never doubting the sincerity of her words, at once complied with the request; and having

* Equal in value to 2,400,000 livres of the present day.

conducted her to her apartments on their arrival at the palace, hastened to inform Madame de Maintenon of the success of his mission.

But the solitude of the banished favorite was not destined long to remain uninvaded; scarcely twenty minutes had elapsed when the door of her apartment opened, and Louis XIV. himself entered unannounced.

Nothing could be more characteristic of the two personages than the scene which ensued. Never were the self-satisfied and mean egotism of the monarch, or the intemperate violence of his old favorite, more fully demonstrated than in this interview. The king entered the apartment with all the tranquillity induced by the conviction that he was about to be disembarrassed of an importunate individual who had long ceased to be necessary to his happiness; and the marchioness watched his approach with all the forced placidity of one who scorned to let him see the extent of her mortification, but who was not, nevertheless, sufficiently mistress of her temper to control the passion that was gathering like a storm-cloud in the depths of her spirit.

There was, indeed, almost a smile upon the lip of the monarch as he advanced; and, feigning not to remark the difficulty with which she suppressed the feelings that were raging in her bosom, accosted her in a tone of careless courtesy, congratulating her upon the decision to which she had come, and of which he had already been apprised by M. de Vivonne, and assuring her that it was one which would be applauded by all the world. Thence he digressed to the period of their first attachment, and begged her to remember that eighteen years* had since elapsed; and that they were mutually indebted for its long duration simply to the circumstance that it had been alimented by the difficulties consequent upon their previous position. He spoke of their children, as of his own personal

* It began in 1667. The marchioness was born in 1647.

property; expatiated upon what he had already done, and what he still purposed to do in their behalf; and called her attention to the fact, that, in the act by which they were recognized in parliament, her name had not appeared as their mother, in consequence of her *previous ties* having rendered such a measure impossible; but assured her that, so long as he lived, they should never be suffered to forget to whom they owed their existence. He next proceeded to declare that he was well aware that the most troubled years of his life, and of his reign, had been embellished by her wit and the charm of her society, and that he should ever retain this recollection; feeling that, although separated in fact, he should still be united in thought with a person who would always be remembered by himself as the mother of children very dear to him.

Crushed deeper and deeper by these accumulated insults, Madame de Montespan attempted no reply, but suffered the king to exhaust all his eloquence ere she interrupted his harangue; while, satisfied by the mute attention with which she listened, and never doubting that by his condescension he should be enabled to separate from her without the scandal which he had hitherto apprehended, he further proceeded to remind her that he had from time to time so greatly increased her fortune, that he believed it at that moment to be considerable; but that, nevertheless, he was prepared still more to augment its amount; and that, should the pension which had been announced to her by M. de Vivonne appear inadequate, he was willing, at her request, to increase it. That her children had become princes, who must, as a natural consequence, reside at the court, but that she might be permitted to see them frequently, as he would give an order to that effect; and, finally, that he would advise her to adopt the initiative, and to write to her husband, not to request him to annul and revoke the judicial and legal separation which existed between them, but to inform him

that she had become rational, and had at length resolved to reinstate herself in public opinion.

It was, perhaps, fortunate that at this moment the children of the marchioness, who had been summoned by the king to take leave of their mother, who was, as they were informed, about to *set out on a journey*, were conducted to her apartment; for, in all probability, it softened in some degree the asperity of the wounded and exasperated woman, whose pride and feelings had alike been lacerated by this lengthy and cold-blooded address.

Certain it is, that, after a short interval, during which Louis XIV. made no attempt to continue his harangue, she controlled herself sufficiently to remark, with a portion of her constitutional haughtiness, that she was lost in astonishment at the indifference with which a monarch, whose magnanimity had been vaunted by the world and credited by himself, could throw from him a woman who had sacrificed every thing to his will. She then reminded him, in her turn, that, from the period in which he had become estranged from her, she had never suffered herself to overstep the boundary of respect due to one who, in ceasing to remain her lover, had once more become her sovereign; but that she had submitted herself to his pleasure, if not without remonstrance, at least without public expostulation; and she finally demanded to know for what reason an estrangement, which had already been supported by herself with patience for the space of two years, was to be rendered more conspicuous until the period when her two younger children would no longer require her care.

Louis XIV. started in alarm, as he inquired whether she had already altered her resolution, and was about to falsify the promise which she had made to her brother.

The reply was uttered with an expression of scorn that left no doubt of its sincerity. Far from seeking to retain her present worse than equivocal position, the marchioness declared that she should absent herself with delight from

scenes that to her had become hateful by the perfidy and treachery with which she was compelled to associate them, and that she would gladly consent never again to approach the person of the king, on condition that the odious woman who had succeeded in supplanting her unsuspicious benefactress should share her exile.

"The kings of Europe," replied the monarch, pale with agitation and anger, "have never yet ventured to dictate laws in my palace, nor shall you, madam, subject me to yours. The person whom I have for too long a period suffered you to offend and mortify possesses ancestors as noble as your own; and if you did, indeed, open to her the gates of the palace, you, by so doing, introduced there goodness, gentleness, talent, and virtue. Be your vindictiveness as bitter as it may, this enemy whom you have slandered wherever you could find listeners, and who has upon every occasion endeavored to excuse and justify you, will remain near that throne which was defended by her fathers, and which is even now strengthened by her own wise counsels. In seeking to remove you from a court where your presence and your pretensions have long been alike misplaced, I wished to save you the knowledge, and, from kind feeling, to spare you the evidence, of *an event* calculated to irritate your nature, which every thing tends to exasperate; but stay here, madam, stay here, since you love great catastrophes, and are amused by them; the day after to-morrow you will be, more than ever, a *supernumerary* in the palace."

There was no possibility of mistaking such an announcement; and Madame de Montespan at once felt that it implied the complete and public triumph of her rival, though she was yet far from foreseeing the extent of that triumph. She had, however, heard more than enough, and she fell senseless to the ground.

Her women, summoned by the king, who looked on rather with impatience than sympathy, soon succeeded in

restoring her to consciousness; while the first words which fell upon her ear were those of Louis, who remarked to her steward, "All this wearies me beyond endurance. She must leave the palace this very day."

"Yes, I will leave it!" exclaimed the exasperated woman, springing from the arms of her attendants, seizing a desert-knife which lay on a bureau, and thence rushing upon the little Count de Toulouse, whom his father held by the hand, "I will leave it—but first—"

At this moment of delirium a lateral door was suddenly opened, and Madame de Maintenon, who had probably apprehended some scene of a similar description, made one bound toward the wretched woman, and in the next moment had torn both the weapon and the affrighted child from her grasp; her face was bathed in tears; and as she appeared, the king tottered to the chimney-piece, buried his eyes in his hands, and wept profusely.

The children were removed by the attendants; and they were no sooner in safety than Madame de Maintenon, who had received a slight wound in wrenching the knife from the clasp of the unhappy mother, busied herself in binding her hand in her handkerchief, while her rival exclaimed, passionately, "Ah, madam, had I believed what the king told me fourteen years ago, my life would not have been in your power to-day." Madame de Maintenon started, and forced a faint smile; after which she clasped the hand of the marchioness with a look of sympathy, and quitted the apartment.

As the king saw her disappear, he aroused himself from the paroxysm of emotion by which he had been momentarily overcome, and slowly followed her example; nor could the supplications of the wretched marchioness induce him to delay his departure. "I entreated him in vain," she says, with a heart-brokenness which for a moment causes us to forget her frailty; "he did not return!"*

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

A violent fever was the result of this interview to the discarded favorite, who was thereby prevented from leaving the palace; but it induced no change in the arrangements which had been previously made.

For a considerable time the king had complained to his confessor of the resistance of Madame de Maintenon, and had more than hinted his desire that the reverend Jesuit would exert his influence over the mind of his penitent, and induce her to submit to his wishes; but he had been considerably startled when, on one of these occasions, Père la Chaise ventured to suggest that a private marriage would at once satisfy the scruples of the lady and those of his own conscience.

Louis XIV. hesitated; and while he remained irresolute, Madame de Maintenon, in reply to the passionate reproaches with which he again ventured to assail her, declared that the conflict she was compelled to sustain between her heart and her inclinations was already so great that she could no longer expose herself to a temptation to which she was resolved never to yield, but which was nevertheless undermining her health and ruining her peace; and that she had consequently resolved upon following the example of La Vallière, and dedicating the remainder of her life to the cloister; where she would spend it in combating a passion to which she felt that it would be a sin to succumb, and in prayers for him by whom it had been inspired.

This declaration affected Louis to a degree which almost deprived him of his reason, and he was still suffering from its first effects, when the Duke du Maine rushed into his apartment, and flinging himself at his feet, implored him not to sanction the departure of one who had really been his mother, and whom he loved with an intensity which involved all his earthly happiness.

Louis required little persuasion, for his own wishes coincided with those of his son, but the dread of ridicule still

restrained him; and refusing to reply to the passionate entreaties of the duke, or to the reasoning of his confessor, whom he knew to be devoted to the interests of Madame de Maintenon, he resolved to consult Bossuet ere he finally compromised his word. When, however, Bossuet also pronounced his fiat in favor of the marriage, and represented to the king the disastrous effects which must inevitably accrue, alike to his reputation and to his eternal welfare, from a new connection similar to those by which the past years of his life had been too often sullied, combined with the obligations due to Madame de Maintenon for her refusal to plunge him once more into the same career of error, the monarch declared himself convinced, and authorized the bishop to announce to her the offer of his hand.

Upon this occasion the dauphin for the first time laid aside his apathy, and asserted himself as became the son of a great monarch. He no sooner ascertained the fact of the intended marriage than he hastened from Meudon to Versailles, and presenting himself in the royal chamber at an hour when the king was not accustomed to admit any one to his presence, he commenced his expostulations as a respectful child, and terminated them as the heir to the throne; while, unused as was Louis XIV. to any opposition to his will, the arguments of the young prince were so powerful, and involved such high interests, that he consented to take further advice ere he carried his intention into effect. The difficulty was, however, whom to consult; and as the monarch urged this fact with some querulousness, the dauphin suggested that he should demand the opinions of the Abbé Fénélon, and Louvois: two men of whose zeal and loyalty he had in numerous circumstances had ample proof, and who differed alike in profession and feeling.

This suggestion was followed; and both Fénélon and Louvois protested against a marriage by which the per-

sonal dignity of the monarch and the interests of the nation must alike be compromised; when the dauphin, proud of the influence which he had for the first time exerted over the mind of his father, and satisfied with the promise he received from his own lips that the marriage should not take place, returned to Meudon, where he passed a fortnight in the happy conviction that it had been a mere caprice, which had terminated as idly as it had commenced; while the abbé and the minister alike congratulated themselves on the happy result of their arguments; the first little suspecting that his court favor was thenceforth at an end; or the second, if the evidence of St. Simon be worthy of credence, that his ill-omened interference on that occasion would ultimately cost him his life.

The first doubt of his entire success which was forced upon the mind of the dauphin was, however, engendered by a proposal officially made to him, that if he would consent to withdraw his opposition to the projected marriage, an illegitimate daughter, to whom he was fondly attached, should be immediately legitimated; but even this voluntary concession failed to produce any effect upon the mind of the prince.

"Return to those who intrusted you with this humiliating compromise," he said, proudly; "and tell them that I do, and always shall, regard them as the most implacable enemies of France, and of the glory of her monarch. If I am ever unfortunate enough to become their master, I swear to you that I will give them cause to repent their audacity in striving to make me favorable to their plot, by offering to legitimatize my daughter; and if the affection which I bear her were capable of inducing me to such an act of madness, I would pray to God, on my bended knees, at this very moment to deprive me of her rather than suffer me to sanction so glaring an impropriety. Leave the room, and never again venture into my presence."

The resolute opposition of the dauphin appeared to ren

der all further idea of the marriage impossible, when a slight indisposition, by which Madame de Maintenon was for a few days confined to her bed, and an incident consequent upon that indisposition, determined Louis XIV. to conclude it without further reference either to his family or his ministers.

It chanced that Daquin, the physician of the lady, entered the apartment during one of the frequent visits of the king; and being desired to act as though he were not present, proceeded to question his patient upon the several symptoms of her ailment; after which he inquired if he were not correct in assuming that she was likely to become a mother?

Nothing could exceed the indignation of Madame de Maintenon at such an inquiry. "Begone, sir!" she cried angrily, as she raised herself upon her elbow; "begone instantly, and never let me see your face again in my apartment!"

"Nor at my court," added the equally offended monarch.

"Such, sir," murmured the invalid, as the bewildered and mortified physician disappeared, and she herself fell back upon her pillow, veiling her burning cheek with her hand—"such is the result of my error. Innocent as I may be in my own eyes, the world does not acquit me; and I had no right to visit its mistake upon that incautious man; he merely judged of me by report—and that report condemned me."

"It shall do so no longer," said the king, firmly, as he rose, and left the room.

A deep snow was falling; and the wind, which drove it heavily against the casements of the archiepiscopal palace, was roaring in the wide chimney, and detaching a few slates from the ancient roof of the cathedral, when a loud knocking at the entrance-gate of the primate's residence suddenly echoed through the vast apartment in which he

was just listlessly concluding a game at chess with his almoner, and at intervals pitying the fate of the unfortunate wayfarers who were exposed to the inclement weather. In a few instants the door of the room opened, and a court messenger respectfully presented a sealed packet, which M. de Paris hastily opened; and having perused the contents, he dismissed the courier with the simple words, "That is sufficient;" upon which the functionary withdrew; and, as he closed the door behind him, the primate turned to the almoner, and said quietly, "Prepare, sir, if you please, a green vestment; mark the missal at the article *de matrimoniis;* put every thing necessary into a carriage, get into it yourself, and wait for me."

The clock of the cathedral struck eleven as the carriage left the portal of the archiepiscopal palace; and at half-past twelve M. de Harlay and his almoner reached the gate of the Chateau of Versailles, where Bontems was awaiting them, who had no sooner convinced himself of the identity of the visitors than he conducted them across the marble court to the private closet of the king, where they found Madame de Maintenon in full dress, with Louis XIV. standing beside her, while a few paces apart stood the Marquis de Montchevreuil and Père la Chaise.

As the eye of the king rested upon the archbishop, he exclaimed, "Let us go;" and taking the hand of the lady, he led her forward through the long suite of rooms, followed by the other actors in this extraordinary scene, who moved on in profound silence thrown for an instant into broad light by the torch carried by Bontems, and then suddenly lost in the deep darkness beyond its influence. Nothing was to be heard as the bridal party proceeded, save the muffled sound of their footsteps, deadened by the costly carpets over which they trod; but it was remarked that, as the light flashed for an instant across the portraits of his family which clothed the walls, Louis XIV. glanced eagerly and somewhat nervously upon them as though he dreaded

the rebuke of some stern eye or haughty lip, for the weakness of which he was about to become guilty.

And that some such feeling of morbid apprehension had indeed fastened upon his imagination was made manifest by the fact, that, upon entering the old chapel, which had been lighted up for the ceremony, the king gazed earnestly for an instant upon the last portrait that had been suspended there, and which was that of Maria Theresa; and Bontems, who chanced to be at his elbow, overheard him murmur to himself, "Have I seen aright? She seemed to look angrily upon me."*

The individuals collected about the altar were Père la Chaise, the Archbishop of Paris, the Marquis and Marchioness de Montchevreuil, Louvois, the Marquis de Chamarante, Bontems, valet-de-chambre to the king, and Mademoiselle Nanon, the favorite attendant of Madame de Maintenon.

According to St. Simon, Louvois had only consented to be present on the express condition that the marriage should never be publicly declared; but be this as it may, he acted conjointly with M. de Montchevreuil as its official witness. A temporary altar had been erected in the king's cabinet; and he no sooner entered, leading Madame de Maintenon by the hand, and knelt down beside her, than Père la Chaise celebrated the mass, while the Archbishop of Paris presented the marriage rings, and finally pronounced the benediction; after which the nuptial party departed for the Chateau de Maintenon.

On the morrow all Versailles and the capital rang with the astounding news—Louis XIV. had become the husband of the widow Scarron!

On her return to the palace Madame de Maintenon took possession of a magnificent suite of apartments which had been expressly prepared for her; and although she retained her liveries, she thenceforward ap-

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf.

peared only in the carriage of the king, where she occupied the seat formerly sacred to the queen. In private she received the honors due to royalty, and was addressed as "Your Majesty;" while the monarch, whenever he had occasion to mention her, designated her simply, *Madame.*

It is singular that Madame de Montespan, even hating her as she did, should assert that although the king was anxious to declare their marriage, Madame de Maintenon constantly refused to permit it; "and by this wise and prudent conduct reconciled in time even those who had been the most hostile to the measure;"* while St. Simon asserts, on the contrary, that she was greatly disappointed in her hope of entire recognition as Queen of France, and affords such detail of the fact that we are compelled to yield belief to his statement.

A few days after this quasi-royal marriage, Madame de Montespan, having partially recovered her health, removed to her residence at Petit-Bourg, where she was immediately assailed by the whole of her family, who hastened to impress upon her the necessity of losing no more time in paying her respects to Madame de Maintenon as the wife of the monarch, if not for her own sake at least for theirs, who must inevitably be compromised by any mark of disrespect on her part. Repugnant as was such a humiliation to her natural haughtiness, as well as to her outraged feelings, she was unable to contend against their united representations, and at length consented to gratify their wishes, in pursuance of which she appeared for the last time at the palace of Versailles, in a gorgeous robe of gold and silver tissue, looped with jewels.

As she entered the apartment, the king, who was seated near a table, rose for an instant, and bowed graciously, after which he reseated himself, while she made the three courtesies, with a pause between each, which were at that period customary at every court presentation; and thus

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

gradually approached Madame de Maintenon, who occupied a large arm-chair covered with rich brocade. She did not rise, both etiquet and the presence of the king rendering such a condescension impossible; but she flushed perceptibly, as she motioned her visitor to a *tabouret* which stood near her, and began to speak to her of Petit-Bourg, of her health, and of her children; remarking, with a smile, that she would confide a secret to her; which was no less than that the Prince de Condé had already asked the hand of Mademoiselle de Nantes for the Duke de Bourbon his grandson, and had promised that of his granddaughter to the Duke du Maine; and that in two or three years they should see these desirable marriages accomplished.

This perhaps well-intentioned confidence did not tend to reconcile Madame de Montespan to the part which she was then playing. With all her faults, she had been tenderly attached to her children, and she now learned their future destiny from a stranger. The *tabouret* had only wounded her pride; the sense forced upon her of her utter isolation and bereavement, drove the iron into her heart; and after a few more painful efforts at composure, she rose from her incommodious seat, and with a repetition of stately reverences withdrew from this scene of mental suffering.

As she passed through the saloons which separated the reception-room of Madame de Maintenon from the grand stair-case, she found them crowded with courtiers, all of whom were known to her, but by few of whom she was apparently recognized; and hastening to her own apartments, of which she still retained the keys, she threw herself upon a sofa, and sent to summon the Duke du Maine; for her woman-heart was at length completely crushed, and she longed to listen for a moment to the voice of affection and sympathy.

But her hour of retribution was come: Louis Auguste

de Bourbon saw in the soul-stricken woman before him, not the mother whom he was bound to honor, but the discarded favorite whose intimacy could induce neither profit nor advantage; and she felt that it was so as he approached her without one sign of emotion, coldly remarking, "I am glad to see you again; we were about to write."

The cup was full. The marchioness released her son from his attendance; turned a long look on the magnificence which she was about to abandon forever; and summoned her carriage, from whose window she saw the king, as she traversed the marble court, standing in a balcony to watch her departure.*

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

CHAPTER XVIII.

One day in the Life of Louis XIV.—Exclamation of Madame de Maintenon.

We have already alluded to the stringent and uninterrupted etiquet established by Louis XIV. at Versailles; but we feel that we should not fulfill our duty as faithful chroniclers of the French court in the seventeenth century did we not present to our readers the detail of a day's observances, and by so doing enable them to appreciate the monotonous and trivial restraints imposed upon himself and all about him by the vanity of the "Great Monarch."

At eight o'clock in the morning, while one of the officers of the oven renewed the wood in the chamber of the king, the under-valets softly opened the shutters, carried away the collation,* the mortar,† and the taper,‡ which had been burning throughout the night, and removed the watch-bed.§ The first valet-de-chambre, who had, meanwhile, dressed himself in an anteroom, then entered, and remained silently beside the royal couch until the hands of the timepiece pointed to the half hour; when he awoke the monarch, and

* The collation, or *in-case*, was a repast prepared *in case* the king should require refreshment during the night. It generally consisted of a bowl of soup, a cold roasted chicken, bread, wine, and water; and an enamelled drinking-cup.

† The *mortar* was a small silver vessel, which owed its name to its peculiar form, and which was filled with water, on whose surface floated a mould of yellow wax, weighing half a pound, with a cotton wick in the center.

‡ The taper, which was also left alight throughout the night, was placed in a silver candlestick, standing upon the floor in a basin of the same metal.

§ The watch-bed was occupied by the head valet-de-chambre

immediately passed into the waiting-room to announce that he no longer slept. An attendant thereupon opened the two battants of the door, when the dauphin and his sons, *Monsieur*, and the Duke de Chartres, who awaited this signal, entered to inquire how the king had passed the night. They were followed, after the interval of a moment, by the Duke du Maine, the Count de Toulouse, the first lord of the bedchamber, and the grand-master of the robes, and these were succeeded by the first valet of the wardrobe, followed by several officers bearing the royal vestments. Fagon, the first physician, and Telier, the head surgeon, had also the privilege of the *entrée* by virtue of their office.

Bontems* then poured into the hands of the king a few drops of spirits of wine, holding beneath them a plate of enamelled silver, and the first lord of the bedchamber presented the holy water, with which the monarch made the sign of the cross upon his brow and breast. This done, the dauphin and the Duke du Maine approached the bed, to inquire how His Majesty had slept, and the king, as he replied, asked in his turn of the latter after the health of Madame de Maintenon; then, still in his bed, he recited the short office of the Holy Ghost, which was no sooner terminated than M. de St. Quentin displayed a collection of wigs, from which Louis XIV. selected that which he intended to wear. When he at length rose, the first lord of the bedchamber put on his dressing-gown, which was always composed of some rich material; Quentin presented the wig, which Louis adjusted with his own hands, and Bontems drew on his stockings, and placed near him his slippers of embroidered velvet. The king had no sooner thrust his feet into these than he again crossed himself with the holy water, emerged from behind the balustrade which inclosed the bed, and seated himself in another large

* Head valet-de-chambre

arm-chair which was placed beside the fireplace, when he demanded the *First Entrée.**

The principal lord of the bedchamber immediately repeated in a loud voice, "*The first entrée!*" and an attendant stationed near the door then admitted those who were privileged to assist at the *petit lever.*†

The king only shaved every second day; on which occasions, while an attendant prepared the water, and held the bason, Quentin removed the royal beard, and afterward washed the parts upon which he had operated with a soft sponge saturated with spirits of wine and water. The king wiped his face himself, while Bontems held the looking-glass.

At the moment in which the master of the robes approached to dress him, the king demanded his chamber, or *Grande Entrée*, upon which three of his principal attendants took up their position at the entrance of the apartment, attended by several valets-de-chambre and door-keepers of the cabinet; admission to the *grand lever* being a signal favor for which even princes occasionally sighed for a con-

* Until the year 1789 this name was given to the familiar receptions which took place daily in the apartments of the principal members of the royal family of France. There were three descriptions of *entrée:* the familiar *entrée* took place when the king awoke, and was accorded only to princes of the blood, and occasionally to certain great nobles. Foreign princes, ambassadors, dukes and peers, Spanish grandees, &c., were admitted to the great or little *entrées*, which differed only in the hours at which they were held. The great officers of the crown, and of the king's household, were also privileged to be present. There was, moreover, the *entrée* of the cabinet, open to the great almoner, the king's equerries, the captains of the body-guard, the Swiss guards, the gendarmes, and all the ministers without distinction. The *entrées* were conducted with the same ceremony at the courts of the dauphin, the queen, and the princes and princesses of the blood.

† This term signifies the less formal reception accorded to the more especial favorites of the monarch, and involved less ceremony than the *grand lever*, by which it was succeeded.

siderable time in vain; while the greatest precaution was observed to prevent the intrusion of any unprivileged person. Thus, as each individual presented himself, his name was whispered to the first lord of the bedchamber, who repeated it to the king. When the monarch made no reply, the visitor was admitted, and the duke walked back to his station near the fireplace, whence he marshaled the newcomers to their several places, in order to prevent their pressing too closely about His Majesty. Princes and governors, marshals and peers, were alike subjected to this tedious and somewhat humiliating ceremony, from which three individuals alone were excepted; and these three were Racine, Boileau, and Mansard, who, on their arrival at the guarded door, simply scratched against the panel, when the huissier threw back the battant, and they stood in the presence of the monarch.

Meanwhile, the king was occupied in dressing himself. A valet of the wardrobe delivered to a gentleman of the chamber the socks and garters, which he, in his turn, presented to the monarch, who drew on the former himself; a second then handed the *haut-de-chausses*, to which his silk stockings were attached; and a third put on his shoes, and clasped their diamond buckles. Two pages, habited in crimson velvet, overlaid with gold and silver lace, then removed the slippers, while the king adjusted his garters, which were also buckled with diamonds.*

The royal breakfast succeeded. Two officers of the buttery entered, one carrying a loaf on an enamelled salver, and the other a folded napkin, between two plates of the like description; while at the same time the royal cupbearer presented to the first lord a vase of gold-enamel,

* Although the king, without an absolute disregard of etiquet, was at liberty to put on his garters with his own hands, he was not free to take them off at night; and, while it was the admitted privilege of the head valet-de-chambre to unclasp that of the right leg, an inferior attendant was permitted to remove the other.

into which he poured a small quantity of wine and water which was tasted by a second cup-bearer; the vase was then rinsed, and offered to the king upon a gold saucer; and he had no sooner drank, than the dauphin, giving his hat and gloves to the first lord in waiting, took the napkin, and presented it to the monarch to wipe his lips.

When he had finished his frugal repast, Louis XIV. threw off his dressing-gown, and while one of the higher attendants withdrew his night-shirt by the left sleeve, Bontems held the other. The latter then received from the hands of the monarch the reliquary which he wore about his neck, and transferred it to one of his subordinates, who carried it to the king's closet, where he remained to guard it. The royal shirt, which had, meanwhile, been warmed, was then given to the first lord, and the dauphin, once more disembarrassing himself of his hat and gloves, approached and presented it to the king. A marquis then assisted in the arrangement of the *haut-de-chausses*, and a duke adjusted the inner waistcoat.

Two valets of the wardrobe next brought forward the royal sword, the vest, and the blue ribbon; when some man of high rank buckled on the sword, assisted in putting on the vest, and flung over it a scarf with the ribbon to which were attached the cross of the Holy Ghost in diamonds, and the cross of St. Louis tied with red. The king then drew on his under coat, with the assistance of the grand-master of the robes, adjusted his cravat of rich lace, which was folded round his neck by a favorite courtier, and, finally, emptied into the pockets of the loose outer coat, which was presented to him for that purpose, the contents of those which he had worn on the previous day. He then received two handkerchiefs of costly point from another attendant, by whom they were carried on an enamelled saucer of an oval shape, called *salve*, and his toilet once completed, Louis XIV. returned to the *ruelle* of his bed, where he knelt down upon two cushions, already pre

pared for him, and said his prayers, all the bishops and cardinals entering within the balustrade in his suit, and reciting their devotional exercises in a suppressed voice.

At the conclusion of his prayer, the king received such of the foreign ambassadors as required an audience.

When the monarch was indisposed, or was undergoing medical treatment, which he did regularly every month, he received, in his bed, all the persons to whom he felt disposed to accord so great an honor, the most distinguished or intimate being ranged in two rows on either side; but this favor was never granted save to individuals of high birth, of great reputation, or formally invited by himself.*

From his chamber Louis XIV. passed into his cabinet, where he found, or was followed by all who had the right of entrance; and where he issued his orders for the day.† This done, every one retired, save the legitimized princes, MM. d'Montchevreuil and d'O., their former governors, Mansard, and the Marquis d'Antin, the son of Madame de Montespan. The interval which ensued must have afforded alike repose and satisfaction to the monarch, as well as profitable amusement to the members of his family, for it was then that they discussed plans, buildings, and gardens; and the king terminated the conversation only when compelled to do so by public business. During this time the court awaited the reappearance of Louis XIV. in the great gallery, the captain of the guard alone being seated near the door of the cabinet, where he was informed when the king was ready to attend mass, at which his private band sang an anthem.

During his progress to the chapel every one addressed

* In 1714, the First President de Novion having approached the bed of Louis XIV., who was indisposed, the Duke d'Aumont, first gentleman of the chamber, drew him back by his gown, exclaiming; "Where are you going? Retire immediately; persons of your description do not enter within the balustrade unless summoned by the king."

† Versailles Ancien et Moderne.

him who desired the privilege, it being merely necessary to intimate such a wish to the captain of the guard, and even this formality was dispensed with where the individuals were persons of high rank. On his return from the mass, the king entered the council-chamber, and at one o'clock he dined.

The dinner was always *au petit couvert*, that is, the king dined alone in his own chamber, at a square table placed opposite the center window, where three courses and a dessert were regularly served, Louis XIV. being constitutionally a great eater. When the table was laid, the courtiers entered, and the first gentleman of the chamber announced to the king that the dinner was served; the monarch then took his seat, and, in the absence of the grand-chamberlain, was waited on by the same functionary. Sometimes, but very rarely, the dauphin, and subsequently the dauphin and his sons, were present at the *petit couvert*, standing—nor did the king ever invite them to be seated—while, as a matter of course, the same ceremony was observed toward the princes of the blood and the cardinals. *Monsieur* frequently attended, presented the napkin, and remained standing like the rest, until after the lapse of a few moments, during which he continued to fulfill the duties of the grand-chamberlain, the king inquired if he would not be seated; upon which the Duke d'Orleans made a profound bow, and his royal brother desired that a seat should be brought for him. This seat was a stool, which was placed behind the chair of the monarch; but, nevertheless, *Monsieur* remained standing until the king repeated, "Be seated, brother;" upon which the duke availed himself of the permission accorded to him, and retained his position until the termination of the repast, when he once more presented the napkin, and thus completed his duties.

No lady was ever admitted to the *petit couvert* save Madame de Lamothe, the wife of the marshal, who had

retained this privilege from her former appointment of governess to the children of France; but it was one of which she seldom availed herself. Immediately that she appeared, however, a stool was placed for her, from the fact of her being patented a duchess.

The *grands couverts* were extremely rare, and were generally held at Fontainebleau, upon occasions of ceremony.

On rising from table the king paused for a few moments in the saloon, to afford the persons of rank who might desire to address him, an opportunity of so doing, before he returned to his cabinet; after which he entered, and the door was instantly closed. Then it was that he again devoted a short interval to his natural children, and the members of his household, and received the dauphin when he had not presented himself at the *lever*. Having done this he fed his dogs, and amused himself for a time by playing with them; after which he demanded his wardrobe, and changed his dress before the small number of courtiers whom the first gentleman of the chamber had thought proper to admit; and this was no sooner accomplished, than he left the palace by a private stair-case, in order to reach his carriage, which awaited him in the marble court.

Louis XIV. was not only partial to the open air, but it was to him a necessary of life, for when he was long deprived of it he suffered painfully from headache, an infirmity which he attributed to the inordinate use of perfumes in which his mother, Anne of Austria, had constantly indulged; and to which he had imbibed so strong an antipathy, that those who approached his person were compelled to forego a luxury at that period appreciated almost beyond any other. This great craving for fresh air, had rendered the monarch almost insensible to the changes of temperature to which he was necessarily exposed; he cared neither for heat, cold, nor rain, and it required that the weather should be bad indeed for him to forego his exercise, which con-

sisted either in stag-hunting, shooting or overlooking his workmen. Occasionally, also, he drove out, accompanied by the ladies of the court, to whom he gave pic-nics in the forests of Marly or Fontainebleau. For these parties none were eligible unless expressly invited, save the principal officers of his household; but even on the occasions when these little fêtes were held in the gardens of Versailles, or in those of the Trianon, the king alone wore his hat.

At Marly, on the contrary, when the monarch went there unaccompanied by his female court, all were at liberty to follow him, to join him, or to quit him as they pleased; and that palace, to which Louis XIV. avowedly retired to escape from the etiquet of Versailles, also possessed another privilege. The king no sooner left the state apartments than he said, "Your hats, gentlemen;" upon which courtiers, officers of the guard, architects, and builders, obeyed him by covering their heads. The hunt had also its immunity, for one invitation sufficed, and the same indulgence was extended to the royal card tables. The king was partial to high play, and fond of seeing it constantly going forward. In the principal saloon the lansquenet was the leading game; but in the others all were indiscriminately permitted.

On returning from the drive the king again changed his dress, and remained for a short time in his cabinet; after which he proceeded to the apartments of Madame de Maintenon, where he remained until ten o'clock, which was the hour of supper, when the house-steward on duty, wand in hand, gave notice to the captain of the guard who occupied the antechamber, and who, throwing open the door, announced that the king was served.

A quarter of an hour afterward Louis XIV. walked to the supper-room. During the interval the officers had made the *preparations;* that is, they had tasted the bread and salt, and tried the plates, the fork, the spoon, the knife, and the toothpicks of the king. The meats had been brought

in (according to the ceremonial decreed by the court ordinance of the 7th of January, 1681), preceded by two guards, a huissier, an officer of the pantry, the controller-general, a controller of the buttery, and an equery of the kitchen, followed by two other guards, to prevent all contact with the royal food.

This done, Louis XIV. in his turn, preceded by the house-steward and two ushers, bearing flambeaux, advanced and took his seat in front of his *nef** and his *cadenas ;*† and looking round him, found himself surrounded by all the princes and princesses of France, accompanied, in latter years, by their children; and, moreover, a numerous circle of courtiers and ladies. He immediately desired the princes and princesses to take their seats; and they had no sooner done so, than six noblemen stationed themselves at each end of the table, in order to wait upon the king, and to renew the trial of the meats. When the king wished to drink the cup-bearer exclaimed aloud, "Drink for the king."

The principal officers of the cellar made a profound bow, approached with an enamelled cup and two decanters upon a salver, and tasted the liquids; the king then drank, and the officials, with a second salutation, replaced the decanters upon the sideboard. When he had supped the monarch rose, and his example was followed by the whole of the guests. Two guards and an usher led the way; and the king, followed by all who had been present at the repast, proceeded to his bedchamber. On entering, he remained leaning for a few minutes against the balustrade at the foot of the bed; and then, after bowing to the ladies, passed into his cabinet, where he gave the watch-word to the captain of the guard. When this was done, all the royal family entered in their turn; the king occupied one arm-chair,

* The *nef* was a species of gold or enamelled vase, in which the linen was inclosed.

† The *cadenas* was a casket containing the knife, fork, &c.

and *Monsieur* a second, but the dauphin remained standing as well as the other princes. The princesses were all seated upon stools, and the ladies of honor were in waiting in the council-closet which adjoined that of the king.

Toward midnight Louis XIV. rose, and again went to feed his dogs; after which he returned and took his leave for the night, before he retired to his chamber to prayer. The *petit coucher* then commenced, to which all were admitted who had the privilege of the morning *entrées*, or who held office; and although the audience was a short one, it was, nevertheless, the moment chosen by those who had a favor to ask, or a petition to offer.

All had previously been prepared for the night-toilet of the monarch. The *en-cas* had been deposited upon the sideboard, the arm-chair wheeled to the fire, and the dressing-gown and slippers placed near it. The barber had collected the napkins and the combs; and the famous candlestick, with its two wax-lights, by which the courtiers estimated the amount of their present favor, was on a table near the fauteuil. When the king approached the chair, he gave to the valet-de-chambre his watch and reliquary, and loosened his blue ribbon, which he delivered to the nobleman in waiting, together with his waistcoat and cravat; he then seated himself, and the first valet-de-chambre, assisted by one of his companions, detached his garters, while two valets of the wardrobe removed his shoes, his stockings, and *haut-de-chausses*, and a couple of pages presented his slippers.

This done, the dauphin approached with the night-shirt, which had previously been warmed by a valet of the wardrobe, and the first valet-de-chambre having lifted the candlestick from the table, the king indicated the nobleman who was to have the honor of lighting him to bed, which was no sooner decided than the door-keeper exclaimed:

"Now, gentlemen, pass out."

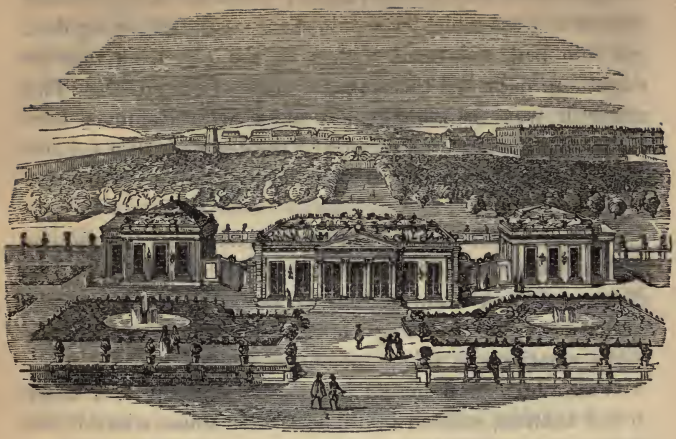
The whole of the assistants then left the room, save the

candle-bearer and the physician; when the king decided upon the dress which he would wear on the following day, got into bed, and made a sign to the physician that he might approach and ascertain the state of his health. The monarch was then finally left alone with Bontems, who closed his curtains, extinguished the tapers in the candlestick, arranged the night lights, and took possession of the watch-bed!*

We feel all the puerility of these details—all the tedium of these pompous nothings; but we have deemed it impossible to give an accurate idea of Louis XIV. as he really was, without condemning both ourselves and our readers to the weariness of this monotonous chapter.

Well might Madame de Maintenon exclaim, in a letter to her brother, written in 1684: "Save those who fill the highest stations, I know of none more unfortunate than those who envy them. If you could only form an idea of what it is!"

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.



CHAPTER XIX.

Interior Economy of Madame de Maintenon—Divisions in the Royal Family—the Palace Etiquet—Madame de Maintenon attempts her public Recognition—Opposition of Louvois—The Satires of Meudon—The English Letter—Death of Charles II. of England—the Prince of Orange—Arrival of James II. and his Queen in France—the Duke de Lauzun—Munificence of Louis XIV.—Mary of Modena—Indisposition of Louis XIV.—Restlessness of Madame de Montespan—Marriage of Mademoiselle de Nantes and the Duke de Bourbon Condé—The Window of the Trianon—The Civil War in the Cevennes—Fête at Versailles—Departure of the young Nobility for the German Army—Prince Eugène—Imprudence of Louvois—Intercepted Letters—The Princess de Conti—Mademoiselle de Chion and M. de Clermont—Death of Condé—The "Hermitage" of Marly.

We have already stated that immediately upon her marriage, Madame de Maintenon, being unable to bear the royal arms upon her equipages, compromised the difficulty by suppressing those of Scarron, and carrying only her own, without, however, adopting the widow's lozenge.

The apartments which were prepared for her at Versailles, were at the top of the grand stair-case opposite to those of the king, and on the same floor; and a similar arrangement was thenceforward made in every palace which she from time to time inhabited. Moreover, public business was from the same period transacted constantly in her apartment, where two arm-chairs occupied either side of the fireplace, one for the monarch, and the other for herself; while two stools stood near, one intended for her work-bag and the other for the accommodation of the minister.

During the discussions which ensued, she was occupied either in reading or with her tapestry-frame, and consequently heard all that passed between the king and Louvois, but seldom uttered a word, save when appealed to by the former, and even then gave her opinion guardedly, appearing to take little interest in what was going forward; although it was soon known that she had previously exposed her views upon the various questions to the minister in private.

As regarded her social relations, she never paid visits to any of the princesses of the blood, not even to *Madame;* nor did any of them enter her apartments unless summoned to an audience—a circumstance which was so rare in its occurrence that it always became the gossip of the court. Whenever she desired to speak to the daughters of the king, she sent to command their presence, and as she almost invariably did so in order to express her displeasure at some imprudence of which they had been guilty, they always obeyed in trembling, and left her in tears. The Duke du Maine, alone, was free to come and go as he listed, always sure of an affectionate welcome, which he returned as warmly; for from his earliest boyhood he had loved Madame de Maintenon better than any other person upon earth.

From the period of the king's marriage, those divisions

commenced in the royal family, which were destined to throw so deep a gloom over the conclusion of his reign. The dauphin lived entirely at Meudon, seldom visited Versailles, and never again passed the night there; while the monarch could not conceal even from himself the painful conviction of his son's increasing distaste to a union which was equally unpalatable to his people. MONSEIGNEUR, indeed, lost no opportunity of expressing his sentiments upon the subject to those about him, and never gratified Madame de Maintenon by any other title than that of "my absurd step-mother;" a pertinacity of bitterness which deeply wounded the king. In was in vain, however, that Louis XIV., by constantly receiving company in the apartments of Madame de Maintenon, endeavored, in this manner, to overcome the repugnance of MONSEIGNEUR to his stately bride. The prince resolutely refused to the last to regard her as the wife of the monarch; and even, on one occasion, when the king had taken him by the arm, trusting that from respect he would not venture to break away from him, and had thus led him to the threshold of her apartment, he no sooner saw the door open than, disengaging his arm, he made a profound bow and instantly retired. Thenceforward the very name of the dauphin became odious to Madame de Maintenon; but this fact produced no effect whatever upon the prince.

Madame, in her turn, disappeared from the court, and passed her time at Fontainebleau, where she regularly spent several hours each day in writing those witty and satirical letters to her brother, Prince Anthony Ulric of Bavaria, and other friends at her native court, which afterward became so famous. Not satisfied by detailing in these the events which were passing before her own eyes, she diligently informed herself of all the details connected with the private life of Louis XIV., from his earliest years, and thus made her correspondence a court-history of the most curious description. Persons and facts were alike portray

ed with a stinging pen; and enough has been said of the peculiar habits and feelings of Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, to afford earnest of the unhesitating vigor with which her portraits were painted—while, as she bitterly hated Madame de Maintenon, she did not spare her one verbal indignity which could render her ridiculous in the eyes of a foreign court.

Thus persecuted from without, the quasi-queen found but slight compensation in the enforced homage of those of her own immediate circle, and the title of *majesty* conferred upon her by her personal attendants, whose extreme scrupulousness upon this point amounted to an epigram.

While the public were still sneeringly alluding to the strange elevation of "the widow Scarron," Madame de Montespan throwing out keen and stinging inferences, calculated to sully the past reputation of "her children's governess," and the whole court shrugging their shoulders, half in regret and half in disdain, as they found themselves compelled to prostrate all their tastes and habits before a person hitherto their inferior both in birth and rank, the palace menials were prodigal of sonorous words, by which the favor of the king was so evidently conciliated, that the attendants of a higher grade made strenuous efforts to imitate their example. That they, however, experienced considerable reluctance to expose themselves to sarcasm through the adoption of this habit was made manifest on one occasion by Bontems, when in returning to Pélisson a book which he had lent to Madame de Maintenon, after making her acknowledgment for his politeness, the courtly servitor added, "I am assured that Her Majes——I *would* have said that *Madame* has read it."

That this affectation of royalty was pleasurable to the lady herself, will not, perhaps, admit of doubt; for, although fearing to oppose the desire of the king that their marriage should remain unacknowledged, she never actually asserted herself as the wife of the monarch, she nev-

ertheless betrayed considerable satisfaction whenever cir cumstances permitted her tacitly to appropriate the privileges of her newly-acquired position.* Thus, on one occasion, when she presented herself at the gate of a convent into which all ingress was prohibited save to members of the royal family, and was announced to the abbess as Madame de Maintenon, the holy recluse had no sooner reminded her that she could only sanction her entrance in the event of her being the wife of the monarch, then she replied with a quiet smile, "You may open your doors, madam; you may open your doors."

Nevertheless, the royal bride found herself abandoned by the actual members of the royal family, and recognized only by the *legitimatized* princes—a fact which assuredly rendered her desire to become the acknowledged wife of the monarch natural as well as probable. That her ambition alone would have sufficed to prompt such a wish, there can be no doubt; for what woman, placed in her position, and conscious that she had attained to it by her own propriety of conduct, would not have been desirous of profitting to the utmost by so extraordinary an elevation? She had involved herself in all the tedium of a royal existence, and it can scarcely be attributed to her as a crime that she endeavored to secure its immunities while experiencing its privations.

Her first effort to accomplish this recognition had nearly proved successful; for her influence over the mind of the monarch, far from declining after their union, became even more powerful than before; but Louvois, who had spies in every direction, no sooner ascertained that the king had, in a moment of weakness, suffered himself to be betrayed into a promise that it should be made public, and was preparing to redeem his word, than he hastened to the palace, and having requested His Majesty to dismiss his attendants, declared the errand upon which he came, and re-

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf.

minded him that he had his royal pledge never, upon any pretext whatever, to declare the marriage. He then, with considerable warmth, expatiated upon the inconvenience and degradation of such a step as that which he meditated, and entreated that he would reconsider the matter before he was compromised beyond remedy.

Louis XIV. did not attempt to conceal his change of purpose; but he condescended to evasions, and began to move toward another apartment in order to escape, when the attendants, who had been careful when they were compelled to withdraw not to close the door completely after them, saw Louvois suddenly rush before the king, and, throwing himself upon his knees, present the hilt of a small sword which he always wore to the monarch, exclaiming, "Take my life, sire, that I may not become the witness of a disgrace which will dishonor you in the eyes of all Europe."

Louis XIV. made an impatient gesture, and still strove to withdraw; but the minister kept his ground, declaring that the king would no sooner have yielded to this weakness, than he would be the victim of his own mortification and remorse; and, finally, he so wrought upon the wavering disposition of the monarch, that he induced him to repeat his promise that the marriage should never be declared.

The Archbishop of Paris, whom Louvois had summoned to second him in his enterprise, arrived shortly afterward to confirm the king in his resolution; and thus, for a time, the hopes of Madame de Maintenon were frustrated.

The second attempt of the same nature proved equally unfortunate in its results. It was made on an occasion when the king for the first time caused the apartments of the late queen to be thrown open, upon the pretext of exhibiting therein the magnificent ornaments which he was about to present to the cathedral at Strasburg; but as it was generally believed, prior to their occupation by Ma-

dame de Maintenon. Such, however, was the opposition which he experienced, that, on the failure of this last effort, he authoritatively commanded the lady never again to venture upon such a request.*

Nor was this the only mortification to which Madame de Maintenon was subjected. Every day an epigram, a sonnet, or a ballad, made its appearance, which inflicted a bitter wound upon her pride, and cruelly harassed the king, by whom all these pungent and perpetual satires were traced to the court of Meudon; while these were, after a time, followed by a letter, forwarded to Madame de Montespan by the Duchess of Portsmouth, the celebrated mistress through whose blandishments Louis XIV. had sought to detach Charles II. from the Dutch alliance. It was entirely written by the hand of the English monarch, and was to the following effect:—

"Sire: I conjure you in the name of the Great Henry, whose precious blood circulates in both our veins, to respect the Protestants, whom he looked upon as his children. If, as it is reported, you wish to compel them to renounce their religion under pain of banishment from your kingdom, I offer to them an asylum in that of England, where I will prove to them that I have the honor of being the grandson of the Great Henry, by the protection which I shall afford to those who for so long a period fought with distinction under his banner. I feel persuaded that you will remove from about your person the perfidious advisers who could have imagined such a proscription. There are a great number of those Protestants who have shed their blood in your service. What a recompense do you reserve to them! Want, and the disgrace of being banished from their country—from the country of the Great Henry! Where is the man who would not feel it an honor to have been born his subject? And shall it be the heir to his throne, his grandson, who destroys a

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

work which it gave him so much trouble to consolidate, and which finally cost him his life? The kings of France should swear, on ascending the throne, never to suffer any Jesuit about their persons or in their families, since they were accused of coöperating in the assassination of Henry IV; and that they dare, in the present day, to insult him even in his tomb by destroying his most cherished work Listen, my brother and cousin, to the representations of one of your nearest relatives, who loves you a king, and esteems you as his friend."

This letter, made public after the death of its writer by Madame de Montespan, produced the stronger effect as it seemed like a voice which had arisen from the grave to make a last and useless effort in favor of the unfortunate Calvinists; but Louis XIV. was already too far committed in this barbarous and inglorious persecution to recede.*

Charles II. died on the 16th February, 1685; and his successor urged by the French king to render himself absolute, and by the Jesuits to reëstablish alike their religion and their influence, commenced his reign as though these measures were already accomplished. Had he acted with more prudence it is probable that the English people, weary of revolution, might have gradually accustomed themselves to his faith, on condition that he left them in peace to exercise their own; but he was unguarded enough to receive the nuncio of the Pope publicly at his court, at the very moment when he imprisoned the seven Protestant bishops whom he had endeavored in vain to convert to the faith of Rome, and thus rendered himself obnoxious to the people at large by a line of conduct, both religious and political, for which they were totally unprepared.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange kept his eyes steadily fixed upon the throne of his father-in-law, and, after the birth of an heir to the crown, equipped the famous fleet

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle

which was destined to weaken the power of Louis XIV, and to depose James. In this strait, when the English king wrote to solicit assistance alike from the Emperor of Germany and the monarch of France, Louis alone prepared to aid his projects; but, before he had completed the necessary arrangements, it was announced to him by a courier, that the Queen of England and the Prince of Wales had landed at Calais under the protection of the Duke de Lauzun, who, after having gained the good graces of James II., as he had previously done those of Louis XIV., had been intrusted by the weak monarch with the safeguard of his wife and child. Neglected by both his daughters abandoned by one son-in-law, and pursued by the other, the unhappy James had no alternative save to solicit for them an asylum in France.

When informing the king of her arrival in his territories, Mary of Modena observed in her letter, that one circumstance alone lessened the joy with which she confided herself to the protection of so great a king, and that one was, that she dared not bring to his feet the individual to whom both herself and the Prince of Wales were indebted for their liberty and perhaps even for their lives.

In reply Louis XIV. declared that, partaking the hatred of the queen toward her enemies, he was equally ready to testify his satisfaction to the Duke de Lauzun by restoring him to his favor; and from that day granted to him the renewed privilege of the *grande entrée*, promising him, moreover, accommodation in the palace at Versailles.

"M. de Lauzun," writes Madame de Sévigné to her daughter, in a letter dated 27th December, 1688, "must be much gratified by this adventure; he has exhibited sense, judgment, discretion, and courage; and has at last found his way to Versailles by London. He alone could have done this. The princess is indignant to think that the king is pleased with him, and that he is again to return to court." And again, on the 10th of January, 1689,

she says, "He has apartments in the palace, at which he is much pleased. He has written to MADEMOISELLE, but she is so much incensed against him that I doubt if he will be able to appease her."

The new favor of the duke, in fact, angered the princess to so extreme a degree that she ultimately wrote to Louis XIV. to entreat that he would banish him from the capital, his infidelities, which never failed to reach her ears, having exasperated her feelings; and before the termination of the month, whether from the representations of MADEMOISELLE, or that Louis XIV. was displeased at the presumption and self-glory exhibited by the returned exile, the star of Lauzun once more paled. He was not only compelled to vacate his apartments, but was also refused the *entrées;* the romance and marvel of his chivalric expedition had subsided into mere commonplace, and he found himself simply an insignificant item of the great sum total of the court.

In this instance, however, the romantic duke had richly merited a better fate, for he had availed himself in a gallant manner of the opportunity which had been afforded him; and the English queen had in no degree exaggerated her obligation to the hitherto weak and egotistical courtier.

When Louis XIV. permitted the visit of Lauzun to England, in order to deliver the princess his cousin from an importunate and ungrateful inmate, he had, in order to veil his real purpose, and to continue his demonstration of interest in the fortunes of James, commissioned him to watch over the safety of that monarch and his family, and, in case of peril, to afford them all the assistance which it might be in his power to offer; although in so doing it is extremely possible that the French king did not for a moment contemplate the probability that Lauzun could become an efficient help to the persecuted Stuarts; while it is certain that the actual progress of events gave to the

mission of the duke an importance by no means anticipated even by himself.

In the course of December (1688) the Prince of Wales had been privately conveyed from Portsmouth to London, and concealed in a mean house outside the city, until he could with safety be removed from the country; while James and his queen had also secretly returned to London, in order to attempt a plan of evasion suggested by Lauzun, and which only could be effected from the capital. It was decided that the queen and her young son should first depart, under the charge of the duke, as by these means the escape of the king himself would be rendered less difficult and his progress more rapid; and, accordingly, on the night of the escape the queen went to rest as usual; but rose an hour after midnight, and having hastily completed her preparations for flight, was consigned to the care of the duke by the king himself, who, as he beckoned him to enter the royal chamber, wrung his hand convulsively, and with eyes streaming with tears, gasped out, in a low, husky voice,

"Here is the queen: you know where to find my son: I confide both of them to your zeal and loyalty. Do not forsake them until you have delivered them safely into the hands of the Most Christian King of France—the most pious, and the greatest of monarchs."

Lauzun bent his knee, and pressed the royal hand to his lips in token of obedience, after which he withdrew to a remote corner of the chamber, while Mary of Modena approached the bed to take leave of her ill-fated husband. Their parting was a melancholy one, for each felt that it might, perhaps, be eternal; but after a time the weeping queen turned, with a gesture of entreaty toward the French duke, who succeeded in leading her from the room. In five minutes more the fugitives were seated in the carriage of the Florentine minister; and after having secured the person of the prince with his nurses, they made their

way to the river, near Westminster, where M. de Lauzun had a boat in waiting, rowed only by a single boatman, of whose fidelity and trustworthiness he had previously assured himself.

The night was dark and stormy; the rain fell in torrents, and the swollen river dashed its wind-swept waters heavily against the banks; but despite these unfavorable circumstances they reached the opposite shore so rapidly that the carriage which the duke had hired to convey them below Gravesend was not at its post when they reached the appointed spot; and thus, while Dufour, the confidential valet of Lauzun, proceeded to seek the missing coachman at a small public-house situated a short distance from the river, the queen remained for twenty minutes buried to her ankles in mud, and exposed to the whole fury of the storm.

The extreme energy and impatience of the French valet aroused the curiosity of the landlord; who, resolved if possible to solve what he felt convinced must prove to be a secret of some importance, no sooner saw the tardy coachman mount his box, and prepare to set forth in search of his employers, than he determined to accompany him, under the pretext of tendering his services. He accordingly armed himself with a lantern, and, springing upon the foot-board of the carriage, arrived with the equipage at the river-bank, when he instantly turned the full glare of the light on the shivering group who were awaiting its advent. Fortunately one of the servants of the duke, who immediately detected the motive of this sudden illumination, had the presence of mind to affect to slip, and throwing himself upon the bearer of the lantern, they both fell together, and in so doing extinguished the candle, and afforded to the illustrious fugitives an opportunity of entering the carriage undetected.

A piece of gold soon appeased the wrath of the landlord; and this done, the travelers drove off, and a mile

or two upon the road, were met by a friend of Lauzun, a certain M. de Saint Victor, accompanied by three horsemen, well mounted, and armed to the teeth, by whom they were escorted at a little distance, and thus protected from absolute danger, although still a prey to the most gloomy apprehensions.

It was seven o'clock in the morning when the little party reached the secluded bay in which a yacht, hired by the duke, was awaiting their arrival, whose captain was entirely ignorant of the individuality of his passengers, and not a moment was lost in their embarkation. The queen, closely veiled, and carrying the Prince of Wales under her arm like a bundle of clothing, at once descended to the cabin, where she remained throughout the passage; while M. de Lauzun, to whom every order given by the captain was instantly translated, stood prepared to plunge a dagger into his breast upon the slightest suspicion of treason. He, however, evinced no such intention; and after a favorable run, the yacht cast anchor at five o'clock in the evening at Dunes, near Calais.

By singular good fortune the infant prince, at that period only six months old, had never uttered a cry, either in the carriage, or on board the vessel; but at the moment when the anchor was dropped, having awoke hungry, and the nurse, then suffering from sea-sickness, being unable to satisfy his craving, he began to moan so piteously, that the sound soon attracted the attention of the captain; who, instantly suspecting the truth, turned with a gesture of intelligence toward the duke, exclaiming, "I will lose no time in putting my little friend ashore:" and at the moment of disembarkation, when the queen emerged from her hiding-place, and stood unveiled upon the deck of his vessel, he approached her with profound respect; and seizing an opportunity when he could not be overheard by any of the crew, murmured, with downcast eyes, "I shall probably be hanged on my return; but I shall at least die

with the consciousness that I have assisted in saving the life of Your Majesty."

Mary of Modena strove to smile amid her tears as she extended her hand, and permitted him to raise it to his lips; after which she repaid his loyalty with regal munificence, and stepped on shore. At Calais she was received by M. de Charost, who lodged her in the house of a wealthy citizen, apologizing for an absence of ceremonial, which had been solely occasioned by his ignorance of her intended arrival; to which address the fugitive queen answered, with a sad smile, as she flung herself into a chair with the royal child clasped to her bosom, "Spare yourself all further excuses, sir; it is more than three months since I have felt so well, and so tranquil as regards my own fate or that of the Prince of Wales."

An hour after her landing, Mary of Modena addressed the letter to which we have already alluded to Louis XIV., who hastened to reply in a spirit of chivalry worthy of a great and prosperous monarch.

Nevertheless, although assured of a welcome which gratified her heart and satisfied her dignity, the queen resolutely refused to proceed farther than Boulogne until she received satisfactory assurances of her husband's evasion, determined, as she declared, should he unhappily be arrested, to return and share his martyrdom. The high-hearted Mary of Modena was not, however, destined to undergo so bitter a trial, for news soon reached her of the successful flight of James from the capital, upon which she at once commenced her journey toward Paris.

When Louis XIV. was informed that the illustrious fugitive was approaching, he proceeded, accompanied by *Monsieur* and MONSEIGNEUR, to meet her, and halted near Chalon, in a cross-way whence several roads diverged, where he waited more than a quarter of an hour before any trace of the travelers appeared; at the close of that time, however, the carriage containing the Prince of

Wales halted a few paces from his own, and it had no sooner done so than the king alighted, and opening the door with his own hand, said, cheerfully, "I must make the first visit." He then took the royal infant in his arms, kissed it several times, expatiated upon its beauty, and only restored it finally to its nurse in order to welcome the queen.

Mary of Modena no sooner recognized Louis XIV. than she alighted in her turn, and advanced toward him with an unsteady step; but in the next instant the lips of the king were fastened upon her forehead.

"Sire," she said, in a trembling voice, "you see before you an unfortunate princess, who comes to seek her only consolation in the kindness of Your Majesty; and I will venture to add that I am not altogether unworthy of it, as I have always been sincerely attached to your interests."

"Madam," replied Louis, with one of those beaming smiles which rarely but gloriously irradiated his fine countenance, "I render you to-day only a melancholy service; but I trust soon to do you one of more importance, and more worthy alike of you, of the king my brother, and of myself.

He then presented *Monsieur* and MONSEIGNEUR to the royal stranger, who, after an exchange of compliments, followed the king into her coach, where she was already accompanied by Lady Powis and the Signora Vittoria Montécuculi, to whom she was much attached. Thus they proceeded to St. Germain, where they arrived at four o'clock; and they had no sooner driven into the grand court of the palace than the king alighted, and offering his hand to his illustrious visitor, conducted her to a magnificent apartment which had belonged to the late queen, saying, courteously, as they crossed the threshold,

"If, indeed, Maria Theresa of Austria can still feel an interest in earthly things, even in that heaven to which her soul has ascended, she can but be gratified on see

ing her place occupied by another Mary, so beautiful and so virtuous."

After having thus nobly installed his royal guest, Louis XIV. with his suite returned to Versailles; and on taking possession of the palace of St. Germain, which was thenceforward to become the abode of the illustrious exiles, Mary of Modena found herself at the head of the same household which had formerly belonged to the French queen, and surrounded by every appliance of comfort and luxury; while among the costly presents which had been prepared for her, she discovered a purse containing ten thousand louis d'ors.

Meanwhile, James II., after a perilous passage, had landed in his turn at Ambleteuse, where he was met by the Duke d'Aumont at the head of the nobles of the province, and escorted to Boulogne, whence Mary of Modena had only departed on the previous evening. On the morrow, after mass, the fugitive king put a loaf of bread and a small bottle of wine into his pocket, and, throwing himself into a hack-chaise, proceeded to Abbeville, where he slept; and afterward halted at Luzarche, where he found a relay of horses, and several suits of clothes which had been forwarded for his use by Louis XIV.

On the 7th of January, the French king dispatched a gentleman of his bedchamber to the English monarch, to request that he would immediately set out for St. Germain, where he himself awaited his arrival in the sleeping-room of the queen, who was reposing after the fatigue of her hurried journey. Louis XIV. reached St. Germain at five o'clock; and at half-past six James II. drove into the court, preceded by a number of torch-bearers, and accompanied by the first valet-de-chambre of his royal host, and the Chevalier de St. Deaude, the lieutenant of the body-guard, who had been selected by Louis as the immediate attendants of the exiled monarch, and who had hastened to receive his orders at the outer gate of the palace.

As he alighted, the eye of James fell upon the figure of Lauzun, who, in the midst of a crowd of courtiers, was waiting to welcome him; and throwing his arms affectionately about his neck, he exclaimed, earnestly, "Here is a good friend whom I am delighted to meet in this place."

Louis XIV. had, meanwhile, advanced as far as the state guard-room to welcome his royal guest; and as he approached, James bent his knee; but he had no sooner done so than Louis raised and embraced him several times in succession; after which he said, gayly, "Let us lose no more time; the queen is dying to see Your Majesty;" and the two sovereigns forthwith preceded to the apartment of Mary of Modena, the French king persisting in walking on the left of his companion, despite his efforts to prevent it.

The meeting of the royal pair was most affecting, and tears stood in the eyes of Louis XIV. as he witnessed their emotion; nor was it until they had began to recover their composure that he prepared to return to Versailles; when, on perceiving that James was about to conduct him to the gate, he remarked, with a smile, "You must forego your purpose, for to-day you are still my guest. To-morrow, when you visit me at Versailles, I will do the honors in form: a compliment you shall return the next time I come to St. Germain, after which we will dispense with ceremony."

As he was traversing the state apartments the munificent monarch caused a casket containing ten thousand pistoles to be deposited on a bureau in the English king's bedchamber; after which he glanced around to satisfy himself that the sumptuous apparel and other luxuries which he had ordered to be transported there for the comfort of his guest had been duly delivered; and then ascending his carriage, was driven rapidly toward Versailles, surrounded by his noble and brilliant body-guard.*

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf

Nor did the munificence of the French monarch limit itself to this princely reception: before night the court of James was regulated; six hundred thousand livres annually were allotted for the expenses of his establishment, and he was provided with the same guards and officers as Louis himself. Immediate preparations were, moreover, set on foot to effect the restoration of the fugitive king; who, however, as weak in adversity as he had previously been puerile in prosperity, took little interest in the efforts of his generous ally; but passed his time principally in the society of the Jesuits, whose convent he frequently visited, asserting that he was a member of their order, and, what is still more singular, the assertion was literally true; for he had, while Duke of York, caused himself to be admitted one of the brotherhood.

This pusillanimity in a dethroned king so lowered him in the eyes of the court, that he became a theme for the ballad-mongers; and after having been driven out of England, was fated to become the jest of France; while so little merit did he derive from his bigotry that the Archbishop of Rheims, the brother of Louvois, said publicly in his antechamber at St. Germain, "We have here a worthy man who has lost three kingdoms for a mass." From Rome he received nothing save indulgences and lampoons; and throughout the whole revolution his faith availed him so little, that when the Prince of Orange, although the head of the Calvinist party, put to sea for the purpose of dethroning him, the Ambassador of the Catholic King at the Hague caused masses to be said for the success of the expedition.*

During the ceremonial receptions of the English sovereigns by the different members of the royal family, Madame de Maintenon had remained secluded in her own apartments; but these were no sooner at an end than she prepared in her turn to pay her respects to the exiled queen,

* Le Siècle de Louis XIV.

and for that purpose proceeded to St. Germain, where she was detained for several minutes in an antechamber before she was admitted to her presence. The delay was accidental, and the time which it occupied was short; but the first grew into an insult, and the latter swelled into centuries, when subjected to the morbid irritation of jealous haughtiness, consequent upon a sudden elevation and a false position.

Thus was it that, in an accidental circumstance, Madame de Maintenon—too high-placed to consider herself as a mere subject, and although not the recognized Queen of France, yet esteeming herself, as the wife of the king, at least on an equality with an English princess—felt deeply aggrieved at the necessity in which she had found herself of waiting the convenience of another, and immediately imbibed a strong prejudice against the royal exile.

The graceful reception of Mary of Modena was well calculated to remove any unfavorable impression, had she had a less tyrannical feeling to contend against than that of mortified vanity; for as her stately visitor swept into the room with the expression of haughty humility which she well knew how to assume, Her Majesty exclaimed frankly, "I trust, madam, that you will forgive the delay which has occurred in your introduction, when you remember that I am myself much more to pity, in having lost so much time, during which I might have enjoyed the happiness of seeing and conversing with you."

Despite this graciousness, however, the disconcerted favorite, on her return to Versailles, complained bitterly to Louis XIV. of the indignity to which she had been subjected by his royal guests; and although the king affected to smile at the circumstance, and to declare that it involved no possible affront, it is nevertheless certain that when, some days afterward, the King and Queen of England appeared at Versailles, Madame de Maintenon contributed in no slight degree to render their position one of difficulty.

James and Mary were anxious in their misfortune to retain as many external evidences of their rank, and to exact as much respect from those about them as they could still enforce; while Louis XIV., at the instigation of his wife, endeavored to make them acknowledge his own supremacy in all things; and thus, it was a considerable time before the proper ceremonial to be observed between the two courts could be regulated.

Ultimately, however, it was decided that James II. should consider himself as on an equality with MONSEIGNEUR, and that Louis XIV. should act in the same manner toward the Prince of Wales; while the dauphin, who was only to occupy a folding seat in the presence of the English king, was to be authorized to use an arm-chair in that of his wife, and this great question once decided, the exiled sovereigns, who had, in their hour of need, come to ask of France a refuge from persecution, and who had been so royally received, soon became the observed of the whole court; upon whom, however, they severally produced a very different impression.

The mean, undignified, and characterless physiognomy of the king, his vacillating principles, limited intellect, and bigoted prejudices, formed a fearful contrast with the physical and mental perfections of his high-minded and beautiful consort. To eyes and hair of the deepest black, Mary of Modena combined a complexion of the most dazzling whiteness, while a somewhat ample mouth was redeemed by a smile of the most exquisite sweetness, and teeth of extraordinary beauty. Tall and finely formed, the English queen boasted, moreover, hands and arms which both in color and form might have vied with those of Anne of Austria herself, and her voice was singularly harmonious. Highly intellectual, she not only conversed agreeably, but frequently put forth ideas alike startling and novel; while the extreme propriety of her conduct, based upon a religious principle which, however admirable in

itself, she carried to an excess bordering upon superstition, was at once the marvel and the reproach of the beauties of the court of Louis XIV., who did not scruple to whisper among themselves that the nullity of James II., combined with the atmosphere of Versailles, would not fail ere long to work a moral revolution in the staid and matronly bearing of the English queen: a prophecy which was, however, never realized.*

The energetic but somewhat tardy efforts of Louis XIV. in favor of his royal guest were suddenly interrupted by a dangerous illness. Although the French king had as yet only attained his forty-ninth year, a premature old age was fast growing upon him: he had already suffered severely on several occasions from gout, but the indisposition which now supervened was of a nature to create general apprehension. It was induced by an internal fistula, and although the science of surgery had made considerable progress during his reign, it was not yet sufficiently advanced to cope with so unfamiliar a malady. The Cardinal de Richelieu had died of the same disease from the inability of those about him; and consequently the danger of the monarch spread consternation throughout France. The churches were constantly crowded with devotees, offering up prayers for his recovery, and general lamentations were heard on all sides.

Felix, the head-surgeon, no sooner ascertained the precise nature of the king's ailment than he shut himself up in the Hôtel-Dieu, and, during an entire month, assisted by the most able members of his profession, invented instruments calculated at once to abridge the necessary operation, and to render it less painful; and with these he operated upon patients similarly affected in the public hospitals, as well as others who were induced by the offer of large rewards and the hope of cure to submit to the same trial; but most of these died under the knife, and

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf.

were buried during the night. Notwithstanding this precaution, however, the bodies were seen leaving the Hôtel-Dieu, and a rumor spread that a conspiracy against the life of the king had been discovered, and that the culprits had been put to death by poison and torture. General alarm ensued, and every one was for a time in terror of momentary arrest.*

Having at length acquired the necessary dexterity, Felix warned the king to prepare for the operation, without concealing from him the peril to which he would be exposed; but Louis XIV. did not shrink from the danger, merely desiring that the affair might be kept a profound secret, in order not to increase the public alarm, and commanding that the dauphiness should receive company, and give a ball, as though his indisposition were of a trivial nature.

Four persons only were, accordingly, aware of the extreme peril of the crisis, and these four remained in his chamber throughout the operation—Madame de Maintenon, Louvois, the Dauphin, and Felix, who himself made all the preparations, and ultimately removed the fistula without assistance. Throughout the whole agony the king did not utter a groan; but, exhausted as he was, insisted upon receiving the ministers, who accordingly transacted business during the evening at his bedside; and, in order that no sensation should be created in foreign courts by a report of his danger, he, on the following day, gave audience to the several ambassadors; while to this physical and moral courage he superadded, on this trying occasion, a munificence worthy of a great monarch, by presenting to the skillful operator who had rescued him from death a fine estate valued at more than fifty thousand crowns.

From this period the king never again frequented the theaters, while the dauphiness, whose melancholy hourly increased, and who was already suffering under the first

* Mémoires de la Beaumelle.

attacks of the wasting hypochondria of which she ultimately died in 1690, entered into no public amusements, and remained constantly in her own apartments.

Madame de Montespan, who, as we have already stated, quitted Versailles in tears and wretchedness, had left behind her a void at court that was destined never to be filled up. Her wit, her magnificence, and her profusion had collected about her a circle as brilliant as it was attractive, and one which the increasing seriousness of the king offered no encouragement to renew. Nor did the lady abdicate with more philosophy than the courtiers witnessed her departure; for although in her first moments of mortification and resentment she retired to the convent of St. Joseph, her worldly habits rendered such a seclusion intolerable to her; and she wandered from Paris to Bourbon, and from Bourbon to Fontevrault, without finding peace or consolation anywhere.

More than ever tenacious of the honors due to her position as the mother of the king's children, she caused her hôtel in the capital to be fitted up with almost regal splendor, superintending all the details herself with the most rigorous exactness. There was but one arm-chair in her reception-room, and when she was visited by the princes her sons, they were merely accommodated with chairs without arms. When they took their leave, she accompanied them in consideration of their rank, to the center of the room; but this was a condescension which she never exhibited save toward MADEMOISELLE and themselves.

Certain historians have asserted that, at this period, although unable to submit herself to a monastic life, she performed austere penances, and wore a garment of hair-cloth; but she herself makes a jest of these assertions, declaring that she preferred works of charity, and indulged in these without restriction, believing them to be far more efficacious than the infliction of any personal suffering.

In 1686 the king married Mademoiselle de Nantes, the elder of her daughters, to the Duke de Bourbon-Condé; but although the bridal ceremonies were of the most magnificent description, the festivities by which they were accompanied were not sufficiently brilliant to arouse the court from its increasing torpidity. The poor little princess, who had only just attained her twelfth year, could scarcely move under the burden of her jewels, and her head-dress was declared by Madame de Maintenon to weigh more than her whole person.

The only taste which Louis XIV. still retained in all its original force was that of building; and after having made the palace of Versailles the wonder of all Europe, he proceeded to erect the Trianon, of which Le Nôtre designed the gardens in a style perfectly dissimilar to that he had employed for those of the royal residence, of which the present edifice was merely destined to be an appendage. Originally, according to Madame de Sévigné, the spot selected by the monarch had been occupied by a pavilion, about which were cultivated flowers and fruit-trees of various descriptions, and which bore the name of the Palace of Flora. This pavilion was lined with plate-glass, and porcelain mosaics, and ornamented without by china vases, while the gardens contained long avenues of orange trees, myrtles, and jasmins, planted in the open ground. Pretty as it was, however, the king soon wearied of it; and having purchased some adjacent land from the monks of St. Genevieve, he commissioned Mansard to build a palace in imitation of the Italian villas. Within a year the elegant edifice, which has since become so celebrated as the favorite retreat of the lovely and unfortunate Marie Antoinette, was completed.

On one occasion Louis XIV. went to examine into the progress of the building, accompanied by Louvois, when he remarked that a particular window was out of proportion, and did not harmonize with the rest; the minister.

however, jealous of his dignity as controller of the royal works, would not admit the objection, but maintained that it was perfectly similar to the others.

The king made no reply, but on the following day he returned to Trianon, and desired Le Nôtre to declare his opinion as to the size of the disputed window. Le Nôtre, fearful of offending either the monarch or his minister, endeavored to give an evasive answer, upon which Louis commanded him to measure it carefully, and he was reluctantly compelled to obey; Louvois, meanwhile, murmuring at the pertinacity of the king, and Louis himself walking to and fro, in great irritation. The result of the trial proved that the window was too small, and the monarch had no sooner ascertained the fact than he turned angrily to his minister, declaring that he was becoming weary of his obstinacy, and that it was fortunate he had superintended the work himself, or the building would have been crooked.

As this scene had taken place in the presence of both courtiers and workmen, Louvois was deeply stung; and on entering his own house, he exclaimed, furiously, "I am lost if I do not find some occupation for a man who can interest himself in such trifles. There is nothing but a war which can divert him from his buildings, and war he shall have. I will soon make him abandon his trowel."

He kept his word; and Europe was once more plunged into a general war, because a window had been made a few inches too narrow, and that a king had convicted a minister of error.*

It is, however, necessary, before we proceed, that we should take a brief retrospect of the intestine struggle in which Louis XIV. was already unhappily engaged.

During a considerable time the king congratulated himself upon the decision with which he had commenced

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

the extirpation of heresy in his dominions; for, deceived by the lists of conversions that he received from the stewards and other officials in the provinces, as well as seduced by the continual congratulations and praises of the Jesuits, he began to look upon himself as an apostle, and to believe that all his past sins would be blotted out by the prowess of that sword which he was now wielding for the faith. The converts were estimated to him by thousands, all of whom were stated to have at once abjured their errors and communicated. There were, as he was assured, two thousand in one town and six thousand in another all restored to the true church. "And this, sire, by the mere sight of your troops," asserted Louvois, "as I had foretold to your Majesty."

Louis XIV., who was in himself essentially truthful, and who never suspected for an instant that a man in whom he reposed the most implicit and entire confidence would willfully deceive him, accordingly placed the firmest faith in reports which flattered at once his vanity and his bigotry, while the victims of his error were, in fact, sacrificing their consciences to their fears or to their interests, and purchasing immunity from the evils they apprehended by feigned abjurations, which were no sooner uttered than they were compelled to commit blasphemy, by partaking of the most sacred of all the sacraments with a lie upon their lips, and thus filling France with sacrilege.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes there were few families who had not to deplore some of their members condemned to exile; and, despite all the precautions by which he surrounded himself, the monarch was occasionally compelled to feel that the great work of conversion had not been carried on without much individual suffering. He was, however, more annoyed than remorseful at the discovery, and the only effect which it produced was an increase of reserve that led him to avoid every occasion of recurring to the subject; while so much did

he dread to overhear the conversation of the great officers of state, during his drives, that when he was about to sleep or shoot at Marly or Meudon, he, from this period, traveled alone in a calèche; and these drives, an occasional hunt, concerts, cards, and at intervals some tedious court ceremony, soon formed the sole amusements of that circle which had, only a few years previously, been the envy and admiration of all the civilized world.

On one occasion, however, in 1687, Louis XIV. gave a fête at Versailles which recalled, by its magnificence, the most palmy days of his reign. Four stalls were erected in the great saloon, covered with every luxury suited to the four seasons; and their contents were estimated at fifteen thousand louis d'ors. Gold and silver stuffs, jewels, and precious stones glittered on all sides, and for these the courtiers of both sexes gambled without incurring any risk, and carried away whatever they chanced to gain. When the tables were removed, the king and the dauphin distributed the remainder of the prizes among the guests; but, despite this profuse liberality, the entertainment, profitable as it was, went off gloomily; all were anxious and ill at ease, for gayety had given place to grandeur, and etiquet had superseded enjoyment.*

It was probably this fact which, at that period, induced some of the most gallant of the young French nobility to exchange the tedium of so ponderous and burdensome a magnificence for the novelty and excitement of foreign warfare, and to offer their services to the Emperor of Germany, whose forces were then in Hungary in arms against the Turks. Among these noble volunteers were included the Prince de Conti, the son-in-law of the king, and the Prince de la Roche-Sur-Yon, as well as Prince Eugène, and many other members of the most illustrious families in France.

The latter, who was the son of the Countess de Sois-

* Histoire du Règne de Louis XIV., par *Reboulet.*

sons, had been destined for the church, but his predilection for a military life induced him to join the expedition, and to abandon forever all pretensions to the cardinalate; when Louvois, discovering that his example was likely to prove contagious, and feeling that it was imprudent for France to strengthen the hands of a power against which she might soon declare herself in her turn, conceived and executed one of those extreme and disgraceful measures which were only too common throughout the latter years of the reign of Louis XIV., and which that monarch himself encouraged, in order to ascertain the secret feelings and motives of his courtiers. Having intercepted the letters brought by a courier from the seat of war, as well as possessed himself of others addressed to the illustrious combatants, he brought the whole, still sealed, to the king.

It was in vain that Madame de Maintenon endeavored to make him comprehend the extent of his imprudence; not daring to expostulate aloud, she was condemned to find all her efforts useless, and, as the letters were opened one by one, she became convinced that the mischief which must ensue was incalculable. Nor was Louvois less embarrassed when he discovered that among them were one from his own son and a second from the husband of his daughter; but he had passed the Rubicon, and was compelled to abide the issue.

Louis XIV. read through the whole of the packet, from the first sheet to the last, with the most complete composure, although the task must have been one of deep and bitter mortification. In it he found letters from the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, the Duke de Villeroy, and many other young men of the highest rank, who, full of the excitement and enterprise by which they were surrounded, drew caustic comparisons between the court of Versailles and the camp of Buda, and jested on the subject of the "citizen king, who was growing old before his time with his peasant-woman," laughed at his taste for

sieges and his aversion to battles, and made merry on the subject of the palace festivals and the quasi-queen.

All this was gall and wormwood to a monarch who, intoxicated with the incense of adulation and jealous of his personal renown, was now condemned to see himself hurled from his pedestal, and to learn the hollowness of the plaudits by which he had been elevated to its summit.

But even this was not the worst effect of the imprudence of which Louvois had been guilty: the iron had to be driven home, and it was so; for, ere long, the king laid his hand upon two letters which were fated to wound him to the heart's core. One was from the Cardinal de Bouillon, containing a bitter satire on the conduct of the monarch, his government, and his person, and filled with those unpalatable truths which are never forgotten, while the other was from his daughter, the Princess de Conti, who, in giving to her husband a detail of the proceedings of the court, had made use of a slighting expression toward himself.

The result of the ministerial experiment was consequently calamitous in every way. It augmented the distrust of Louis, who thenceforward never ventured to place faith in any of those by whom he was surrounded, while it involved the temporary exile of the heedless young men who had been incautious enough to trust their ebullitions of gayety or spleen to the sanctity of a seal. In the case of the Cardinal de Bouillon, the great almoner, a man whose age and whose profession should alike have guarded him from such an imprudence, and who was, moreover, the inveterate enemy of Louvois, the king was more severe; and he was sentenced to perpetual banishment from the court.

Nor was the young princess fated to escape unpunished. She had long been the favorite of her father, who, in his gravest moments, had always a smile to bestow upon her witty and sarcastic sallies; but on her next appearance

in his presence he turned upon her a look of cold disdain which sent her weeping to the feet of Madame de Maintenon. There, however, she found little consolation, although her crime was communicated to her; and as she still knelt, suffocating with sobs, and unable to utter a word in extenuation of her fault, she heard the low, stern voice of her step-mother exclaim, "Weep, weep, madam, for it is a great misfortune to have a bad heart."

The penance of the princess was, to appear once a day before the monarch, who, although he did not address to her one word of anger or reproach, yet gazed upon her with such a sad and reproachful expression that she could better have supported the most passionate invective.*

This was not, however, fated to be the most serious cause of displeasure given by Madame de Conti to her royal father; for, during the campaign, an intrigue was discovered at court in which the Prince de Conti had been the principal culprit, seconded by the Marshal de Luxembourg and his son, the Duke de Montmorency, and of which the princess was destined to be the first victim.

It may be remembered that, before the commencement of the war, the dauphin had spent his hours of relaxation in the saloons of his handsome step-sister and in the society of her maid of honor, where he found himself surrounded by a circle devoted to his interests, who, however, apprehensive that, should they not secure the confidence of Mademoiselle Choin, they might ultimately lose that of the prince himself, devised a method by which they believed that they should definitively establish a claim upon her regard that would never be gainsaid.

M. de Luxembourg had a relative at court named Clermont, an ensign in the royal guard, who was one of the handsomest men of the day, full of courage and ambition, but limited in his resources. The marshal, anxious to push his fortunes, had introduced him to the notice of

* Mémoires de la Beaumelle.

Madame de Conti, by whom he had been received with marked favor, and where he had succeeded in attracting the favorable notice of the dauphin; and it was determined that, during the absence of the prince in Germany, he should be informed of the great influence exerted by Mademoiselle Choin over his mind, and urged to ask her hand. The young soldier pleaded that the very circumstance which they advanced tended to render such a proceeding both onerous and full of peril; but he was quickly reassured by the declaration that the bond between the dauphin and the maid of honor was simply one of friendship; and that, should he resolve to win her affections and to make her his wife, he might be prepared for advancement even beyond his hopes.

M. de Clermont, poor, ambitious, and by no means unconscious of the value of court favor, listened eagerly to the specious reasoning of his friends, paid his addresses to Mademoiselle Choin, and ere long had reason to feel assured that his suit was by no means hopeless; but, unfortunately, M. de Clermont had previously devoted himself, in a marked manner, to the Princess de Conti; and he had no sooner proffered his hand to her maid of honor than the latter declined its acceptance upon the sole plea of his passion for her mistress. The dilemma was a difficult one. The protestations of the suitor failed to satisfy the lady; and at length, in order to convince her of the perfect sincerity of his passion, M. de Clermont consented to place in her hands all the letters which he had received from the princess; and this pledge was no sooner given than the approval of the dauphin was solicited and obtained to an alliance by which, on his return to France, he secured the society of two persons to whom he was attached, while even the Princess de Conti declared nerself gratified by the event without suspecting that she had been betrayed.

Throughout the whole of this negotiation letters had

been passing, by every courier, to and from the dauphin and the Prince de Conti in Germany, Luxembourg and Clermont in Flanders, and Madame de Conti and Mademoiselle Choin; and this vigorous correspondence at length attracted the attention of the king, who, suspecting some cabal, immediately adopted his usual system of detaining and examining all the letters dispatched by the several parties. Thus the whole plot was revealed to him; and, shortly afterward, a day of rain rendering him unable to take his usual exercise, immediately that he rose from table, he sent to desire that his daughter would attend him in his cabinet. Such a summons at once surprised and alarmed the princess, who was accustomed to see him only at stated hours; and it was consequently with considerable trepidation that she prepared to obey. On arriving in the outer cabinet, her lady of honor could proceed no farther, and she was compelled to encounter the presence of the king alone, who had no sooner remarked her entrance than he addressed her in a tone of great severity, declaring that dissimulation would avail her nothing, for that he was aware of her correspondence with M. de Clermont, and then, without allowing her time to recover the first shock of such an announcement, he thrust his hand angrily into his pocket, and drawing out a mass of papers, demanded sternly if she recognized the writing.

The poor princess, who at once identified her letters, attempted in vain to sue for pardon, for before she could articulate a word she fainted—a circumstance which softened the anger of the king, who having seated her in a chair, and restored her to consciousness, placed the letters in her hand, representing to her with a gentleness for which, ten minutes previously, she could not have ventured to hope, the imprudence and want of dignity of which she had rendered herself guilty by so culpable an exhibition of weakness. Madame de Conti readily

admitted her fault, promised amendment, and implored to be forgiven; when the king, moved by her tears, proceeded in a still more gentle tone to assure her that this was not all; for that he had still to make known to her how unworthily she had placed her affections, and to what a rival she had been sacrificed.

The princess gasped for breath: this was a blow for which she was utterly unprepared; and she was still struggling against the emotion it had induced, when the monarch, more in sorrow than in anger, declared his determination that she should not quit his presence until she had read aloud, not only her own letters (which had been sacrificed to the vanity of one of her own attendants), but also those which had subsequently passed between the affianced lovers, and which teemed with a bitter irony directed against herself.

In vain did the convulsed and mortified princess cast herself at her father's feet, drowned in tears, stifled with sobs, and scarcely able to articulate. The king had decided that she should pay the penalty of her fault; and when, still kneeling before him, she had at length completed her odious task, she buried her face in her spread hands, and gasped out the two words *pardon* and *vengeance*. The first was at once accorded, and the second was not long delayed.

An order was dispatched to the Duke de Luxembourg to send M. de Clermont to the citadel of Tournay, and to direct him immediately to tender his resignation; after which he was commanded to proceed to Dauphiny, with an express understanding that he was not to leave the province. Mademoiselle Choin at the same time received instructions to retire forthwith into a convent; but, as the offending maid of honor was in possession of her secret, Madame de Conti deemed it expedient to part from her upon friendly terms, and accordingly lent her one of her own carriages to convey her to the abbey of Port Royal

at Paris, where she was constantly visited by all the members of the dauphin's court, who were well aware that the severity of the king had in no degree diminished the affection of the prince for his banished favorite.

Neither to the Prince de Conti or his noble coadjutors did the monarch, however, condescend to utter one word of reproach. Their crime had placed them under the ban of his displeasure, which was a sufficient punishment for individuals of their rank; but he forwarded a detail of the whole conspiracy to their "fat friend," as the dauphin was invariably designated throughout the correspondence, in the firm belief that such a revelation would suffice to detach him, not only from the friends who had caballed against him, but also from the lady whom he had distinguished by his preference.*

From 1675, when Condé resigned the command of the armies of France, until 1686, he had lived peacefully in his delicious retreat at Chantilly, where he surrounded himself with artists and men of letters. He rarely appeared at court, for, remembering the services that he had rendered to the monarch, he felt wounded by the coldness and reserve with which he was always received. In consenting to the double marriage of the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Bourbon with two of the legitimatized daughters of the king, he had felt secure of overthrowing the barrier by which he had hitherto been separated from his sovereign; but the result was far from consonant to his expectations. Louis XIV. was compelled to respect Condé, and even to esteem him; but he had won the surname of Great, and Louis XIV. recognized no greatness save his own. The European reputation of the conqueror of Rocroy had unfitted him for a courtier.

Shortly after the marriage of the Duchess de Bourbon she was attacked by small-pox, and the prince could not be restrained from visiting her during the progress of the

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

disease; when the illustrious warrior, whom death had so often spared upon the field of honor, fell a victim to his paternal tenderness, and carried from her chamber the poison to which he was fated to fall a victim.

On his death-bed he overcame all his resentment, and wrote to entreat the king to pardon the Prince de Conti, who had returned to France, but whom Louis had hitherto refused to restore to favor, or even to admit into his presence. When the letter was delivered, the prince had already ceased to breathe; and the fact was no sooner made known to the king than, forgetting on his side the jealousy with which he had so long regarded him, his eyes filled with tears as he exclaimed,

"I have lost my bravest captain!"

The dying request of the hero was granted. Louis XIV. saw Conti, and pronounced his pardon; but he was not long fated to profit by his return to favor, as he died shortly afterward from the effects of a drug incautiously administered, leaving behind him the most beautiful young widow in France.

At the close of 1679, although the palace of Versailles was not yet completed, it had already ceased to please the king. He discovered that it betrayed too much art, and displayed too little nature; and that while its dimensions were well suited to the dignity of the monarch, they were altogether ill fitted to the comfort of the man; and Louis XIV. was not even yet disposed to sacrifice every personal gratification to the exigencies of his rank. He had, indeed, gratified his vanity by the wilderness of stone and marble that he had raised, but the very immensity of the result displeased him; and be began to sigh for a sylvan villa, or a rustic hermitage, where he might for a while escape from the perpetual *representation* to which he was condemned elsewhere.

He looked around, but he possessed no residence which satisfied this new craving: St. Germain was too old, Vin-

cennes inconvenient, and Fontainebleau at too great a distance from the capital; when at length a site was selected near Marly, a small village on the left bank of the Seine, situated within three leagues and a half from Paris, in a valley bordered by an extensive forest. It is true that nothing could be more unpromising than the nature of the soil upon which the new palace was to be erected, for the valley was one wide marsh, which it was necessary to drain before a firm foundation could be obtained; but after the difficulties that he had overcome at Versailles, Louis XIV., to whom the retired situation of Marly appeared to offer the very advantages he sought, did not hesitate to disregard this solitary disadvantage, although it entailed great difficulties in the erection of the building, and involved an enormous outlay, which was seriously increased by the necessity of leveling a portion of the surrounding heights, in order to prevent the view from the windows from being bounded by the narrow extent of the valley itself.

Louis XIV. had commenced by desiring a hermitage in this secluded spot; but as the work advanced he became enamored of his own creation, and resolved that Marly should possess, as well as Versailles, its lakes, its gardens, and its park; while in order to facilitate the execution of this project, as regarded the latter palace, the celebrated hydraulic machine was forthwith commenced, destined to convey the waters of the Seine into the reservoirs of Versailles; upon whose completion the king accorded an annual pension of eight thousand livres to its inventor, M. de Ville, a native of Liège.

The palace of Marly was no sooner tenantable, although still far from completed, than Louis XIV. began to make it his frequent residence; and as no one was allowed to accompany him there who was not designated by himself, a temporary abode at Marly became at once the touchstone of royal favor, and the aim of universal ambition.

At the king's *coucher* a list was presented by one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, containing the names of the applicants for this distinction; and as they were slowly pronounced, Louis XIV. answered by a gesture of dissent where he was not disposed to accord so high an honor suffering such as he approved to pass without remark, and indicating others whom he desired to oblige.

The motive of the monarch for this arrangement was stated to have been his wish to exclude Madame de Montespan, who, at the commencement of these pilgrimages to the hermitage at Marly had not yet left the court; while the fact that she was twice permitted to visit the new palace was attributed to the influence of Madame de Maintenon, who, from the circumstance of her own position not being at that period perfectly assured, was not willing to incur the responsibility of an indignation which would have exhausted its bitterness upon herself.

The idea of the edifice, or rather collection of edifices, which composed the royal retreat of Marly, was as convenient as it was singular. The center and principal building consisted of an immense square pavilion detached on all sides, near which were grouped six others of smaller dimensions. The main construction was ornamented on the exterior by Corinthian columns, between which were painted in fresco trophies, heroic allegories, and devices from the designs of Le Brun. The building had four fronts, each crowned by a projecting triangular portico, and the landings of the terrace-like steps, which were situated in the angles and along the several faces of the edifice, were ornamented by sixteen groups of children and eight sphinxes in bronze, the production of a young sculptor named Coustou.*

* Nicholas Coustou, who was born at Lyons in 1658, studied under his uncle Coysevox, and at twenty-three years of age carried off the principal prize from the Academy of Sculpture. It was in Rome that he executed his fine statue of the Emperor Commodus as Hercules,

These steps led to four vestibules which acted as entrances to the four suites of apartments on the ground floor, reserved for the monarch and the princes of the blood, all communicating with the Great Saloon, which was of octagonal form, having four fireplaces, and was supported by Ionic pillars, above which were painted figures representing the seasons. Four spacious windows, with gilded balconies, and four oriels surrounded by garlands of flowers, supported by Cupids, gave light to this magnificent apartment, and in front of the building extended a vast esplanade, known as the *amphitheater*, ornamented by fourteen costly vases.

The lesser pavilions were appropriated to the royal guests, two of whom were accommodated in each building; and as it was understood that the husband of every lady who had received an invitation was expected to bear her company, the temporary *chez soi* of Marly was frequently more domestic and stringent to many of the courtiers than that of their own hôtels in the capital; while all individuals, of whatever sex, found in the apartments destined to them every article, both of use and luxury, which could be exacted either by comfort or refinement.

This villa-palace was approached by a superb avenue of trees, and its park extended to the boundaries of that of Versailles. An iron grating of elaborate workmanship inclosed the circular court, on either side of which stretched away the spacious stables; the gardens were designed by Durusé, and were celebrated for their artistic arrangement; but the gems of Marly were its miniature lakes and graceful fountains, of which the quality of the water was

now at Versailles. Four of the figures in the gardens of the Tuileries are also by his hand—the *Julius Cæsar*, two *Venuses*, and the *Hunter*, seated beneath a tree with his dog at his feet, as well as a group typifying the *Seine* and the *Marne*. The *chef d'œuvre* of Coustou is, however, his Descent from the Cross, known as the *Vow of Louis XIII.*, which adorns the choir of Nôtre-Dame. Nicholas Coustou died in 1733

esteemed as above price. The finest work of Coustou enriched one of these noble sheets of water, which was known as the Fountain of the Winds—the group consists of an aged man leaning upon an urn, and representing the Ocean, while the Mediterranean is typified by a graceful woman with her child by her side, whose arm is flung across that of the principal figure, to designate the canal of Languedoc.

Such was ultimately the "hermitage" of Marly, where Louis XIV. originally declared that he desired simply a modest villa in which he might pass a few days in retirement, with half a dozen chosen courtiers and a limited retinue, but where he ultimately sunk large sums of money, not only in permanent creations, but also in passing caprices and puerile conceits. Large trees were transported from the forests of Fontainebleau and Compiègne at an enormous cost, only to add by the rich shadows of their foliage to the enjoyment of some rural fête, and afterward to wither where they stood, or to give place to others. Nor was this the only change undergone by the grounds of Marly; for a courtier, exiled for a time from this exclusive retreat, was sure to find on his return groves and bowers where he had left sheets of water, and foaming cascades, and fountains whose basins teemed with gold-fish and glittered with the floating lotus, where he had previously sauntered beneath the leafy gloom of forest trees, or gathered exotic flowers for "the lady of his thoughts."

Let it not be supposed, however, that while Marly underwent these extraordinary and meaningless changes, the more regal pile of Versailles was suffered to remain uncompleted. We have already alluded elsewhere to the magnificence alike of its external and internal arrangements, and the resolute expenditure of both human life and national treasure by which every difficulty had been gradually overcome. Originally Versailles had boasted neither wood, water, generous soil, nor noble prospects—

half marsh and half sand, the adjacent land had appeared to defy alike the art and the labor of man; but these unpromising materials had been cemented by human blood and human sweat, and the rarest blossoms and the goodliest timber learned to thrive under such costly forcing, while the empty reservoirs and gasping fountains, whence the waters evaporated or drained away, despite every exertion, were ultimately fed to repletion by the hydraulic machine of Marly.

Many millions had, indeed, been swallowed up by this gigantic work, and the shades of the thousands who had perished under the task might hover around its walls, and shriek out their wail of bitterness through its echoing galleries; but Versailles was resting proudly on its foundations, and already presenting to admiring Europe the noblest monument of the reign of Louis XIV.

CHAPTER XX.

League of Augsburg—Intrigue of Louvois—First Campaign of the Dauphin—Burning of the Palatinate—Destruction of the French Fleet—The Upholsterer of Nôtre-Dame—Gallantry of the Duke de Chartres—Persecution of the Calvinists—Death of the Abbé de Chayla—Negotiation—Death of the Dauphiness—The Convent of St. Cyr—Racine's Esther—Jealousy of the Princesses—Proposed Marriage of the Duke de Chartres—Insolence of Louvois—The Fire-Tongs—National Apprehensions—Liberality of the Cities—Royal Plate sent to the Mint—Declining Influence of Louvois; his Death—Indifference of the King—The Royal Message—Suspicions of Poison.

Revert we now to the war threatened by Louvois after the adventure of Trianon.

The league of Augsburg had already been formed at the

instigation of the Prince of Orange; but although numerous rumors as regarded its purpose and extent had from time to time reached the French court, nothing was definitely known until 1687, and Louis XIV. had made no preparations for so widely-extended and menacing a war. He was still, as we have shown, exhausting his finances in the erection of palaces, and in the acquisition of luxuries from all quarters of the globe; and it is possible that Louvois, anxious to avoid a collision with the other European powers, while an intestine struggle was wasting the southern provinces of the kingdom, would have devised some expedient for averting so great a peril, had not the footrule of Le Nôtre been applied to the window of the Trianon; but the ill-omened pertinacity of the king upon that occasion suddenly changed his views. He felt the necessity of self-preservation, for he saw that his influence was on the wane, and he forthwith proceeded to secure the election of the Cardinal de Furstemberg to the archbishopric of Cologne, in opposition to the interests of Bavaria, which was the natural ally of France, conscious that by so doing he must provoke the hostilities he had lately deprecated.

This act accomplished, he continued to pursue the war in the most cruel and determined manner, deluging the whole Palatinate in flame and blood, and leaving William of Orange free to pursue his projects upon England; hence he carried it into Italy, where he treated the Duke of Savoy with so much indignity, without the cognizance of Louis XIV., that he in turn threw himself into the ranks of the general enemy;* and with the assistance of Austria, which sent him a force of four thousand men under the command of Prince Eugène, the Duke Amédée recommenced that wild war amid mountains and ravines which was so congenial alike to the nature of his territory and the peculiarity of his genius, while the prince forced the French to raise the siege of Coni, and the Duke of Bava-

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

ria arriving with a reinforcement, compelled them to cross the Alps.

It was on this occasion that the name of Prince Eugène became known in Paris as that of a soldier. On his return from the campaign against the Turks, he had solicited from Louis XIV. the command of a regiment, which was coldly refused; and he had then addressed a letter to the king, wherein he stated that as His Majesty rejected the proffer of his services, he was about to tender them to the Emperor of Germany. This letter afforded a theme of jest to the monarch, who on the same evening gave it into the hands of the Marshal de Villeroy at the card-table, demanding, "Does it not strike you that I am about to sustain a great loss?" to which question the marshal, little anticipating the annoyance to which he was subsequently to be exposed by the young prince, answered in as light and supercilious a tone.

William of Orange still occupied Texel when the French army, amounting to a hundred thousand men, were marched upon Germany, under the command of the dauphin, who, on this occasion, made his first campaign; and in default of Condé, now in his grave, and of Créqui, who had also died in the course of the preceding year, Henry de Durfort, Marshal de Duras,* was appointed second in com-

* James Henry de Durfort, Duke de Duras was the descendant of a noble family of Guyenne, and the nephew of Turenne, and was appointed Governor of Franche-Comté, and Marshal of France in 1675. After commanding the army in Germany, he was named captain of the body-guard, and died in 1704. His estate of Duras was erected into a duchy in 1685. His son became also a marshal of France, and was appointed to the command of the national guard at the commencement of the revolution. His grandson, who was first gentleman of the king's chamber, was compelled to fly his country in order to save his life He returned, however, under Bonaparte, and was appointed by Louis XVIII. adjutant-general and peer of France. His wife, who was the daughter of the Count de Kersaint, was celebrated by her novels of *Aurika* and *Edward*.

mand, the generals Catinat* and Vauban, and several others of less repute, serving under his orders. The dauphin had, at this period, attained his twenty-seventh year; and as this was the first occasion upon which he had been permitted to assert himself as the heir of a great kingdom, he received the command with a joy which he did not attempt to disguise. At the moment of his departure, when he was about to take leave of his royal father in the presence of the whole court, Louis XIV. thus addressed him:

"My son, in thus sending you to command my troops, I afford to you an opportunity of making known your value. Go, then, and show it to the whole of Europe, in order that when I shall be no more none may be able to perceive that the king is dead."

The prince received a special commission to command, as though he had been simply a general officer chosen by the sovereign; and the letters of his royal father were addressed, "To my son the Dauphin, my Lieutenant-General, commanding my Army in Germany." Every precaution had, moreover, been taken to secure him from the mortification of personal failure; for although he lent his name and his presence to the expedition, Marshal Duras really commanded the troops; Boufflers† was at the head of a body of men on the French bank of the Rhine, and

* Nicholas de Catinat was born in Paris in 1637. He abandoned the bar for the army, and in 1667 was appointed to a lieutenancy in the guards. He distinguished himself in several engagements, and on being promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in 1688, he possessed himself of the whole of Savoy and a part of Piedmont; while in Flanders he behaved with equal gallantry. Having been appointed Marshal of France in 1693, and the war having recommenced in 1701, he was intrusted with the command of the army in Italy, against Prince Eugène, who commanded that of the Germanic empire. He died in 1712.

† Louis Francis, Duke de Boufflers, and marshal of France, afterward immortalized himself by the defense of Lille in 1708, and contributed greatly to the success of several engagements. He died in 1711, and it was said of him that *his heart died the last.*

the Marshal d'Humières at that of another in the direction of Cologne. Heidleburg and Mayence were soon taken; and the siege of Philipsbourg, always a necessary prelude whenever France declared war against Germany, was commenced, under the direction of Vauban. The dauphin joined the army on the sixth day after the opening of the trenches, and, brave without temerity, affable to those by whom he was approached, and liberal and indulgent to the troops, he soon gained the affection of the whole army. Philipsbourg was taken, after a resistance of nineteen days; Manheim only held out during four; Franckendal surrendered in two; while Spire, Trèves, Worms, and Oppenheim opened their gates without a struggle.

Such was the progress of the French arms when the famous order, signed by Louvois, reached the royal camp, that the Palatinate was to be reduced to cinders, and the whole face of the country turned into a desert. There was no possibility of resisting the command, iniquitous and impolitic as it was; and, accordingly, the French generals, in the very heart of the winter, announced to the citizens in their flourishing and handsome towns, to the inhabitants of the villages, and to the owners of more than fifty stately castles, that they must forthwith quit their dwellings, which were about to become the prey of the flames. Men, women, and children consequently found themselves houseless; and while one portion of these unhappy victims of cruelty and ambition were wandering over the country in search of shelter, and others were escaping to find an asylum in exile, the troops, who, on such occasions, excited by the destruction of their own hands, invariably exceed the orders of their superiors, burned and pillaged the whole face of the country. Manheim, the residence of the electors, fell first; its palaces were destroyed, and the dwellings of its citizens lay in one ruined heap around them; its tombs were desecrated by the rapacity of the soldiery, who anticipated that they contained treasure, and the ashes which

they had so long enshrined were scattered to the winds of heaven.

So long as Colbert lived, Louis XIV. had never openly persecuted the Protestants, for that great minister had succeeded in convincing him that they were one powerful prop to the prosperity of his kingdom, and neither Madame de Maintenon nor Père la Chaise had ventured to put forth an adverse argument, for the mastery of mind on the side of Colbert was too unequivocal to admit the faintest prospect of success in such a struggle, while to every attempt made by Bossuet and Fénélon to undermine the interests of those whom they denominated "Huguenots," he contented himself by replying, "Gentlemen, you are now following the promptings of your Sorbonne conscience; but you have another, and if you will suffer it to be heard it will argue differently."

Colbert was now, however, no more, and intolerance and blood-thirstiness had replaced mercy and sound judgment.

This was the second occasion upon which Louis XIV. had carried destruction into the heart of this fair country; but the flames by which Turenne had consumed two towns and twenty villages of the Palatinate were a mere bonfire beside the present conflagration. All Europe looked on in horror, and the officials by whom it was carried into execution, blushed at the enormities of which they were the agents.

Louis XIV. had authorized this cruelty in his voluptuous palace, surrounded by all the luxuries of wealth and all the consciousness of power; his gilded apartments gave back no echo of the heart-wrung groans of a whole province, rendered destitute by his will; his painted ceilings admitted no view of the houseless and ruined thousands to whom he had made the future one period of bitter trial. But although he could not witness the effects of his egotistical ambition, he was fated to feel their results in the

natred and execration of all the European nations, who openly condemned alike his harshness and his impolicy.

This fearful war did not, however, cause the French monarch to forget or to neglect the pledge which he had given to James II., and it was while his troops were following up their career of victory in Germany that he equipped the fleet intended to convey an army of twenty thousand men to England, and to effect the restoration of the exiled sovereign. The failure of this expedition, which destroyed forever the hopes of the last Stuart, was the first check that the power of Louis XIV. had ever received upon the high seas, and the mortification was comparatively great; while it was by the light of the flames kindled in the Palatinate that William of Orange, who had already established himself firmly upon the throne of his father-in-law, crossed the channel to attack the French troops upon the very spot where he had first opposed them. He had already proved himself no contemptible adversary, and his purpose was no sooner ascertained than it was consequently found necessary to oppose him by a general of equal talent, when the choice of the king fell upon the Marshal de Luxembourg, who, having incurred the jealousy of Louvois, as Turenne had previously done, had been for several years unemployed.

In this campaign the marshal acquired the title of the Upholsterer of Nôtre-Dame, from the fact of his having captured at the battle of Fleurus two hundred of the enemy's standards, which he hastened to forward to the capital; and, during its continuance, it was rendered famous by the sieges of Mons and Namur, commanded by the king in person, and the battles of Steinkirk and Neerwinden, when the Duke de Chartres, the son of *Monsieur*, then only in his fifteenth year, commenced his military career in a manner which gave brilliant earnest of his future reputation.

But it was not only against these external wars that

France had now to contend. The intestinal struggle in which she was engaged was also mining her strength. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was bearing its fruits, and the flames of the Palatinate had extended to the Cevennes. The Abbé de Chayla had proved faithful to his principles, and had pursued the work of proselytism with a fatal energy suited to his character. He had torn children from their parents, and shut them up in monastic houses, where they were subjected to such frightful penances, in expiation (as they were told) of the heresy of their relatives, that they had in many cases expired under their sufferings. Nor would he even afford to the dying the happiness of passing away in peace and prayer, but haunted their beds of death with prophecies of everlasting perdition should they not recant their errors and become converts to the Romish faith, and threats that after they had ceased to breathe their bodies should be dragged upon hurdles to the common sewers of the city, there to find a grave.

But as many, despite all his exertions, were discovered to have evaded his horrible denunciations, and found asylums where they could spend their last few hours of life unagonized by his fearful visitations, he proclaimed a sentence of lèse-majesté against all who should harbor heretics, under whatever circumstances, and thus closed many a door which would have been piously opened to their necessities.

Both within and without, the kingdom of France was like a huge vampire battening in blood, and the archpriest, or rather archfiend, Chayla, was so conscious that his own martyrdom must inevitably follow those of his victims, that while he was ruthlessly pursuing his career of murder he was at the same time preparing his tomb in the church of St. Germain. Every day was marked by new arrests, by new tortures, or by some execution; but the individuals he persecuted the most rigorously were the alledged proph-

ets, whom he denounced as the fomenters of the heresy One of these preachers was burned at Montpellier, and another was hanged; while a third, named Laquoite, who was to have been broken on the wheel, disappeared from his prison on the night preceding his intended punishment, without leaving a trace of the means by which his liberation had been accomplished.

A rumor immediately spread that, like St. Peter, he had been led invisibly from his dungeon; and ere long he reappeared, preaching a crusade against the Abbé de Chayla, whom he denounced as the Antichrist; when, all who had been the victims of the fanatic and bloodthirsty missionary, and all whom he had bereft alike of their parents and of their children, assembled beneath his banner; and under the command of a blacksmith named Laporte, and Esprit Seguier (who, after Laquoite himself, was the most revered of the twenty or thirty prophets or preachers of the Protestants), marched upon the abbey of Montvert, where Chayla had taken up his residence. They were all armed with scythes, halberds, or swords, while a few among them also carried guns and pistols.

The abbé was in his oratory when, despite the order which he had given that he was never to be disturbed in his devotions, one of his servants rushed into the apartment to warn him that a party of fanatics were descending the mountain; but, believing it to be a mere attempt to deliver certain prisoners whom he had consigned to the dungeons of the abbey, he contented himself by desiring the officer of his guard to march out at the head of his men, and disperse the heretics. The latter had, however, no sooner ascertained the strength of the enemy, than, instead of risking a collision, he found that he had better prepare for a defense; and, accordingly, causing the gates of the abbey to be closed, he posted his men in the rear of a barricade, hastily formed under an arch which led to the apartments of the archpriest. These preparations were

scarcely terminated when the outer gate was driven in, and the reformers burst into the court, demanding the immediate restoration of the prisoners, to which vociferous summons the abbé replied by an order to fire upon the besiegers.

As it was obeyed, one of the reformers fell dead, and two others were grievously wounded; but this spectacle only increased the fury of their companions, who instantly precipitated themselves upon the barricade, which they, ere long, overthrew, under the directions of Laporte and Esprit Seguier; one of whom had to avenge the death of his father, and the other that of his son, both executed by order of their common enemy; whereupon the soldiers retreated for refuge to a lower hall, situated immediately beneath the chamber in which the abbé was engaged in prayer with his followers. During the attack the Protestants had lost two of their number, and had five others wounded, when their two chiefs, fearing a further sacrifice of life, and apprehending a resistance as desperate as their own attack, proposed the release of the prisoners, and the subsequent burning of the abbey.

A portion of the besieging force accordingly set forth to discover the prisons of their co-religionists, while the remainder kept guard over the issues of the building, to prevent the escape of its inhabitants; nor were they long engaged in these duties, for the captives having surmised from the unusual turmoil that deliverance was at hand, shouted aloud to guide the steps of their friends to the dungeon in which they were incarcerated. The sight of these unhappy victims was well calculated to increase the frenzy of the assailants. They were, as we have elsewhere stated, six in number: three young men, and three girls of tender age, who had been apprehended in the attempt to make their escape from France. They had already passed eight days in their frightful prison, where their legs were inserted, as human wedges, between the

sides of a cleft beam, the bones crushed and the limbs disabled; their bodies swollen with agony, and their physical and mental powers alike prostrate. In this miserable state they were borne from their dungeons, amid cries of fire! fire! and ere many seconds had elapsed every inflammable substance of which the besiegers could avail themselves was cast into a heap, and ignited by means of a straw bed which they discovered in the guard-room.

This death-pile had no sooner began to affect the flooring of the upper chamber than the abbé endeavored to escape from the window, by the assistance of his sheets, which, firmly knotted together, were secured by his attendants; but these proving too short, he was compelled to leap the remainder of the distance, in doing which one of his legs was broken, and he barely retained sufficient strength to crawl behind a buttress, where he endeavored to conceal himself. The attempt proved, however, unsuccessful; for the flames, as they gathered in volume, soon betrayed him to his enemies, who rushed toward him in a body, exclaiming, "Death to the archpriest! death to the executioner!" In vain did Esprit Seguier, who, at this awful moment, felt his vengeance yield before the frightful peril of the destined victim, shout to his followers to spare his life, in the name of that God who wills rather the repentance than the death of a sinner; they were, for the first time, deaf to his exhortations, and answered only with cries of vengeance. Seguier, however, persisted in his work of mercy; and, bestriding the body of Chayla, declared that his life should be spared if he would instantly recant his past heresies, and thenceforth devote himself to the propagation of the faith.

The abbé answered only by a disdainful negative, and Seguier was compelled to abandon him to his fate.

The first blow which reached him was dealt by the hand of Laporte, who, as he drove his poniard to the hilt in his body, reminded, him of his father whom he had consigned

to the flames at Nismes. The archpriest did not utter a sound, but a stream of blood which issued from his breast proclaimed that the wound was deep and serious: the weapon was then transferred to Seguier, who, in his turn, struck, calling upon the name of his son, who had been broken on the wheel at Montpellier. Even his aim was not, however, mortal, although a second stream of blood gushed from beneath the flowing garments of the abbé, the voice of whose murmured prayer became audibly more feeble; and then a third approached and seized the dagger, invoking the memory of his brother, who had been put to death in chains; and this time the steel entered the heart of the wretched man, who fell forward upon the earth, and expired.

But the work of vengeance was even then incomplete; and as he lay, a bleeding mass before them, the weapon was passed from hand to hand; while, as it was successively buried in his body, each who struck cursed him in the name of a martyred relative, until two-and-fifty stabs had almost obliterated in his remains every trace of their previous humanity.*

After so frightful a catastrophe as this the Calvinists had no longer a hope of mercy; and the war of extermination proceeded with various success, until the year 1704, when it was terminated by a negotiation between the Marshal de Villars and its then chief, the celebrated Jean Cavalier.

Meanwhile the French court had become less and less attractive. The dauphiness had been spared the knowledge of the ruin of her country by a melancholy death; finally attributed to the fact of her having been visited by the Princess de Conti, at the birth of the Duke de Berri, so excessively perfumed that she was unable to contend against the effect of the overcharged atmosphere. Her loss excited little regret, either in the king or her husband,

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle

who had long ceased to interest themselves in one whose secluded habits offered them neither excitement nor pleasure and she was no sooner consigned to an early grave than she was forgotten.

As we have already stated, Louis XIV. had ceased to encourage literary talent, or to attend theatrical representations; and it was destined to be the convent of St. Cyr which renewed the taste for intellectual pursuits. Madame de Maintenon, more and more embarrassed to discover some method of entertaining a monarch whose powers of enjoyment were visibly waning, at length bethought herself of requesting Racine, who had forsaken the stage for Port-Royal and the court, to write a sacred tragedy, which might be represented by her pupils.

The poet accordingly produced *Esther*, which has always been regarded as an allegory, wherein the triumph of Madame de Maintenon over the Marquise de Montespan was shadowed forth in that of the humble Israelite and the pious Mordecai over the haughty Vashti and the impious Haman; and after this tragedy had been rehearsed in the convent, it was finally enacted on several occasions before the king at Versailles, in the winter of 1689, when prelates and Jesuits alike sought permission to witness so extraordinary a spectacle, in which the talent of the performers, their beauty, and their grace, proved even more attractive than the genius of the great dramatist.

Even these amusements, however, could not compensate to the king for the constant annoyance to which he was exposed by the perpetual dissensions of his three daughters, who appeared to have inherited the same feelings of rivalry that had previously existed between La Vallière and Madame de Montespan. At Marly, the king and the dauphin both dined at the same hour, and in the same apartment; and the ladies of the court seated themselves as they pleased at either table, with the exception that the Princess de Conti was always at that of MONSEIGNEUR, while the

two other princesses were placed at that of the monarch Madame de Maintenon also dined at the latter, where she occupied a seat opposite to Louis XIV.; and on one occasion it chanced that the king, despite his usual gravity, amused himself at the close of the repast by playing at forfeits for olives with the Duchess de Bourbon, which caused her to drink several draughts of wine more than usual, the king also affecting to do the same. The Princess de Conti, whose jealousy was excited by this playfulness, could not conceal her chagrin; and when the party rose from table, as the king was passing her, he was so much displeased by the expression of her countenance that he dryly remarked that her seriousness was doubtless intended to rebuke their intemperance, after which he left the room; and he had no sooner retired than the Princess de Conti, enraged at the rebuke, made a bitter comment upon certain prolonged suppers, in which her sisters had latterly indulged; upon which Mademoiselle de Blois, in her low and languishing voice, replied by a rejoinder so stinging that the princess was for the moment silenced.

The prolonged repasts with which the princesses had thus been publicly taunted were, indeed, little suited either to their rank or their sex; for, when wearied by the gravity and etiquet of the court circle, they were accustomed to celebrate a species of orgie in their own apartments, after the supper; and on one occasion, when the dauphin had at a late hour quitted the card-table, and hearing a noise in their quarter of the palace, entered to ascertain its cause, he found them engaged in smoking, and discovered that they had borrowed their pipes from the officers of the Swiss guard. He immediately broke up the party; but the adventure reached the ears of the king, who, on the following day, expressed his displeasure in no measured terms, to the great delight of the Princess de Conti, who thus triumphed in her turn; but Louis XIV., wearied by these scenes of folly and recrimination, at length threatened

to banish them all from the court; and, alarmed by the menace, peace was apparently restored.*

The establishment of his legitimatized daughters had ever been a subject of great anxiety to the king, and having succeeded in introducing the two elder into the houses of Conti and Condé, he became desirous of marrying the third to the Duke de Chatres, his own and only nephew, who ranked above all the other princes of the blood; but he remembered the comments which had been made upon the two former alliances, and was thus enabled to estimate the difficulties which must naturally attend the accomplishment of one still more startling. He was well aware also of the jealousy with which *Monsieur* insisted on all the prerogatives and privileges of his rank, and his repugnance to every thing that tended to render them less absolute; while he was equally conscious that *Madame* belonged to a nation which regarded unequal marriages with abhorrence, and was of a character well calculated to resist a measure by which she would not fail to consider her son dishonored. Nevertheless, the resolution of the king was taken, and during the space of four years he prepared his measures to secure the success of this darling scheme.

Meanwhile Louvois, not satisfied with having burned and sacked Manheim, Worms, and Spires, proposed to Louis XIV. the destruction of Trèves also, which, as he alledged, could be easily converted by the enemy into a fortified place; but the monarch was by this time satiated with blood, and refused to comply with the suggestion, and the minister had no sooner quitted the room than Madame de Maintenon, arousing in favor of the Bavarians the religious scruples which she had laid to sleep during the persecutions in the Cevennes, warmly supported the resolution of the king, and expatiated upon the enormity of a vengeance which involved the innocent as well as the guilty, reminding him that although these extreme meas-

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

ures had emanated from the minister, all the obloquy had hitherto fallen upon himself.

She could have advanced no other argument so powerful as this; for Louis was above all things tenacious of his perfectibility, and consequently ill constituted to bear the odium of another's acts; and thus, although he listened in silence, Madame de Maintenon felt that her point was gained.

Louvois had not insisted strongly on his iniquitous purpose when he saw the monarch disinclined to yield; but as pertinacity was a marked feature in his character, and that he had long discovered the power of firmness over the mind of Louis XIV., who, alike from indolence and indecision, generally suffered himself to be swayed by those about him, he resolved to maintain his position; and accordingly, when, after the lapse of a few days, he had again transacted business in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, and was about to retire, he informed the king, while restoring his papers to his portfolio, that having been convinced, when on a former occasion he had suggested to His Majesty the burning of Trèves, that he had simply negatived a measure of such undeniable necessity from a religious scruple, he had taken the act upon his own responsibility, as well as upon his own conscience, and had dispatched a courier to the seat of war, with an order for the immediate destruction of the city.

The lips of the king quivered with passion as the audacious minister thus braved him to his face, and by a sudden impulse he seized the fire-tongs which were lying near him, and would inevitably have struck him, had not Madame de Maintenon, with great presence of mind, sprung between them, and torn the weapon from his hands.

While she was thus engaged Louvois rapidly prepared to leave the room; but before he could reach the door, the king, still trembling with indignation, commanded him instantly to dispatch a second messenger to countermand

the order which he had given, adding, that should his courier arrive too late, and that a single house had fallen a prey to the flames, his head should be the forfeit of his disobedience.

The crest-fallen minister apparently hastened to obey, but the messenger of whom he had spoken was still awaiting the issue of the conference, even Louvois himself having hesitated to incur so heavy a responsibility without the royal sanction, which he had adopted so dangerous a method to enforce; and he was consequently dispatched without the fatal order, leaving the king fully persuaded that his diligence alone could insure the preservation of Trèves.*

Ere long Louis XIV., as well as the whole of his subjects, began to entertain serious apprehensions as regarded the termination of a war which had commenced under such favorable auspices. On all sides he saw either declared enemies or doubtful allies, while his army, although sufficiently strong to sustain any ordinary hostilities, was unequal to cope with the united forces of Europe, and the new levies were raised too slowly to supply the deficiency.† The treasury, exhausted by the public buildings, and other expenses incident upon them, was so deficient that it became necessary, even at the commencement of the war, to discover some expedient by which to insure supplies; and for this purpose offices under the government were invented, which were imposed upon the most opulent of the citizens, and for which they were compelled to pay an exorbitant price. The cities also contributed largely. Toulouse set the example, by making a donation of a hundred thousand crowns; Rouen followed with the same sum; Paris tendered four hundred thousand francs, and many others contributed in the same proportion.

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

† Mémoires de Madame de la Fayette.

The king received all the deputations authorized to present these offerings with an affability and condescension which sufficiently testified their necessity, and, in his turn, sent to the mint all the valuable pieces of massive silver furniture which had adorned not only the gallery and state-rooms of Versailles, but even the private apartments, and which had so long excited the wonder and admiration of all its foreign visitors. Nothing was retained; but, great as was the sacrifice, its proceeds were far from presenting an equivalent—all these precious articles, wrought with a skill that formed their principal value, and which had been purchased by an outlay of millions, producing merely the price of the metal of which they had been composed; while the publicity of the measure only served to excite the raileries of the common enemy, and to encourage continued hostility toward a nation, so soon compelled to resort to such an expedient.*

The influence of Louvois was, meanwhile, perceptibly on the wane; and a second adventure sufficed to lose him forever the estimation and favor of the king. In the spring of 1691, Louis XIV. formed the project of besieging Mons, and had decided that the ladies of the court should accompany him in the expedition; but the minister entered a formal protest against this arrangement, asserting that, at such a crisis, it was an expense which could not prudently be contemplated; and the king, deeply mortified alike by the opposition and its declared cause, was compelled to yield. It was at this siege that Louvois committed the last imprudence which was fated to fill up the measure of his disgrace.

As the king was inspecting the outposts, he remarked a cavalry picket which he considered to be injudiciously placed, and of which he accordingly changed the position; when, in the course of the same day, chancing to repass the spot, he found it once more stationed at the very point

* Mémoires de St Simon

from which he had removed it in the morning; and, indignant at so palpable a disrespect to his orders, he inquired of the officer in command who had authorized him to return to his original post.

He was informed that it was M. de Louvois who had marched the picket back an hour previously.

The next question of the king was, whether M. de Louvois was aware that it was His Majesty himself who had posted his men in a new position. And the reply was affirmative.

"Is this his business?" exclaimed the king, angrily. "He believes himself to be a great warrior, and to know every thing." And then, with an authoritative gesture, he commanded the picket to return to the spot where he had himself posted them.

Although Louvois was ignorant of all the motives of displeasure which the monarch harbored against him, he soon became convinced that his ruin had been determined. He felt that the thunderbolt was about to fall. "I know not," he exclaimed to a friend, "if he will content himself by dismissing me from office, or if he purposes to condemn me to a prison; and I care not what his decision may be when once I have ceased to hold the reins of government." In vain did his confidant endeavor to reassure him, by recalling to his memory that he had, during the last ten years, repeated the same apprehension at least a score of times. "I may have done so," was the melancholy reply; "but now all is changed. We have a hundred times had bitter altercations, and I have left his cabinet when he has been angry and excited, yet, on the following day, I have found him calm and courteous. It is so no longer; for the last fortnight his brow has never been without a frown. He has made up his mind to sacrifice me."*

Weighed down by this conviction, Louvois became

* Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV., par l'Abbé de Choisy.

broken in mind and weakened in body. A slow fever fastened upon him, and he was soon quite incapable of concealing his uneasiness. The Maréchale de Rochefort and Madame de Blanzac, two of his most intimate friends, having paid him a visit at Meudon, he proposed, in the course of the day, to drive them out; and while so engaged, they heard him talking earnestly to himself, and at several intervals caught the words, "Will he do it? Will they make him do it? No, no. Nevertheless—No; he dare not."

During this monologue, the mother and daughter, who listened in silence, were suddenly startled by perceiving that the horses were on the very edge of a piece of water into which they were about to plunge; and the Maréchale had only time to seize the reins, and to utter a piercing shriek, in order to arouse the minister from his revery, and warn him of the danger to which they were exposed, when he turned toward his affrighted companions with a melancholy smile, confessing that he had been so buried in thought that he had entirely forgotten the duty in which he was engaged.

Finally, on the 16th of June, 1691, his fate was determined. He had on the 14th transacted business as usual with the king, in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon when another stormy scene took place. Louis XIV., who still remembered and resented, with great bitterness, the burning of the Palatinate, and who had by no means forgotten the still more personal offense of the displaced picket, made no effort to conceal his resentment, but thwarted in every instance the projects of his minister, and opposed his opinions so determinedly that the patience of Louvois at length gave way, and, suddenly throwing upon the table a packet of papers which he chanced at the moment to hold in his hand, he rushed from the room, exclaiming, "It is impossible to serve you."

When he reached home, the war-secretary abandoned himself to the most gloomy despair. The first furious ebullition of his royal master might have been the mere impulsive effect of temporary passion, but the persevering verbal indignity to which he had been that day subjected was too systematic to admit of any such misconception. Ambition was the one ruling passion of his life; he cared not for the mental labor or the moral responsibility entailed upon him by the difficult and onerous office which he held; he forgot all in a sense of the power that it conferred; and he felt that, in losing place, he lost all for which he cared to live.

At eleven o'clock on the same night the heart-broken minister received a private letter from Madame de Maintenon, in which she assured him that the king had consented to overlook his impetuosity, and that he was at liberty to present himself, as usual, on the following day in the council chamber—a permission of which he gladly availed himself—when, as he had been assured, Louis XIV. met him without a vestige of displeasure, and addressed him almost with a smile. Louvois, however, was too well acquainted with the secret thoughts and lip-deep policy of his royal master to be so easily misled. For five-and-twenty years he had been accustomed to study not only his words, but also his looks; and the very calmness of the king upon this occasion, when he had so recently been subjected to an affront from a subject, sufficed to convince the minister that his influence and his power were at an end forever, and that even his person was not secure.

At the termination of the council he retired at once to his residence, which he reached on foot, and where he had no sooner arrived than he commanded that the Marquis de Barbesieux, his son, might be desired to follow him to his chamber. In five minutes the summons was obeyed, but it was too late; for, when the marquis entered the room, his father had already expired.

The impression of Louvois had, however, been a correct one; for his arrest on the succeeding day, and his imprisonment in the Bastille, had already been determined on.*

When the death of his minister was announced to Louis XIV. he was about to visit his fountains; but he had no sooner received this intelligence than he began to walk rapidly to and fro in his apartment, uttering from time to time a few incoherent words, and on one occasion exclaiming, hoarsely, "the wretched man must have dreaded the fate of Fouquet!" drawing, as he spoke, a paper from his bosom, which he tore into a thousand fragments. Some of these were collected, and afterward joined together, by the care and skill of a curious courtier, when they proved, as he had anticipated, to be portions of a *lettre-de-cachet*, bearing the name of the offending minister.

Pale, thoughtful, and agitated, the king was about to descend into the gardens, when a gentleman of the household of James II., who had been hastily dispatched from St. Germain for that purpose, approached him, and in the name of his master offered a compliment of condolence on the loss which he had so suddenly experienced.

"Sir," said the monarch, in an accent of which the cheerfulness admitted no mistake, "make my acknowledgments to the King and Queen of England, and assure them in my name that neither their interests nor my own will suffer from the circumstance."

As the messenger was retiring, his majesty beckoned to M. de Lauzun, who chanced to be passing, and invited him to become his companion in a saunter through the park, when, as he traversed the orangery, evidently overwhelmed by thought, he suddenly raised his eyes toward that wing of the palace in which the minister had just expired; and the window of the death-room being open,

* This fact was communicated by the king himself to Monsieur de Chamillard, by whom it was repeated to the Duke de St. Simon.

continued for a considerable time to gaze earnestly in that direction, until a strange expression passed over his countenance, and bending toward his companion, he whispered in his ear, with a constrained smile, "Just see the force of imagination—I could have declared that I recognized in the distance the face of M. de Louvois!"

During the evening, however, Louis XIV. recovered his composure, and no allusion was made in his presence to the fatal event which had so recently occurred, until the advent of *Monsieur*, who, as he entered the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, exclaimed, earnestly, "Oh! sire, what a loss you have just sustained."

"By no means," was the cold reply; "if M. de Louvois had not died so suddenly, he would have been in the Bastille within two days."

The indifference of the king, was, however, exceeded by that of Madame de Maintenon, who had never forgiven the opposition of the deceased minister to the recognition of her marriage; and so little did she endeavor to conceal her real feelings, that upon being asked by a friend if she intended to put up prayers for the soul of the deceased, she answered, with some asperity, that she had sins enough of her own which required her prayers, and was not consequently called upon to expiate those of others.

Rumors of poison followed close upon the death of the minister; and St. Simon even asserts that the crime was proved at the *post mortem* examination of his body. According to the statement of the duke, Louvois, who was a great water-drinker, always had a jug full of that liquid placed upon the mantel of his cabinet, from which he drank whenever he required it. He had swallowed a draught from this jug before he proceeded to the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, and just as a servant retired who had been alone in the room for several minutes. This man was subsequently arrested, and put upon his trial; but it had scarcely commenced when he was lib-

erated by the king's order, and the depositions which had been taken committed to the flames, with an express command that no further investigation should take place.

Louvois was no sooner in his grave than a marked and striking change was effected in the manner of Madame de Maintenon. We have stated elsewhere that, although continually present at all the discussions which arose between the king and his minister, she invariably remained silent, and apparently abstracted, until appealed to for her opinion. She had also hitherto stringently abstained from influencing (at least visibly) any public measure, or the fortunes of any public man, while she had limited her familiar circle to a small number of individuals, and those selected rather for their social qualities than their political position; but suddenly a revolution, alike of feeling and of action, supervened; she became the center of court favor, the object of court adulation, and the source of court advancement. "My attendants never served me as they should have done until they saw me leaving your apartments," wrote one of the first nobles of France to the *ci-devant* "widow Scarron" upon one occasion; while a second courtier, in a circle where the history of the century was under discussion, observed that, after the death of Louvois, the next chapter should be headed, "End of the reign of Louis the Great," and the succeeding one "Reign of Frances d'Aubigné."*

The epigram was a bitter one.

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Marquis de Pomponne—Industry of Louis XIV.—Social Advancement of the Ministers—Marriages of the Duke de Chartres and the Duke du Maine—Governors of the Duke de Chartres—The Abbé Dubois—Portrait of Philip d'Orleans—The Royal Brothers—Frivolity of Monsieur; his Portrait; his Costume; his Insignificance—The Value of an additional Inch—Magnificence of Madame de Montespan—Madame de Maintenon and the new Duchess du Maine; her Arrogance—Stinging Rejoinder of the Duke d'Elbœuf—Cowardice of the Duke du Maine—The Dutch Journal—Death of Mademoiselle—Presumption of M. de Lauzun—Capture of Namur—The Ghost-Seer—Madame Armond—A baffled Intrigue—Power of Madame de Maintenon—Distrust of the King—Equivocal Position of Madame de Maintenon—The Monarch and the Court Ladies—Ambulatory Banquets.

A MONTH after the death of Louvois the Marquis de Pomponne was called to the council; Torcy, his son-in-law, confirmed in his appointment as minister for foreign

affairs, and the Marquis de Barbesieux made secretary of the war office; and from this period Louis XIV. devoted himself, with increased energy, to the transaction of public business. Those who were the most familiar with his habits were lost in astonishment at the activity which he evinced. He limited his hunting excursions to a couple of hours; returned to the palace at a given moment; devoted four hours to reading, writing, and dictating to his secretaries; and frequently dismissed the princesses immediately after supper, in order to expedite his foreign couriers.* Nor was it merely by his own example that the king encouraged his ministers to increased diligence; he also rewarded it by valuable presents and personal distinction; and during the latter years of his reign they succeeded in placing themselves on a level with the nobility, whose dress and manners they adopted, and with whom they formed alliances calculated still more to lessen the disparity which had formerly existed between them; while their wives ultimately obtained the privilege of driving in the royal equipages, and dining at the royal table.

Two marriages of importance were, however, destined, at the commencement of the year 1692, to relieve for a time the monotony of public business and the tedium of the court—those of the Duke de Chartres and the Duke du Maine. Louis XIV. had, as we have already stated, been for several years endeavoring to obtain the consent of *Monsieur* to an alliance between his son and Mademoiselle de Blois,† the youngest daughter of Madame de Montespan, in which he ultimately succeeded through the influence of the Chevalier de Lorraine, the favorite of the

* Lettres de Madame de Maintenon.

† This princess was the third of the king's daughters who had borne the same name; the first having been Mary Anne, Princess de Conti, of whom Madame de la Vallière was the mother; and the second a former daughter of Madame de Montespan, who died at an early age

duke; but he had found it impossible to secure either that of *Madame* or of her son, until the agency of an individual, whose insignificance would have appeared to place him beyond the pale of so exalted an intrigue, liberated the monarch from his embarrassment, and enabled him to accomplish a marriage which he had so long desired.

Monsieur had been singularly unfortunate in his selection of governors for the Duke de Chartres; as, although they had in every case been men of distinguished merit and acquirements, his mania for exalted titles had caused him to appoint persons already so far advanced in life, that they succeeded each other with a rapidity inimical to the interests of their pupil. In the interval from 1683 to 1692, M. de Chartres had no less than four—the Duke de Navailles, marshal of France, an honorable, virtuous, and learned man, lived only two years after his appointment; the Marshal d'Estrades, also an accomplished preceptor, did not longer fill the office, although he was seventy-nine when he died; the Duke de la Vieuville, the least eligible of the three, survived one year longer; and was replaced in his turn by M. d'Arcy, a councilor of state, a brave soldier, and a skillful diplomatist, but who, unfortunately for the young duke, had been about him only for a short period when his marriage emancipated him from all guardianship.

During the intervals consequent upon these changes, the duty of governor had been performed by M. de St. Laurent, deputy-master of the ceremonies to *Monsieur*, a man of obscure birth and unprepossessing person, but, nevertheless, well calculated to educate a prince. His want of nobility had, however, sufficed to deprive him of the title of governor; although upon every occasion when a vacancy occurred, as well as when etiquet required a new appointment, the capacity and merit of M. de St. Laurent caused him to retain all the authority of the office, even while others enjoyed the honor.

In the course of his frequent visits to the curate of St. Eustache, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, M. de St. Laurent formed an acquaintance with a youth named Dubois, whose extraordinary intellect made a strong impression upon his mind. He was the son of an apothecary of Brive-la-Galliarde in Lower Limousin, who had pursued the study of physic at Rheims under a Dr. Letellier; but the latter having died before his studies were completed, had bequeathed him to the kindness of the curate, who being, in his turn, unable to provide for him, had recommended him to the notice of M. de St. Laurent.

As the young man wrote a fine hand, his new patron presented him to the Duke de Chartres in the capacity of writing-master; but ere long, conscious that he was thus cramping his genius, he caused him to assume the abbatial costume, in order to secure to him a befitting position in the establishment, and promoted him to the study, where his duties consisted in preparing the prince for his final examination by himself. Thus St. Laurent at once found the personal relief which his increasing infirmities began to render necessary, and had the satisfaction of witnessing the daily progress of his royal pupil.

From the period in which Dubois had advanced in fortune, he had courted the good graces of the Chevalier de Lorraine and the Marquis d'Effiat, who bore unlimited sway in the household of *Monsieur;* and at the death of M. de St. Laurent, as the *soi-disant* abbé was already established in the functions of tutor, his new friends became anxious that his official station should be confirmed. This, however, could not, as they were well aware, be easily accomplished, owing to the obscurity of his birth, which was still fresh in the memory of every one. They consequently temporized; raised objections to the persons proposed; caused the postponement of the appointment; expatiated on the extraordinary improvement of the young prince under his tuition; and at length, when they had

rendered *Monsieur* weary of the subject, succeeded in securing the nomination of their new *protégé;* who, in return for so great a service, and conscious of the necessity of their continued support, lent himself unscrupulously to all their views.

The first service which they exacted from the titular abbé was his coöperation in promoting the marriage between the Duke de Chartres and the king's daughter; to which the young prince was strongly opposed, not merely because any matrimonial alliance must tend to interfere with his favorite pursuits and habits, but also through the influence of his mother, who, justly proud of her four-and-thirty quarterings, which had as yet been unsullied by any derogatory alliance, looked upon the union of her son with one whom she persisted in calling "His Majesty's bastard," as a disgrace which could never again be obliterated.

Dubois had, however, the advantage of constant companionship with his pupil, who soon discovered that the presence of his preceptor was quite as essential in his hours of recreation as in those of study.

Philip of Orleans, the future Regent of France, had, at this period, far outgrown his age, both in physical and mental power; and although still a boy in years, was manly in all his ideas and habits. He prided himself greatly upon a fancied resemblance to Henry IV., whom he endeavored to imitate in every particular; but the analogy between them was not so striking as regarded their persons, for the Duke de Chartres had neither the long countenance of that monarch nor his strongly-marked Bourbon nose, nor his lofty forehead; the cynical expression of their eyes alone conveying any idea of resemblance.

The prince was of middle height, and eminently graceful in his deportment, although he walked badly, owing to an organic weakness to which he had nearly fallen a victim

in his infancy; his eyes were bright and lively, his mouth joyous, his complexion high, his face round and full, and his nose thick and flat, with large nostrils; in short, it was a countenance of mingled intellect and sensuality, which was the very transcript of his character. His hand was singularly white and well formed, and he was so anxious to preserve its beauty, that it was said by a celebrated writer of the time, that "each of his nails exacted as much care as a reliquary."

A solid education, pursued with ardor, had accelerated the precocity of his intellect; for not only had he studied all the modern languages, formed a thorough acquaintance with the authors of antiquity, turned his serious attention to the important questions of philosophy and politics, and mastered much of the knowledge necessary to the administration of the internal economy of a kingdom, but he had also secured those resources against the tedium of a court and the etiquet of royalty which were able to render him at every crisis independent of both, by cultivating literature and art. His favorite studies were, however, mathematics and astronomy, and his darling pursuit chemistry, to which he devoted a great portion of his time. He was an agreeable musician, a pleasing poet, and a good artist, and excelled in every thing which required quickness, memory, and address. He cared little for field sports, and still less for the etiquet of Versailles; preferring the liberty which is so seldom accorded to persons of his rank, to all the high-sounding honors to which he might fairly have laid claim. His first campaign at the siege of Mons had sufficed to prove that he was courageous even to temerity; while his governor, the Marquis d'Arcy, had been compelled, at the battle of Leuze, to throw himself before him at the risk of his own life, in order to prevent his falling into the power of the enemy. In temper he was joyous and affable, slow to take offense, and so thoroughly devoid of egotism, that he was frequently

wanting in justice to himself. He despised and detested every thing which savored of revenge, and readily forgave an injury even before it was acknowledged. He was, however, slow to believe in the probity of mankind, and had no faith in female virtue, his early experience of the sex having tended to give him an unfortunate bias, and to lead him to consider such a quality as at once unnecessary and inconvenient; and consequently, with all his talents, all his acquirements, and all his refined tastes, he early became dissipated, fickle, and heartless.

Such was the ardent and ill-regulated nature upon which Dubois was called to exercise his influence, and he did not hesitate to pander to the worst passions of his pupil in order to retain and increase it, while the excesses in which he encouraged the young prince became at length so notorious that they reached the ears of the king, and excited his extreme displeasure, and this was the precise moment chosen by Dubois to extort his reluctant consent to a marriage, which, as he ably represented, would tend at once to restore him to the favor of the monarch.

Monsieur had already, as we have previously stated, been induced by the Chevalier de Lorraine to accede to the wishes of his royal brother, and although his pride had for a time revolted at the idea of bestowing his only son upon a daughter of Madame de Montespan, he had ultimately done so the more readily as he was sincerely attached to the banished favorite, and foresaw, in the projected alliance, an increase of personal favor with the king. Moreover, the dominant feature of *Monsieur's* character was weakness. He habitually permitted himself to be governed by every one who acquired an influence over him, and did not appear to perceive that he was a mere puppet in the hands of his favorites.

Of *Madame* he stood in an awe which was so thoroughly appreciated at court, that during the early favor of Madame de Maintenon, when that lady had incurred the displeasure

of the duchess by a sarcasm, and the prince complained of the insult to the king, saying that it had greatly offended *his wife*, Louis XIV. had replied, with a smile,

"For one who piques himself on speaking his native language with so much correctness, you have just committed a grievous error, in which I will set you right. Here is what you should have said: 'I am come to complain of Madame de Maintenon, who, by some ambiguous words, has offended, or has endeavored to offend, *my husband*.'"

Monsieur, conscious of the absurdity of his position, could not restrain his laughter, and the sarcasm of the mistress of the robes was suffered to go unpunished.*

The great delight of *Monsieur* consisted in building, in masquerading, in fêtes, and in amusements of every description. He cared nothing for more exalted pleasures, or more intellectual pursuits; he disliked reading, and detested all serious conversation, but entered with delight into the gossipry of the court-ladies, and the frivolities of the courtiers. The ball-room and the table were the two great occupations of his life, and he was conspicuous in both, for he danced admirably, and ate voraciously. The kingly magnificence which he displayed at his court in the Palais-Royal, and at St. Cloud, extended to the merest trifles, and his toilet-table was a mass of plate and jewelry. His prodigality, excessive as it was, met, however, with no rebuke from Louis XIV., who, satisfied by the deference and respect which he always exhibited toward his person, and satisfied that he would never oppose his measures, indulged him in all his expensive and fantastic follies. Morally, *Monsieur* was null. He had more manner than mind, more simplicity than wit, more carelessness than kindness, more indiscretion than frankness, and more distrust than prudence; and in his case qualities which would have been estimable in others degenerated into defects.

* Mémoires de Madame de Montespan.

This sketch of *Monsieur* would, however, be incomplete, did we not subjoin a description of his person, as he appeared at the marriage of the Duke de Chartres.

In stature he was very short, a defect that he endeavored to overcome by the immense height of the heels of his shoes, which were surcharged with ribbons, and gave him the appearance of walking upon stilts, while the extreme rotundity of his figure destroyed the grace of his carriage, and made his movements heavy. He bore a considerable resemblance to Louis XIII., save that he did not possess the same elevated cast of countenance. His face was extremely long, his nose prominent, his eyes large and dark, and his mouth small. His physiognomy had an expression of kindness, which was, however, counteracted by haughtiness; and when he smiled, which he did frequently, and generally at an unfortunate moment, his whole appearance was rendered less prepossessing by the exhibition of two ranges of teeth which were unfortunately defective. He wore an immense black wig, curled, and slightly powdered, which, brought forward upon his shoulders, fell on either side to his chest in absurd and almost ridiculous profusion, and also a quantity of rouge, and even patches. His coat was composed of green silk, with stripes and button-holes of gold embroidery, and was gathered into folds upon the hips in order to increase their apparent size, which fell below the knees like a tunic; the buttons were of emeralds set in gold, and his waistcoat, of rose-colored silk, embroidered with golden flowers in a profusion which almost concealed the original material, was traversed from right to left by the blue ribbon of the Holy Ghost, supporting a sword whose hilt was incrusted with diamonds, and disappeared under an enormous green bow fringed with gold. Ribbons were profusely scattered over the whole of his costume, and ornamented not only the principal articles of his dress, but even his white satin shoes, and his round beaver with its double circle of

feathers overhanging the edges on all sides, which he never placed upon his head save in cases of absolute necessity, or on occasions of rigorous etiquet. The principal feature of his costume was, however, the extraordinary and prodigious display of jewelry in which he indulged. Crosses and stars were profusely strewn over his vest; he had rings upon every finger, and bracelets on his wrists; triple ruffles about his hands; and a cravat and collar of Hungarian point almost beyond price; and in this extravagant attire he divided his attention between the courtiers and the mirror, into which he gazed with evident satisfaction, and by whose aid he was enabled speedily to correct every little derangement in his attire consequent upon the heat and pressure of the throng.

Such was *Monsieur* in the year 1692—a weak friend, a harmless enemy, and an effeminate prince; and under these circumstances it will scarcely appear extraordinary that he should so far forget his dignity as even to sacrifice the honor of the house of Orleans to present convenience and probable advantage. *Madame*, however, was differently constituted; and her indignation was so violent when her son at length announced to her that he had acceded to the wishes of the king and the orders of his father, that in the first paroxysm of her anger and mortification she answered him by a blow.

But aware that against the will of Louis XIV. the supineness of *Monsieur*, and the concession of her son, she had no alternative save ultimate compliance, *Madame* at length resolved to reconcile herself to what she persisted, nevertheless, in calling her dishonor; for she dreaded that should she continue to indulge in an opposition which must necessarily prove fruitless, the king might be induced to punish her pertinacity by abandoning the interests of the Elector-Palatine, of whom he was at that period the support.

In consequence of this somewhat tardy reflection, there-

fore, *Madame* gradually suffered herself to be appeased, and even attended the reading of the marriage contract, without betraying one symptom of indignation; especially as Louis XIV. gave to his daughter a dower of two millions of livres, to be paid at the close of the war; and an annual income of two hundred thousand, with a marriage-gift in jewels estimated at two hundred thousand crowns; renewing, moreover, to the Duke de Chartres the donation already made to *Monsieur* of the Palais-Royal, bequeathed to the crown by Cardinal Mazarin.

The marriage was accomplished with great magnificence, to the chagrin of the Marquise de Montespan; who, after having vented her annoyance in a letter which she wrote on the occasion to the Bavarian princess (and which was couched in terms well fitted to arouse all the pride of *Madame*, and to strengthen the hatred she had long borne toward the haughty favorite), did not condescend to recognize the alliance in any other manner.

Only one month later it was followed by that of the Duke du Maine with Anna Louisa Benedicta de Bourbon, Mademoiselle de Charolais, the second daughter of the Prince de Condé.*

The king had in vain endeavored to dissuade M. du Maine from marriage, frankly declaring to him, that it was not persons in his position who were called upon to found a family; but, urged by the wishes of the duke, and in compliance with the entreaties of Madame de Maintenon, whose affection for her nursling continued to be boundless, Louis XIV. at length consented to the measure, although in direct opposition to his better judgment. He had always been anxious that the legitimated princes should remain unmarried; but as he found it impossible to convince the duke of the propriety of such an arrangement, he resolved to seek him a wife in one of the first houses in France; upon which the prince, informed of

* Granddaughter of the Great Condé.

what had transpired, proposed one of his own daughters to the monarch.* M. de Condé saw that the rank, the influence, and the favor of the king's natural children were increasing from day to day; and the fact that one of them had actually become Duchess de Chartres, rendered him more than ever anxious to secure the Duke du Maine as his son-in-law. In these views he was earnestly encouraged by *Madame*, who had begun to have painful apprehensions that Louis XIV., after having disposed of her son, would next deprive her of her daughter, and who consequently rejoiced to see the danger of such an event removed through the agency of the prince.

The proposition was no sooner accepted than it became necessary to choose between the three sisters; and as they were all extremely small, the selection was made by measurement; when Anna Louisa Benedicta proving to be the tallest by an inch, it was decided that she should become Duchess du Maine. The marriage took place with the same ceremonies as that of the Duke de Chartres; but on this occasion, Madame de Montespan, whose vanity was flattered that the alliance should have been solicited by the family of the bride, was regal in her liberality. She presented the bed, of which the hangings, embroidered with gold and pearls, cost more than a million of livres of the present day; and gave to her daughter-in-law a casket of jewels estimated at two millions of that time; while she also refused to receive again one of her three costly services of plate, which had been borrowed of her by her son on the occasion of the bridal banquet. Nothing could more thoroughly tend to demonstrate the satisfaction of the marchioness than this profusion, for she was naturally avaricious, and averse to making presents; but the opportunity here afforded, alike of exhibiting her magnificence and of offering an additional affront to *Madame*, was too precious to be sacrificed to mere feelings of economy.

* Souvenirs de Madame de Caylus.

The settlement actually made, or the donation really bestowed, by Louis XIV. upon his favorite son on the occasion of his marriage was never known; and it is believed that, as he had already been rendered extremely wealthy by the compulsatory bequests of MADEMOISELLE, it was willfully kept secret, in order not to shock the feelings of the nation, which had begun to evince some symptoms of having awakened to a consciousness of wide contrast existing between the prodigality of the nobles and the poverty of the people. All that transpired was the fact that, on the eve of the ceremony, the king had presented to the bride two costly caskets, the one containing a suit of diamonds, and the other a set of mixed jewels.

From the moment of the marriage, Madame de Maintenon attached herself strongly to the wife of her favorite. "The princess," she wrote to the Abbess of Maubuisson, "is about to pass the Holy Week in your community. Compel her to rest herself thoroughly. They kill her here by the restraints and fatigues of the court. She is crushed under the weight of gold and precious stones. They will prevent her from growing, and destroy her health. She is prettier without a cap than with all their ornaments. She eats nothing, in all probability does not sleep well, and I am dying with fear lest they should have married her too young. I wish I could keep her at St. Cyr, dressed like one of the pupils, and romping as merrily. There are no austerities practiced in conventual houses equal to those to which the etiquet of a court subjects the great."

In another letter she describes the young princess as "pretty, amiable, cheerful, and witty;" but as though she had nevertheless a latent doubt of the final result of the motherly interest which she was taking in her wellfare, she adds, "If she deceives me, I renounce all princesses for the future." Nor was it long ere she perceived that even with the good qualities which she had discovered, or believed that she had discovered, in the new duchess, there was no solid foundation

to work upon: "You have deceived me," she writes, more sadly than reproachfully, to the governess of the princess, "on the principal point upon which I consulted you—that of religion. She has no tendency whatever toward piety, but is anxious to do every thing that she sees others do. I do not desire to make her a bigot; but I confess that I should like to find her more regular in her devotions, and more agreeable alike to God, to the king, and to the Duke du Maine, who has sufficient good sense to desire his wife should be more virtuous than those by whom she is surrounded."*

We have already stated that the Duke du Maine was witty, cunning, and deceitful, but eminently agreeable whenever he sought to please; while his enmity was the more dangerous from the fact that, when he desired to revenge a wrong, he hesitated at no meanness or falsehood which could insure success. His wife possessed an intellect equal to his own, but she exercised it in a different manner, and frittered away capabilities of a high order upon novels and plays, making the latter almost the business of her life, committing them to memory, and afterward causing them to be performed at her little court. Her courage was masculine in its extent and violence: she was adventurous, bold, and passionate, ever acting upon the impulse of the moment, and careless of all results. She despised the weakness of her husband, and openly reproached him with an economy which she designated as avarice, and to which she at once declared that she would never lend herself.

M. du Maine was unequal to contend against this fiery spirit; even his subtlety was at fault; and while he persisted in the same line of conduct by which he had long succeeded in persuading the monarch that he was utterly devoid of that very ambition which was in fact perpetually gnawing at his heart, passing whole days in his closet, avoiding society, hunting without attendants, and dining alone in

* Lettres de Madame de Maintenon.

his apartment, he was condemned to the mortification of seeing the duchess hold a magnificent court of Sceaux, (which splendid estate had been presented to him by the king upon his marriage), and plunge into expenses by which he was ultimately ruined, without venturing to expostulate, such was his terror of the violent disposition of his wife.

To this want of moral courage the Duke du Maine added a total absence of personal bravery; and the fact was so well known that it at length became the common jest of the courtiers, who sought so little to disguise from him their opinions upon the subject, that on one occasion, at the close of a campaign, the Duke d'Elbœuf inquired of him where he expected to serve during the following year, remarking that wherever His Highness went he had made up his mind to accompany him. The prince inquired for what reason. "Because," was the sarcastic reply, as the duke glanced toward the bystanders, "near your person one is sure to be safe."

M. du Maine bit his lip, and turned away without making any rejoinder.

This unfortunate failing of his favorite son had, however, remained unknown to Louis XIV. until he on one occasion met with a paragraph in a Dutch journal, in which the most flattering panegyrics were poured forth upon the courage of the Duke du Maine, who had, as it was asserted, after exhibiting during the progress of an engagement the desperate valor of a hero, finally received a severe wound, and been carried from the field insensible. The eye of the king flashed and his brow flushed as he read the passage, while he even forgot the danger of the smitten prince in the pride that he felt at his heroism; but this paternal joy was destined to be short-lived. In the next number of the journal an apology was made for the error into which it it had been betrayed, by a mistake in the name of the brave officer who was so grievously wounded, and an assurance given that the Duke du Maine

was not only unhurt, but that he had never, throughout the whole of the action, been exposed to the slightest danger.

This elaborate contradiction awakened the suspicions of the king, and he inquired of one of his valets-de-chambre, named La Vienne, from whom he frequently learned truths which others endeavored to conceal, if he had heard a doubt cast upon the personal courage of the Duke du Maine. La Vienne remained silent, a circumstance which only increased the curiosity and apprehension of the monarch, who forthwith insisted upon a reply, and thus urged, the reluctant attendant was compelled to admit that the cowardice of M. du Maine had long passed into a proverb, not only in the armies of His Majesty, but even in those of the enemy—a revelation which was one of the most heavy blows, alike to his pride and his affection, to which throughout his reign Louis XIV. was ever subjected.*

The marriage of the duke was not agreeable to Mademoiselle, to whom he was indebted for the principal portion of his fortune. Mademoiselle de Bourbon had offended her by a want of respect on several occasions, and she declared that if the alliance ever took place she would never see either the duke or the duchess again, a threat which was nevertheless disregarded, for there was nothing further to be hoped from her generosity, and her displeasure was too unimportant to change the resolution of the king.

Mademoiselle was not long destined, however, to endure this mortification; for, on the 5th of April in the following year she died in the palace of Luxembourg, at the age of sixty-three years, the richest private princess in Europe. The hatred which had replaced her former passion for Lauzun was too powerful for her strength; and after living for years in a wearisome and monotonous pomp, which she dragged from one of her estates to another without obtaining from it either consideration or

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

solace; absenting herself entirely from the court save on occasions of ceremony when her presence was essential; frittering away her intellect in vain and idle futilities; and finding her principal occupation in assuming mourning at the death of every personage with whom she could claim the slightest and most distant connection, and explaining in the most prolix manner to those about her the exact degree and amount of the consanguinity and alliance of each, she ultimately fell into a state of languor and suffering which, after enduring for many months, terminated in death.

Monsieur and *Madame* were her constant companions during her sickness, for, in addition to the close intimacy which had long existed between herself and the prince, he coveted her immense fortune, and became, as he had anticipated, her sole legatee. The largest portion of her original possessions had, however, as we have already seen, passed into other hands.

On the death of the princess, M. de Lauzun assumed the mourning of a widowed husband, and appeared at the funeral in a black cloak—an exhibition which seriously displeased the king, who commanded the Duke de St. Aignan to desire him instantly to retire. "I can not at such a moment listen to the voice of pride," was the cool reply of the former favorite when the message was delivered to him; "I am absorbed by my grief, and could wish to see the king more occupied by his own;" and he remained to the close of the ceremony; while, even when the period was passed in which the trappings of wo should in every case have been discontinued, he nevertheless persisted in changing his liveries to a shade of brown so deep as to be almost black, in order, as he stated, to keep alive the memory of MADEMOISELLE, whose portrait was to be seen in every apartment of his house.

The campaigns of 1692 and 1693 were the last in which Louis XIV. ever took an active part, and the capture of

Namur his closing exploit; and it was on his return to Versailles, after this expedition, that Madame de Maintenon is asserted to have resolved upon making a final effort to effect her recognition as Queen of France; but all ordinary means having failed to accomplish her purpose, she now, according to these authorities, determined to have recourse to supernatural agency, believing that although the monarch had resisted all human intervention he would not venture to dispute what he could not fail to consider as a decree from Heaven.

One day, accordingly, a farrier from the little town of Salon, in Provence, arrived at Versailles, having made the journey on foot, and proceeded at once to the palace, without even waiting to rest himself, where he applied to M. de Brissac to obtain for him an audience of the king, to whom he had, as he declared, something of the highest importance to communicate. M. de Brissac, however, declined the mission, the obscure station of the applicant not rendering him eligible for such an honor. But the peasant was not to be repulsed, and his pertinacity was so great, and his applications for admittance to the presence of the monarch so persevering in every quarter where he imagined he had a prospect of success, that the circumstance at length reached the ears of Louis himself, who, anxious to see how far the resolution of the man would carry him, caused him to be told that what he requested was impracticable, as the King of France was not accessible to every comer. Nevertheless, the peasant refused to yield, asserting, that if he could once see His Majesty, he would tell him things which were only known to himself, and which would at once convince him that he was not required to listen to an impostor; but demanding, if this interview were really impossible, that he might at least be admitted to one of the ministers of state.

The king, curious to ascertain the result of this singular adventure, desired the Marquis de Barbesieux to receive

the man on the following day, who, when he next made his appearance at the palace, was accordingly directed to his apartments; but the peasant shook his head, observing that he had requested to be introduced to one of the ministers of state, and that M. de Barbesieux was not a minister of state. This objection startled every one; for the man had only been in Versailles a few days, and it was not anticipated that he could so soon have acquainted himself with the exact rank of the great officers of the crown. It sufficed, however, to render the king more than ever desirous to penetrate the mystery of his errand; and he accordingly deputed M. de Pomponne, whose ministerial functions could not be disputed by this extraordinary farrier, to grant him the desired interview.

On learning by whom he was to be received, the peasant at once declared his willingness to confide his secret; and he was no sooner alone with the minister in his cabinet than he related, that one night as he was returning at a late hour to his village, he suddenly found himself, while passing under a tree, surrounded by a great light, in the center of which there appeared to him the figure of a woman, young, fair, and beautiful, dressed in a long, white robe, over which she wore a royal mantle; and he had scarcely remarked all this, when, as he asserted, she thus addressed him: "I am the Queen Maria Theresa. Go to the king, and repeat to him the circumstances which I am about to communicate to you. Heaven will assist you during your journey; and when you arrive, should the king doubt that it was I who sent you, then relate to him a circumstance of which he alone is cognizant, which no other person can know, and by which he will at once recognize the truth of what you will have to tell him. If, in the first place, as is extremely probable, you can not obtain an audience of himself, demand to speak to a minister of state; but, above all things, make no com-

munications to others, whatever may be their rank. Depart boldly and speedily, and execute what I command on pain of death."

The peasant had scarcely, as he declared, solemnly pledged himself to implicit obedience, and learned the secrets upon which his mission was to be based, when he once more found himself alone and in darkness, and so thoroughly bewildered by the scene through which he had just passed, that he was unable to pursue his homeward path; but, throwing himself down under the tree, ultimately forgot his terrors in sleep.

When he awoke on the following morning, he attributed the whole adventure to a dream, and made no preparation for his journey; but, two days afterward, as he was passing by the same spot, the vision reappeared, uttering menaces so fearful, in consequence of his disobedience, that he again promised to comply, pleading as an excuse for his first failure, his utter destitution, and the impossibility of his undertaking so long a journey without the means of subsistence. To this objection the vision had, however, he said, replied by directing him to wait upon the commissioner of the province, and to inform him of what he had seen, and the orders which he had received; adding, that he would then supply him with all that was necessary.

Nevertheless, it required a third apparition to convince the peasant, as he declared to the minister, that he was really in his right mind; but his terror became so great at the threats which were fulminated against him on this last occasion, that he immediately departed for Aix, where he told his extraordinary story to the commissioner, who, without hesitation, gave him a small sum of money, and urged him to set forth upon the instant.

Such was the tale to which M. de Pomponne was destined to listen; and wild and extravagant as it appeared, it yet contained elements which startled the judg-

ment of the statesman; but it was in vain that, by every means he could invent, he endeavored to acquire a knowledge of the assumed communication which was to be a pass-word to the confidence of the king, as the man resolutely refused to confide it to any ears save those of the monarch himself.

When he was informed of this circumstance, Louis XIV. could no longer restrain his curiosity, but resolved personally to converse with the peasant, and for this purpose he desired that he might be introduced into his cabinet by a private stair. Their first interview, which was strictly secret, lasted an entire hour; and on the following day another took place of equal length, attended with the same precautions.

On the succeeding morning, as the king was descending the same stair-case by which the ghost-seer had been introduced, in order to attend a hunt, M. de Duras, who by his high rank and still higher favor was in a position to say whatever he pleased to the monarch, began to speak of the farrier of Salon with extreme contempt, and terminated his attack by a proverb which at that period was very commonly used, "Either that man is mad, or the king is not noble." As the words passed his lips, Louis XIV. suddenly stopped, and replied emphatically, "If the proverb be true, duke, then it is I who am not noble; for I have twice conversed with him, and each time at considerable length, and I have found all that he has said replete with good sense and truth."

The extreme seriousness with which this declaration was made startled all by whom it was overheard; but as M. de Duras still ventured to reply by a doubtful gesture, the king added, "Learn that this man has spoken to me of a circumstance which occurred to myself more than twenty years ago, and of which no one living can be aware, since I never divulged it to any human being; and this was the apparition of a phantom in the forest of St

Germain, who addressed me in the precise words which he has since repeated."

The same result ensued to the last, whenever the name of this peasant was mentioned before the king. Through out the whole period of his residence at Versailles all his expenses were defrayed by the house-steward of the monarch; and when he was at length dismissed, the king not only presented him with a sum of money, but commanded the commissioner of Provence to take him under his especial protection, and, without removing him from his original sphere, to be careful that as long as he lived he should be amply provided for. It was not, however, to be anticipated that so singular an event as this could be suffered to pass quietly into oblivion; and accordingly, despite the silence of the king and the discretion of his minister, enough transpired upon the subject to enable the newsmongers of the court to collect the following particulars.

There was resident at Marseilles a certain Madame Armond, whose life had been one long romance, and who, plain in person, limited in means, and an untitled widow, had nevertheless contrived so to fascinate all with whom she came into contact, that no one was surprised when she at length induced M. Armond, the naval commissioner of Marseilles, to marry her under the most extraordinary circumstances. This lady had been for years the most intimate friend of Madame de Maintenon; and it was accordingly conjectured that in some moment of extreme confidence, which had since escaped his memory, the king had imparted to the latter the secret of the apparition of the forest of St. Germain, which he believed himself never to have revealed, and that Madame de Maintenon had, in her turn, confided the circumstance to Madame Armond, who had made it her passport to the credulity of the farrier, as well as his own watch-word to the confidence of the king; while, as regarded the mission with which this strange messenger was intrusted by the vision clad in white and covered by a

royal mantle, it was readily discovered to be an entreaty from the deceased queen that His Majesty should, without further procrastination, publicly acknowledge Madame de Maintenon as her successor—a report which, moreover, coincided with that which had obtained at the period of Maria Theresa's death, that she had, in her last moments, placed her marriage-ring in the hand of Madame de Maintenon!*

If these rumors were, indeed, founded in truth, it is certain that the plot did not succeed, and that she never renewed a similar attempt, for she soon became convinced that the declared resolution of the king upon this subject would never be shaken; and she had sufficient control over herself to accept his decision without a murmur, and to resign herself to his will. Nor had she reason to repent her prudence, for the monarch no sooner perceived that he had nothing more to apprehend from her pertinacity than his respect, his confidence, and his affection increased tenfold, and her influence became so powerful that her interference sufficed to secure results which were otherwise unattainable.

A proof of this fact is afforded by the circumstance that a lady of small fortune, who was anxious to accomplish the marriage of her daughter with the heir of a wealthy family, whose members did not consider the alliance sufficiently advantageous, conceived the idea of introducing herself surreptitiously into the antechamber of Madame de Maintenon toward the close of her dinner hour; when, having succeeded in arriving there, she counterfeited indisposition, and approaching a window with a napkin in her hand, requested a glass of water. She was seen thus occupied by several persons to whom she was known, and was supposed to have been an invited guest; the report of her having been seized with sudden indisposition at the table of Madame de Maintenon became current, and the

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

intelligence of her favor in such a quarter having reached the family of the coveted bridegroom, they no longer withheld their consent to the marriage.*

This anxiety to secure the interest of Madame de Maintenon was, without doubt, a consequence of the power which Louis XIV. had ceded to her over the affairs of the court; but this power by no means extended to those of the government: indeed, in all subjects connected with state policy, the king was so constantly on his guard against her that, on several occasions, when she had openly betrayed her purpose, and that he discovered a particular minister to be endeavoring to favor one of her relatives or friends, he made a point of opposing the arrangement for that very reason, and could never be induced to yield, even making a merit to herself of his firmness. When this occurred, Madame de Maintenon at first had recourse to tears, and was on thorns for several days afterward, but having secured the appointment of Fagon as principal physician, and feeling herself safe in the hands of a man who could essentially serve her, and whose opportunities of so doing were certain and frequent, she ultimately affected illness after scenes of this description, and generally contrived by such means to carry her point.†

It is presumed also that Louis XIV. had reason to suspect Madame de Maintenon of some secret intrigue, for his perseverance in keeping her almost constantly in his sight became at this period so determined that she complains of it in one of her letters as of an insupportable restraint. "The king," she writes, "is perpetually on guard over me. I see no one. He never leaves my room, and I am compelled to rise at five in the morning in order to write to you." And again, on another occasion, she exclaims mournfully—"I experience more than ever that there is no compensation for the loss of liberty."

* Mémoires de la Beaumelle.

† Mémoires de St. Simon.

Her happiest moments were passed at St. Cyr, where she delighted to spend whole days in the midst of her pupils. "They occupy me considerably," she was accustomed to say, "but far more agreeably than the intrigues of people who are alternately the deceivers and the deceived, and frequently both at the same time. My difficulty is to keep them occupied in school from morning till night, which is not easily managed when girls are eighteen or twenty years of age."*

The public, who were not aware of these facts—some from personal dislike, and others from jealousy of her presumed influence—invariably rendered her responsible for every thing that occurred, especially when the results were unfortunate or unpopular; and thus her position became one of constant annoyance as well as of perpetual difficulty. A queen in her own apartments, she had no sooner passed the threshold than she became a mere private individual. She affected no state, gave precedence to all women of rank, and neither made nor received visits, save in the case of the English queen; nevertheless, it must be remarked that all general officers, when they either left Versailles to join the army or returned from a campaign, and all great personages who were compelled to absent themselves from the court on important business, both in going and returning, never failed to pay their respects to her. Her chosen society was limited to a few persons of both sexes, but her solitude was nevertheless perpetually invaded.

In one of her letters she says, "I can only secure a quiet moment by chance. Madame de Dangeau dines with me, and in all probability Madame d'Haudincourt also, who will request an explanation of our reason for not eating every thing that is served up. I shall lose patience; she will blush at my irritation, and I shall follow her example. The princesses who have not attended the hunt will come

* Lettres de Madame de Maintenon.

in, followed by their cabal, and wait the return of the king in my apartment in order to go to dinner. I shall take no more interest in these visitors that I inspire. The hunters will return in a crowd, and will relate the whole history of their day's sport without sparing us a single detail. They will then go to dinner, and Madame de Dangeau will challenge me, with a yawn, to a game of backgammon, &c. Such is the way in which people live at court."

Superadded to these restraints and intrusions, the victim of her own ambition had also to endure the egotistical exactions and caprices of a monarch who, "born under the purple" and accustomed to see his own convenience and comfort the care of all about him, had long ceased to perceive that they might prove inimical to the happiness of others. In the most dissipated years of his life, Louis XIV. had never sacrificed either his wishes or his vanity even to the indisposition of those to whom he professed himself to be the most passionately attached, let the cause of that indisposition be what it might. Whatever were their sufferings—and there is evidence that upon several occasions they were severe—he would exempt them neither from the fatigue of traveling nor from the etiquet of the court. They must be full-dressed, covered with jewels, and tightly laced; dance, keep late late hours, and always be ready to amuse him, or to start at a moment's notice upon any excursion which he proposed, without appearing to heed the cold, the heat, the wind, or the dust with which the carriage was constantly filled, because he was, as we have elsewhere remarked, partial to fresh air, and never would suffer the windows to be closed. One complaint of inconvenience sufficed to exclude the murmurer forever. He seldom permitted any one but ladies to enter his coach, which was always stored with fruits, meats, and pastry; and before the party were a league upon their way he invariably proposed that they should partake of some refreshment. Although he himself never touched any food

between his regular repasts, it afforded him great amusement to see others eat; and in order not to incur his displeasure, it was necessary to devour every thing he offered—a necessity which was as imperative upon his own daughters and daughters-in-law as upon the ladies of the court.* MADEMOISELLE, on more than one occasion, complains bitterly in her memoirs of the annoyance to which she was subjected by the immense quantities of food that she had been compelled to swallow while driving with the king.

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

CHAPTER XXII.

Family Circle of Madame de Maintenon—The Count d'Aubigné; his Excesses—The Truncheon in Specie—The Marriage-Promise—His enforced Retirement; his Evasion—Marriage of the Duke de Lauzun—Disappointment of the Bride—Arrival of the Princess Adelaide of Savoy in France—Treaty of Riswick—Death of James II.—Household of the future Duchess de Bourgoyne—Indisposition of the King—Advantages of a Tête-à-tête—Premature Salutations—The Duchess de Lude—Reception of the Princess—The Court at Versailles—Letter to the Duchess of Savoy—Madame de Maintenon educates the Princess; her Docility—Return of Mademoiselle de Choin to Meudon; her supposed Marriage with the Dauphin; her Harshness—Extravagant Preparations for the Marriage of the Duke de Bourgoyne; his Portrait—The King's Ball—Court Felons—The Hat-Bearer—The fatal Prophecy.

The sufferings to which we have alluded in speaking of Madame de Maintenon were not, however, the only ones to which she was subjected; for the conduct of her

brother, the Count d'Aubigne, was a perpetual source of vexation and alarm; while that of her own family had been sufficiently ungracious throughout her early struggles to make her distrustful of their subsequent attachment. During her widowhood they had not only utterly neglected her, but treated her with absolute contempt; and it was not until she had secured the friendship of the king that all her connections, even to the most remote degree, asserted their claims to relationship, and were to be found perpetually in her apartments. Among them were several petty nobles of Angoumois and Poitou, who had resided all their lives upon their estates, and who differed only from the other landowners about them by the privilege of wearing a sword; but there were also several who did no dishonor to her new rank. The Abbé d'Aubigné was one of these; and Louis XIV. was so much pleased by his appearance and demeanor, that Père la Chaise hastened to bestow upon him the archbishopric of Rouen, with the prospect of a cardinalate, should Madame de Maintenon retain her influence.

Among her female relatives were the three daughters of the Count de Villette, who were all handsome and well bred, and a beautiful child, the only daughter of the Marquis de Villette, to whom she soon became greatly attached, as well as to her three brothers; and this bevy of fair girls and graceful youths, who were constantly about her person, became the companions and playfellows of the legitimatized children of the king, and formed a little court of which Madame de Maintenon was justly proud.

The Count d'Aubigné, her only brother, for whom she had a great affection, was her senior by several years, and she had no sooner begun to acquire some credit at court than she exerted herself to advance his fortunes. He was a man of fine person and agreeable address, but his dissipation was unbounded, and, having been his own master from boyhood, he was selfish and headstrong. His

libertine habits had excited animadversion even in his youth, and at the age of fifty he still pursued the same unblushing career of vice. Through the interest of his sister, M. d'Aubigné was transferred from an obscure government to one of considerable importance, in which he made himself extremely popular, but where his extravagance so overwhelmed him with debt, that Madame de Maintenon was several times compelled to liberate him from his difficulties. At the gaming-table he was so notoriously reckless that, on one occasion, when the Duke de Vivonne, the brother of Madame de Montespan, on whom the king had conferred the dignity of marshal of France, entered a saloon in which play was going forward, and remarked that the board was covered with gold, he exclaimed, as he crossed the threshold, "I will risk a wager that it is D'Aubigné who has favored us with all this display; it is a magnificence worthy of him." To which remark the count replied, carelessly, "You would gain your bet, for it is in truth myself who, as you see, have received my truncheon in specie."

The ready wit of M. d'Aubigné never forsook him; and one day when his sister, after her marriage, was complaining of the wretchedness of her destiny, and declaring that she wished she were dead, he answered, sarcastically, "In that case you must have been promised the hand of the monarch of the universe."

This was precisely the description of person calculated to harass and alarm Madame de Maintenon; for his profligacy was unconcealed and his intemperance notorious, while, despite his public income, which was very considerable, and his frequent drafts upon the treasury, he was always in want of money; and she, ere long, came to the conclusion that he could only be reformed by starvation.

In consequence of this conviction, after having, for a score of times, confided in his promises of amend-

ment, and supplied his necessities on the faith of those promises which had all been successively falsified, she resolved to withhold all further assistance; and when he once more appeared before her she accordingly assumed a cold and reproachful demeanor, and informed him that the king was at last weary of his misconduct, which she had concealed from him as long as such a course had been possible, and that His Majesty now consented to pardon him only on condition that she would pledge herself that he should reform, or at least appear to do so, adding that she had given this pledge, and must consequently insist upon its fulfillment.

In reply, the count assured her that his reformation was impossible; but that, as regarded the affectation of amendment, he was quite ready to undertake it if she would point out the method: upon which Madame de Maintenon, affecting not to remark the sarcasm, suggested that he should withdraw from the court for three weeks or a month, when she would spread a report of his conversion, and that he should meanwhile take up his residence with a M. Doyen, who had formed an establishment at St. Sulpice, where gentlemen of the first families in France lived as a common family, and devoted themselves to a life of charity and devotion under the direction of certain distinguished ecclesiastics.

This proposal was by no means palatable to the pleasure-loving M. d'Aubigné, but his case was desperate; and, as Madame de Maintenon finally promised him the sum of twenty-five thousand livres at the close of the month's penance, he consented to assume the appearance of profound remorse, and retired to St. Sulpice, after signing the rules enforced by the society, fully resolved that when he was once in possession of the money he would throw off the shackles with which his necessities had encumbered him.

Nor did he fail in his determination. On the very

day which succeeded that in which he became the master of this new supply, he disappeared from the brotherhood of St. Sulpice; but this event had been foreseen; and M. Doyen had received an order, by virtue of which he again possessed himself of the person of the Count d'Aubigné, and placed him under the charge of a priest, who, whenever he left the house, followed him like his shadow. One day the count lost patience, and beat his keeper very severely, for which he was immediately condemned to close arrest for six weeks; and convinced at length that he should obtain nothing by violence, he found himself compelled to become more circumspect in his conduct, and thus relieved the harassed Madame de Maintenon from a great portion of her anxiety.

In the spring of 1695, M. de Lauzun, then sixty-three years of age, while assisting at the marriage of the Duke de St. Simon and the daughter of the Marshal de Lorges,* became enamored of the sister of the new duchess, a girl of fifteen; or at least endeavored to persuade himself that he had done so, believing that by an alliance which a general officer, not only at the head of a distinct force, but also high in favor with the king, he might be enabled to obtain the restoration of his former rank as captain of the guard. With this conviction he lost no time in proposing his hand to Madame de Lorges, who at once rejected his

* Guy Aldonce de Durfort, Duke de Lorges, was the younger son of Guy Aldonce de Durfort, Marquis de Duras, and of Elizabeth de la Tour. He made his first campaign under Turenne, who was his maternal uncle, and raised himself by his services to the rank of lieutenant-general. He served in this quality in the army of Turenne at the death of that great captain; and it was then that, on assuming the command, he effected the brilliant retreat which procured for him in the following year (1676) the dignity of Marshal of France. He afterward commanded in Germany, took Heidelburg, and drove the Imperialists into Alsace. He died at the age of seventy-two years, captain of the body-guard, chevalier of the Orders of the king, and governor of Lorraine. In 1700 the king raised the town of Quintin to a duchy under the title of Lorges-Quintin.

suit, the known profligacy of the duke, and the great disparity of age which existed between the parties, sufficing to convince her that, by acceding to such a marriage, she should inevitably sacrifice the happiness of a child whom she loved; but M. de Lauzun never permitted himself to be dismayed by any obstacles, however apparently insurmountable; and he accordingly repeated his proposition to the marshal, offering to receive Mademoiselle de Quintin without any dower; a consideration which commenced by making the father hesitate, and finally induced him to comply.

The poor duchess was in despair, but she was powerless against the will of her husband; while the affianced bride, dazzled by the rank and riches of her new suitor, and, moreover, persecuted by a former one to whom she was still more averse, consented without a murmur to the alliance, believing, as she subsequently confessed, that the advanced age of the duke guarantied to her married life only a brief interval of thralldom, at whose close she should find herself young, wealthy, and free to make a more consistent choice.

When the king was informed by M. de Lorges of the extraordinary son-in-law whom he had selected, should it be the pleasure of His Majesty to permit the marriage, Louis XIV. remarked coldly that the marshal was a bold man to receive the Duke de Lauzun into his family, and that he trusted he might never have cause to repent of so doing; but that, although he was at liberty to act as he saw fit, and to confide his own secrets to whomsoever he might choose to trust, he was possessed of no such privilege as regarded those of his sovereign; and that he would only sanction the marriage upon condition that he should pledge himself never to make the slightest communication to M. de Lauzun in which he was himself involved.

This somewhat ungracious sanction once obtained, the elderly duke, whose personal history was fated to be a romance even to the end, urged the celebration of his nup-

tials with such precipitancy that the bridal party were not permitted time even to furnish themselves with new dresses and equipages. He remembered the fatal effects of his procrastination on a former occasion, and would not subject himself to a second mortification of the same description.

If it were indeed ambition which prompted this marriage on both sides, each party was fated to disappointment; for to the period of his death Lauzun continued to be a mere hanger-on of that court of which he had formerly been one of the most salient personages; while the duchess was fated to wait until 1723 for the possession of that liberty to which she had aspired when she finally buried her husband at the age of ninety years.*

In compliance with the treaty of Nôtre-Dame de Lorette, by which the Duke of Savoy bound himself to send his daughter Mary Adelaide, at the age of eleven years, to France—in order to complete her education, and ultimately to become the wife of the Duke de Bourgoyne, the son of the dauphin, and consequently the probable heir to the French throne—that princess landed in her adopted country on the 16th October, 1696, and was conducted to the residence which had been prepared for her. Her new household had been awaiting her for six weeks at Lyons, when she arrived at the bridge of Beauvoisin, where she was to take leave of her Italian attendants; and on the second day after her landing she was accordingly separated from these familiar faces, with the exception of her physician and a solitary waiting-woman, and found herself in the midst of strangers; while even those two were only permitted to remain in her service until she was established at Versailles.

The general peace announced by the approaching arrival of the Princess of Savoy in France, had been signed three months previously at Riswick; and in the course of the following September, Louis XIV. had the mortification

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

of finding himself compelled to abandon the interest of James II., and to recognize William of Orange as King of England. To the exiled monarch, however, the usurpation of his son-in-law now personally brought little regret; for, as though he had only awaited the confirmation of the intelligence to depose his crown before he ceased to exist, he was shortly afterward stricken with paralysis, and, although he still retained his mental faculties, his physical powers were prostrated.

At this fearful crisis, Louis XIV., forgetting for a time his systematic egotism, and desirous to fulfill to the last all the duties of a host, was unceasing in his attentions to the royal sufferer, an example which was followed by all the court. An attempt was made, by removing him to Bourbon-Archambault, to relieve, even if it were impossible to restore, the royal sufferer; and he accordingly proceeded there, accompanied by the queen, and receiving throughout the journey all the honors due to his rank; but the result was unsuccessful; and, a few days after his return to St. Germain, he fell into a state of torpor which announced his approaching dissolution.

On the 13th of September, when Louis XIV. visited his sick-bed, he had scarcely power to open his eyes on hearing him announced; but the French king, nevertheless, approached his pillow, and there solemnly assured him, in the presence of all his court, that he might die in peace as regarded his son the Prince of Wales, whom he should immediately recognize as the sovereign of Great Britain; a declaration which caused all the English nobility present to bend the knee, and earnestly express their gratitude; and, this ceremony over, Louis XIV. proceeded to the apartment of the queen, where he repeated the engagment to which he had entered, not only to herself, but also a third time to the Prince of Wales.

On the 16th September, at three o'clock in the afternoon, James II. breathed his last; and on the evening of the

same day his body, almost unaccompanied, was conveyed to the convent of the English Benedictines at Paris; where, without any more ceremony than if it had been that of a private individual, it was placed in charge of the brotherhood, and consigned to a lateral chapel, until it could be transported to England.

The formation of the household of the future Duchess de Bourgoyne had been a matter of some difficulty. The court had long ceased to possess either queen or dauphiness, and all the ladies of high rank were anxious to seize so favorable an opportunity of securing office. Anonymous letters, slander, and false statements were rife; friendships were forgotten; rivalries were established, and Versailles awoke from its long trance into life and movement.

Louis XIV. had been, for some time, suffering very severely from a carbuncle in the neck, which had induced fever, and confined him to his bed; and during this attack Madame de Maintenon never quitted his side, save at the hours in which he persisted in transacting business, and thus had an admirable opportunity of privately arranging with the king all the details of the new establishment. She had at once resolved to be herself the principal instructress of the young princess, and to educate her entirely in accordance with her own peculiar principles; placing her sufficiently at her ease, however, to enable her to become an amusement to the monarch, but reserving the greater portion of her affection to herself, in order that when she emerged from girlhood, she might not rival her in influence. She had also a hope that, through her means, she might be enabled hereafter to acquire a hold upon the feelings of the Duke de Bourgoyne, and for this purpose she labored to induce Louis XIV. to appoint none save persons who were in her own interests, or from whose intellect and personal qualities she would have nothing to apprehend, in which attempt she entirely succeeded.*

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

At the very moment of the princess's landing, when her household were presented to her, and she had already began, according to the etiquet observed in the case of all merely foreign highnesses, to embrace the Duchess de Lude and the Count de Brienne, a courier arrived with an order from the king that the future duchess was to be received with all the honors due to a princess of the blood royal of France, and precisely as though she were already the wife of the Duke de Bourgoyne. The embraces in consequence terminated abruptly, and no other individual than those already named were admitted to this familiarity.

In all the cities through which she passed she was welcomed by the authorities, and during the halts exacted by these ceremonies, she dined in public, waited upon by the Duchess de Lude, her lady of honor; but in the small towns all the ladies of her suite ate at her table. On the 4th of November, the king, the dauphin, and *Monsieur*, went to Montargis in separate carriages to meet her; and at six in the evening when she arrived, she was received by Louis XIV., who himself assisted her to alight, and led her to her apartment, where he presented her to MONSEIGNEUR, *Monsieur*, and the Duke de Chartres.

The little princess, who was full of animation and intelligence, had been admirably tutored by her father, and was quite conversant with the character of the king, and the principal personages of his court, a knowledge of which she availed herself so skillfully, that she surprised and delighted all around her; while her high breeding, self-possession, innate dignity, and respectful deportment toward himself, at once secured the affections of the monarch, who, during the whole of the following day, overwhelmed her with caresses, and in the evening dispatched a courier to Madame de Maintenon to inform her how delighted he was with *their* granddaughter.

On the morrow the royal party left Montargis, and at five o'clock arrived at Fontainebleau, where all the nobility

were assembled on the horse-shoe stair-case to receive them, while the court was thronged by the populace. When the carriages had drawn up, the king conducted the little princess ("who looked," says St. Simon, "as though he had just taken her from his pocket") first to the tribune, and subsequently to the state apartments of the Queen-Mother, which had been appropriated to her, and where *Madame* and all the ladies of the court in full dress were awaiting her entrance. Louis XIV. himself introduced to her the principal among the princes and princesses of the blood, and then retired, after deputing *Monsieur* to present the other persons present, and to be careful that she embraced such among them as had a right to that honor.

This arrangement made, the dauphin also retired; and *Monsieur*, placing himself beside the princess, named to her in succession not only the other princes and princesses of the blood, dukes and duchesses, marshals of France and their wives, and such ladies as were entitled to the privilege of the *tabouret*, and whom he directed her to embrace, but also all the nobility, male and female, who were permitted to kiss the hem of her robe. This ceremony lasted two hours, after which the young stranger supped alone in her room, where she was subsequently visited by Madame de Maintenon and the Princess de Conti. The following day she, in her turn, paid her respects to *Monsieur* and *Madame* in their own apartments, and to the dauphin in those of Madame de Conti, from all of whom she received costly presents; while, in addition to these, the king sent all the crown jewels to Madame de Mailly, her mistress of the robes, with an order that they might be made available for the adornment of the princess.

Louis XIV. also ordained that she should be addressed only as "Princess;" that she should eat alone, waited upon as before by the Duchess de Lude; that she should receive only the ladies of her own household, and those expressly admitted by himself; that she should hold no court, and

that the Duke de Bourgoyne should only visit her once every fortnight, and his brothers once every month.

On the 8th of November the court returned to Versailles, where the princess took possession of the apartments of the late queen, and all such persons of rank as had not proceeded to Fontainebleau were presented in their turn, while in a very short time she became the idol of the king and Madame de Maintenon; whom, in default of any title of etiquet, she always addressed as "aunt," observing toward her, nevertheless, a respectful deference which added a new charm to her graceful and affectionate familiarity.

A letter written by Madame de Maintenon at this period to the Duchess of Savoy, inclosing that which she had herself received from the king when at Montargis, will suffice to prove the impression produced by the young princess upon both the one and the other. "The king," it said, "is enchanted with her; he expatiates on her deportment, her grace, her courtesy, her reserve, and her modesty; and Your Royal Highness is aware that he is not liberal of his praise. She has all the grace of girlhood, with the perfections of a more mature age. Her temper appears as perfect as her figure promises one day to become. She only requires to speak, in order to display the extent of her intellect. I dare not blend my own admiration with that which alone must be of value, but I can not resist thanking Your Royal Highness for giving us a child who, according to all appearance, will be the delight of the court, and the glory of the century."*

The establishment of St. Cyr was eminently serviceable to Madame de Maintenon in forming the mind and character of the princess; and she was fortunate enough to inspire a great affection for its inmates, among whom she selected such as she considered to be the most eligible companions for her new charge, with care and judgment.

* Lettres de Madame de Maintenon.

Here she accustomed the docile girl to visit the stores, where she became conversant with the details of the internal economy of the house; the novices' apartment, where she imbibed principles of devotion and humility, and the school-rooms, in which she pursued her studies, and appeared delighted to escape from the trammels of her rank; performing all her duties, assisting those of others, and unlearning the vanity and indolence of Versailles.

In order, however, not to discourage or disgust the princess, by depriving her entirely of the pleasures suited to her youth, the theatrical representations of St. Cyr were resumed; and Madame de Maintenon even carried her complaisance so far as to have a miniature stage erected in her own apartment, where the future duchess, and the Duke d'Orleans, performed in the company of such members of the court as possessed the talents of representation, under the direction of the famous actor Bâron.* Most of the tragedies of Duché,† the king's valet-de-chambre, were written for this little theater, while the Abbé Genêt,‡ the almoner of the Duchess de Chartres, wrote those

* Michel Bayron, otherwise Bâron, was a celebrated actor, and was alike the pupil and the friend of Molière. As an artist he appreciated himself most highly. "Every century," he was wont to say, "may produce a Cæsar, but it requires ten thousand to give birth to a Bâron." As an author he was less distinguished, although he wrote seven comedies, of which the best was *The Libertine*. He died in the year 1729, at the age of eighty-two.

† Joseph Francis Duché de Vancy was a prolific poet, who never permitted himself to indulge in any satirical compositions, and was admitted a member of the Academy of Inscriptions. He left behind him three tragedies, *Jonathan*, *Absalom*, and *Deborah*, besides two ballets and three operas, of which the music was composed by Desmarais.

‡ Charles Claudius Genêt, legal secretary of the Duke du Maine, and member of the French Academy. His principal works are *Principles of Philosophy, or Natural Proofs of the Existence of God, and the Immortality of the Soul; Poems;* and several *Tragedies*, of which that of *Penelope* was esteemed his best.

which were enacted by the Duchess du Maine and her court.*

As the princess advanced in age, and that the period of her marriage approached, Madame de Maintenon substituted for these girlish companions persons of more advanced age and refined minds, and thenceforth forbore all reprimands; but whenever she had failed in any of her duties, she was warned of the fact by the assumed gravity of those about her, while their evident satisfaction on every occasion upon which she had acquitted herself with credit excited her to renewed exertion. Absent or present, Madame de Maintenon always interposed her influence to protect her against the evil examples of the court, and was unceasingly occupied in endeavoring to strengthen the happy dispositions with which she had been endowed by nature.

Louis XIV., more and more infatuated by the grace and amiability of the young princess, became at length so impatient for the marriage, that he decided upon its taking place on the day upon which she attained her twelfth year; and a short time previously he expressed his desire that the festivities should be of the most splendid description, and the court appear in its greatest magnificence, declaring that he should himself, upon this occasion, discard his usual dress, and wear the most sumptuous apparel.

This intimation was sufficient for the courtiers; and forthwith all who were to attend the ceremony, or who were included in the invitations, began to raise money by every means in their power, in order to fulfill his wishes. Gold and silver embroideries were discarded to make room for wreaths and bouquets of precious stones; tissues and velvets were scarcely esteemed worthy of selection; every jeweler in Paris disposed of his diamonds and pearls at a price never before contemplated; and the profusion finally became so unmeasured, that the king himself was alarmed

* Le Siècle de Louis XIV.

by its excess, and declared that he could not understand how husbands were mad enough to suffer themselves to be ruined by the folly of their wives. It was, however, too late to counteract an evil of which he had been the original cause, and which had become so perfect an epidemic that workmen were at length wanting to execute the orders that poured in upon them. In this emergency the Duchess de Bourbon-Condé, who acknowledged no law save that of her own will, conceived the idea of carrying off eight individuals who were employed by the Duke de Rohan, in order that her own costume might be completed; but the king was no sooner informed of the circumstance than he caused them immediately to be restored.

The anticipation of this marriage aroused the court from its lethargy. The prospect of novelty was refreshing after a constant routine of amusements which had long become wearisome, and which had consisted of a monotonous succession of cards, drives, hunts, and concerts, and presented none of those agreeable varieties which excited the emulation of the courtiers and gratified the curiosity of the people.

The dauphin lived at Meudon in the same uniform manner as the king existed at Versailles; and Mademoiselle Choin, whom he had liberated from her convent despite the efforts which had been made to estrange his regard, enacted at his court the same personage as Madame de Maintenon presented at that of Louis XIV. Their marriage was, even after the death of the dauphin, never clearly substantiated; but it is asserted that on one occasion, when the prince was conversing with his father, he so far conquered his constitutional timidity as to enlarge upon the good qualities of Mademoiselle Choin, and on discovering that by so doing he excited neither surprise nor displeasure, terminated his eulogium by requesting permission to make her his wife; upon which the king, as he abruptly turned away and retired into his cabinet, desired him to

consider well what he was about to do, and never again to speak to him upon the subject.*

That the dauphin profited by this forbearance there can be little doubt; for some time subsequently Mademoiselle Choin occupied an arm-chair at Meudon in the presence of the prince himself, while the princesses were simply accommodated with folding seats; and it was remarked that she not only addressed the Duchess de Bourgoyne familiarly, but even harshly, occasionally contradicting her, and taking exception at her dress, her manner, or her conduct, with the same cool and caustic authority which Madame de Maintenon had previously exercised over the daughters of the king. The actual position of Mademoiselle Choin was, however, still more clearly defined during a dangerous illness which occurred to the dauphin, when she established herself by his bedside, with the full knowledge and concurrence of the king; who, far from condemning this public demonstration, and commanding her to leave the palace, as was usual upon such occasions, requested Madame de Maintenon to visit her during the progress of the indisposition.†

The Duke de Bourgoyne was at this period in his fifteenth year, and was the ward of the Duke de Beauvilliers, and the pupil of Fénélon, who had, in devoting themselves to his education, undertaken a task of no common difficulty, the young prince having been born with natural dispositions which caused all about him to tremble for the results. Passionate to a degree which induced him to destroy the clocks when they struck the hour that compelled him to some occupation to which he was averse, and to throw himself into the most violent paroxysms of rage if the rain chanced to interfere with his amusements, all opposition rendered him furious, and

* Mémoires de la Beaumelle.

† Mémoires de St. Simon.

only tended to increase his desire for whatever was interdicted. Earnest and eager in the pursuit of all that bore the name of pleasure, he equally lothed every thing which involved restraint or submission. With a keen perception of the ridiculous, he was merciless in his raillery, which wounded the more cruelly from the wit and spirit with which it was universally applied, while, impatient to impetuosity, he never, during his boyhood, succeeded in learning any thing singly, but endeavored, by attempting several studies at the same time, to master them all by one common exertion. His most dangerous quality was, however, the pride which he felt in the facility with which he was enabled to seize the weak point of an argument, and to embarrass his tutors by captious questions; but he had no sooner succeeded in so doing than, conscious of the want of generosity of which he had been guilty, he was the first to expatiate upon the unworthiness of his conduct, and to upbraid himself with a violence even more culpable than his original fault.

Nevertheless, despite all these imperfections, his keen and searching intellect, his perseverance against difficulty, and his ambition to become an accomplished gentleman, enabled him to complete his education with the most brilliant results, while religion and matured reason rendered him in after years the very reverse of what he had been in his boyhood, and made him as remarkable for his virtues as he had formerly been for his defects.*

The marriage of the young and royal pair took place on the 7th of December, and was celebrated with the greatest magnificence in the chapel of Versailles at six o'clock in the evening. The little princess already gave promise of the fascination which subsequently rendered her so eminently attractive, and possessed a figure which was rapidly becoming tall and majestic, large eyes of the most brilliant

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

black, an animated Italian physiognomy, and the charming complexion of early youth.

The personal appearance of the duke was less prepossessing; for he was plain, and moreover deformed. The Duke de Beauvilliers, his governor, accounted for this defect by imputing it to the use of an iron bar which he had been compelled to carry while a youth, in order to make him upright, but to avoid whose weight he had thrown himself on one side, and thus engendered a habit which had ultimately destroyed his figure.

The court festivals consequent upon this premature marriage exceeded in magnificence all that had been previously witnessed at Versailles; but the rejoicings did not extend beyond the gates of the palace. The people looked with a jealous and reproachful eye upon the lavish expenditure and reckless profusion of the aristocracy, and remembered, as they listened to the chiming of bells and the booming of cannon, that the peace which had so recently been concluded had somewhat shorn the glory of Louis XIV. of its beams; and thus, while the courtiers were intoxicating themselves with pleasure, the inhabitants of Paris remained serious and impassive.

Little, however, did the glittering tenants of Versailles care to remark a fact so unimportant; and during several weeks the long avenue conducting to the capital was alive by night as well as day with gilded equipages, prancing steeds, and blazing torches, while, within the palace, plays, concerts, operas, balls, and lotteries followed each other in quick succession. Three days after the marriage the king himself held an assembly, where the sumptuousness of the costumes was carried to an extreme hitherto unattempted. The courtiers as well as the ladies were covered with jewels, while, in order that the diamonds of the court dames might produce a more dazzling effect, it was decided that they should all appear in dresses of black velvet; and the result of this arrangement in the great gallery of Ver-

sailles, illuminated on that occasion by four thousand wax-lights, was of the most striking and magnificent description. The young Duchess de Bourgoyne, the heroine of the festival, wore jewels to the amount of ten thousand pistoles upon her apron alone.

The ball was succeeded by a collation of so costly a description as to prove that neither adverse seasons nor ungenial climates can withstand the power of gold. A number of tables, which were transported as if by magic into the gallery, presented to the delighted eyes of the wondering guests a variety of flower-beds redolent of the rarest and richest blossoms, while others supported trees covered with exotic fruits, whence escaped at intervals flights of singing birds. This ingenious representation of the two brightest seasons of the year, was followed by the apparition of a hundred movable sideboards, covered with every delicacy that could tempt the palate; and the attendants upon these accumulated dainties were already in full activity, when it was discovered that among the guests of majesty were comprised certain individuals who, more keenly alive to the delights of gain than to the indulgence of epicureanism, were possessing themselves of the jewels of their neighbors to an excess which threatened to create considerable consternation among the losing party.

The mortification of Louis XIV., upon being apprised of this disgraceful fact, was extreme; and he forthwith desired a number of the noblemen present to disperse themselves among the crowd, in order, if possible, to detect the delinquents; and shortly afterward the Chevalier de Sully, chancing to be attracted by the movements of a gorgeously-attired individual, who was, as he remarked, constantly endeavoring to force himself through the very center of the throng, determined to watch his proceedings; nor was it long ere he observed him in the act of cutting away a portion of the dress of the young princess,

in order to possess himself of a diamond clasp by which it was ornamented. M. de Sully lost no time in beckoning to his assistance a couple of his coadjutors; when, without troubling themselves to ascertain the identity of their captive, the three young men hurried their prisoner to the private closet of the king, according to their instructions, and immediately hastened to inform His Majesty of the result of their zeal; upon which Louis XIV. himself retired for an instant from the glittering crowd, and, upon entering his cabinet, was painfully startled to find himself confronted with one of the greatest nobles of his court.

The dialogue which ensued between the offended monarch and the dishonored courtier was cold and brief; and was at length terminated by Louis XIV., who said, contemptuously, "Enough, sir, more than enough; I perceive that you desired to wear the costly attire in which you now stand gratuitously. Leave the palace on the instant; I at once despise and pardon you."

Another instance also occurred during these marriage festivities which is too characteristic to be passed over in silence. Among the diversions of the time few were followed up with more zest than the gaming-table; and it chanced that on one occasion, in the royal apartments, Monseigneur played with so extraordinary a run of good fortune that he at length turned laughingly to the Marquis d'Antin,* and desired him to seat himself at his side, and to hold his hat, in order that he might endeavor to fill it.

This arrangement was no sooner made in the same jesting spirit as it had been conceived, than the dauphin, whose luck appeared exhaustless, began to throw the gold by handfulls into his plumed beaver; but after he had passed about half an hour in this pleasant occupation, he was astonished to perceive that, despite all his exertions,

* The legitimate son of the Marquis de Montespan.

the improvised purse was not more than a quarter full. "I thought I had been richer," was his remark, as he resumed his cards. "However, we will continue our game."

Fortune still favored the dauphin, but the hoard did not visibly increase; and, finally, MONSEIGNEUR, having turned round somewhat suddenly, saw the marquis busy in transferring the glittering coins from the royal hat to his own pockets; he, however, made no observation on the circumstance, but shortly afterward rose from the table, exclaiming, "That will suffice for to-night; and now let me see what I have won."

So saying, he led M. d'Antin into the recess of a window, and striking upon the pockets of the delinquent with the back of his hand, he heard the pleasant sound of his own gold pieces; upon which he remarked, with somewhat ironical gayety, "Thank you, my good fellow; you were right to fill your pockets, for assuredly my hat could not have held all my gains."

The son of the discarded favorite profited by the forbearance of the good-natured prince, disgorged his ill-gotten hoard, and escaped without the additional mortification of a public exposure.

From the first moment in which the Duke de Bourgoyne saw the princess, Marie-Adelaide, he became warmly attached to her, and subsequently carried this love almost to adoration. Some days after his marriage, during one of the visits which he was authorized by the king to make his bride, she confided to him the fact that a celebrated astrologer of Turin, who had drawn her horoscope, had foretold every thing that had since occurred to her, even that she should marry a French prince; and that he had concluded by predicting that she would die in her twenty-seventh year.

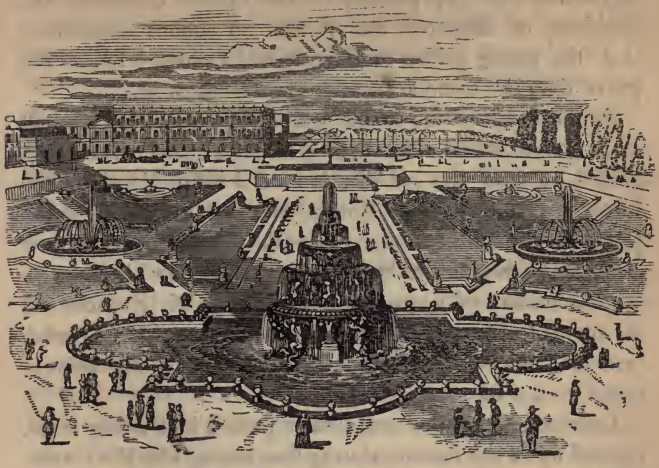
"And if I should indeed be so unfortunate," said the little princess, "who shall you next marry, sir?"

"It is a useless speculation," answered the young duke; 'for if you die before me I shall not survive you a week."

He was as true a prophet as the Turinese astrologer.

The Duchess de Bourgoyne increased in personal graces and amiability of character as she advanced in years, and became, like the unfortunate Henrietta of England, at once the idol and the model of the court, while all the nation anticipated at a future period such a government under her husband as should realize the dreams of antiquity.

They were ignorant of the prophecy.



CHAPTER XXIII.

The Spanish Succession—Death of Leopold of Bavaria—The Duke d'Anjou called to the Throne of Spain—Declaration of Innocent XII.—Death of Charles II. of Spain—Reading of the Will—The Duke d'Abrantes—Presentation of the Duke d'Anjou to the French Court as King of Spain—Leave-Taking at Meudon—Madame de Montespan and the King—Literary Deaths at the Close of the 17th Century—Racine's last Mistake—Jean Baptiste Rousseau—Birth of Voltaire.

Charles II. of Spain, whose health was broken, and who was hopeless of an heir, had selected as his successor Leopold of Bavaria, a prince of five years of age; and his will was no sooner made, than the Cardinal Porto-Carrero secretly informed the Marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador, of the fact, who immediately dispatched a messenger to Louis XIV. with the intelligence. The king learned this decision without exhibiting any symptoms of annoyance; but the Emperor of Germany was less philo-

sophic. The court of Austria had already been accused of ridding itself, by poison, of the Queen of Spain, the daughter of *Monsieur*, and it was no sooner announced that the young prince of Bavaria had followed her to the grave than the same accusations were renewed.

At the death of the infant prince, Charles found himself more embarrassed than before, when Porto-Carrero suggested to him the substitution of Philip d'Anjou, the brother of the Duke de Bourgoyne, and grandson of the King of France; but the monarch feared to take upon himself the responsibility of bequeathing his kingdom to the descendant of a sovereign who had publicly renounced his claims to the succession on his marriage with a Spanish princess, and resolved to consult the Pope before he ventured such a measure.

Innocent XII., who was at that period in a dying state, replied upon the instant, stating that being, like His Catholic Majesty, suffering from a mortal illness, he had an interest as great and as imperative as his own, in giving him such advice as should exempt him from all reproach at the awful tribunal before which he must soon appear, and considered that, to the exclusion of the house of Austria, the children of the Dauphin of France were the true, only, and legitimate heirs to his monarchy; that they superseded all others; and that so long as they or any of their posterity were in existence, no Austrian had any claim to the Spanish throne, while the more considerable the inheritance, the more he was bound not to commit the crime of alienating it from the legitimate heir, and that he consequently entreated him not to omit any precaution to insure justice to those to whom it was due; but to secure, in so far as it was possible, the undivided succession of his monarchy to one of the French princes.

This negotiation was conducted with so much secrecy that it was only after the accession of Philip V. that the interference of the Pope became public.

On the receipt of so positive a reply, all the scruples of Charles II. were removed. His previous will was immediately burned in the presence of his confessor, and a new one was drawn up, wherein Philip d'Anjou was declared absolute heir to the crown and kingdom of Spain; which, in the event of his demise, were to devolve to the Duke de Berri, the third son of the dauphin; and, he failing, to the Archduke Charles; with the reservation as regarded the first two that they should not unite in their own persons the sovereignties of France and Spain; and in that of the third, that he should renounce all claim to the empire of Germany if he ever became heir to the Spanish throne; while it was, moreover, finally decreed, that if, by any extraordinary concatenation of events, neither of these three princes should be enabled to claim the bequest of Charles II., it should devolve upon the Duke of Savoy without any restriction whatever.

The precaution was well timed; for shortly afterward Charles lost the use of his faculties, and the Duke d'Harcourt received orders to depart from Madrid, leaving M. de Blécourt as chargé d'affairs to defend the French interests at that court, and to proceed to Barcelona, where a body of troops had already been stationed, ready at the first signal to march into Spain.

On the 1st of November Charles II. expired, and he was no sooner ascertained to be dead than his will was opened. The secret of the succession had been so scrupulously kept, that the mystery and importance of the event which was about to occur had attracted all the inhabitants of the city to the palace and its neighborhood. Every foreign minister had exerted his interest to be admitted to the council; all the doors, both public and private, were besieged alike by ambassadors and courtiers; and every one was anxious to be the foremost to proclaim the important tidings.

The first person who left the apartment in which the will

had been opened was the Duke d'Abrantes, who, after having looked around him for an instant on the anxious faces by which the anterooms were thronged, said, gravely, "Gentlemen, the Duke d'Anjou is now King of Spain. Long live Philip V.!"

And then making his way through the astonished crowd, he disappeared.

On the morning of the 9th of November the dispatch of M. de Blécourt was delivered to the Marquis de Barbesieux, who immediately proceeded to communicate its contents to Louis XIV. The king, who was preparing for a shooting excursion, countermanded his orders, and, without making any remark, retired to his cabinet, after which he dined alone as usual, simply announcing, during the repast, that he had received intelligence of the death of the King of Spain, in consequence of which there would be neither drawing-rooms, theatrical representations, nor any other amusement at court throughout the winter; but he had no sooner concluded his repast than he sent to desire that the minister would wait upon him at three o'clock in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, while a second summons was forwarded to the dauphin.

The council sat till seven o'clock; after which the king transacted business for three hours with two of the ministers.

On the following day two more councils were held in the same apartment, and even habituated as the court had become to the favor of Madame de Maintenon, it was not without surprise that they saw her thus almost publicly assist at a deliberation upon the most important subject which, throughout the extended reign of Louis XIV., had been submitted to a council of state.

All, however, remained in mystery and doubt until the morning of the 14th, when the ambassador of Spain was summoned to an audience at Versailles on the following day, where the king presented his grandson to him in his

cabinet, saying, "This, sir, is the Duke d'Anjou, whom you may salute as your king."

At this announcement the ambassador flung himself upon his knees, and made a long harangue to the young prince in his native tongue, at the conclusion of which Louis XIV. remarked, courteously, "My grandson, sir, does not yet understand your language, which will so soon become his own; I must therefore reply to you in his name;" and as he ceased speaking, contrary to his usual custom, he ordered that both the battants of the door should be thrown back, and permitted all who were in the saloon to enter his cabinet. The crowd was consequently great, for the whole court was in a state of excitement and curiosity; and order was no sooner restored than the monarch, throwing his left arm about the neck of the young prince, and pointing toward him with his right hand, said, in a tone of emotion:—

"Gentlemen, this is the King of Spain. His birth called him to a crown; the late king has recognized this right by his will; all the nation desires his succession, and has entreated it at my hands. It is the will of Heaven, to which I conform with satisfaction."

Then turning toward his grandson, he addressed him emphatically with the words—"Be a good Spaniard; but nevertheless, although this will henceforth be your first duty, never forget that you were born a Frenchman, in order to maintain the union of the two nations. It is the only means whereby you will render them happy and maintain the peace of Europe."

This done, the two younger princes* were introduced, when they embraced each other several times with tears in their eyes, and every evidence of sincere affection.

Their grief was, however, of short duration; for the Duke d'Anjou, delighted to be liberated at the age of seventeen from the restraints to which he had been previous-

* The Duke de Bourgoyne and the Duke de Berri.

ly subjected, no sooner found himself once more alone with his brothers than he abandoned himself to the most exuberant gayety, and expressed his delight at the prospect which had opened before him. "So I am King of Spain!" he exclaimed, joyously, "and my brother Burgundy will be one day King of France. You are the only one, my poor Berri, who must live and die a subject."

"That fact will not grieve me," replied the little prince, "I shall have less trouble and more pleasure than either of you, with the right of hunting both in France and Spain, and following a wolf from Paris to Madrid."

A few days subsequently the Spanish ambassador received a letter, which he communicated to a select number of his friends, and which contained the intelligence that a month before his death Charles II. had conceived a melancholy desire to see once more the remains of his father, his mother, and his first wife, the unfortunate Maria Louisa of Orleans. In vain did the court physicians expostulate, and represent to the monarch the fatal effects which might be consequent upon such a spectacle in his impaired state of health; the influence of this morbid longing was too powerful to be controlled, and the tombs of the three illustrious personages whom he indicated were accordingly opened—a fact which was no sooner announced to Charles than, leaning upon the arm of the Cardinal Porto-Carrero, supported on the other side by the Count de Monterey, and followed by his confessor, he slowly proceeded toward the gloomy vault tenanted by his ancestors.

The way wound down an almost imperceptible slope, arched overhead, and along this highroad to the faded glories of the past, the monarch, who was so soon to lay down his own among them, passed slowly and feebly forward, with trembling knees and laboring breath, sinking beneath a vague sense of terror which numbed the slight remains of his already failing strength; but at length the pilgrimage was ended, and he stood among the shadows of spent

centuries—among shivered scepters and broken shields. A score of enameled lamps, suspended above the long line of monuments, surmounted by their kneeling or reclining effigies, cast a pale and sepulchral gleam over the sculptured marble; and a close and fetid odor—that savor of death which not even the gums of Arabia or the spices of the East can wholly counteract, and which breathes into the nostrils of the living the atmosphere of mortality—appeared to float about the pendent lights, and to cling in vapory clouds around the lofty tombs.

Charles II., panting, pale, and awe-struck, ultimately paused before a sarcophagus indicated by his confessor, who said, in a hoarse whisper, "Sire, you desired to look once more upon Philip IV. He lies before you."

The dying king bent for an instant over the withered body of his father ere he gasped out, "May your rest be indeed as deep as it appears. Perchance I may have irritated your spirit by bequeathing inconsiderately the kingdom which I inherited from your hand. Speak, Philip! are you satisfied with me?"

"Charles!" exclaimed the stern monk at his side, "beware of sacrilege. Ask no questions of the dead. Silence is the privilege of the tomb, which must speak only to the eyes and to the soul. Its best lesson is that example of the nothingness of human vanity which you now see before you. Profit by it, and pray."

"I humble myself before God," replied the king submissively; and then, after having embraced the remains of his father, he murmured, "Now lead me to my mother."

"She sleeps beneath this arch," said the confessor.

Again Charles bent down to gaze upon a dead parent; but this time he started back appalled, and covering his eyes with his hands, gasped out, "Merciful heavens! she yet scowls upon me! Her face still bears the impress of the anger with which she first heard me aver that I was about to transfer the scepter of Spain to her own family,

unhappily become her enemies. Mother, forgive me! I had indeed obeyed your will; but the Prince of Bavaria is now, like yourself, the tenant of a tomb. Farewell, mother! may your troubled spirit be appeased." And the unfortunate prince pressed his pale lips to the fleshless cheek of the skeleton, ere he turned toward the next tomb before which his confessor paused.

It was that of the ill-fated Maria Louisa of Orleans, who had been cut off in her youth, her beauty, and her tenderness, by the hand of a secret assassin, and who now lay wasted and ghastly in her shroud. "And this, then," said Charles, as he lifted from the livid brow a portion of its velvet covering, "this, then, is all that is left of the loveliness by which I was once thralled!—of the wife who was once my idol!" As he continued to gaze earnestly upon the moldering remains, a convulsive shudder passed over his frame; and raising himself suddenly, he asked, in a hoarse whisper, "Who talked of poison?"

"No one, decidedly, sire," eagerly answered the cardinal with a blenched lip. "In the name of Heaven let me entreat Your Majesty to leave this place, and return to the palace."

"No, no," said Charles, whose agitation visibly increased, "I heard the word distinctly; a fearful reproach was murmured from the coffin of my wife. Leave me to tell her how I loved her—how I mourned for her—let me embalm her cold remains with my tears, and yield up my own spirit by her side."

"Forget not that, although a monarch, you are still a Christian," said his confessor, in a cold, hard accent which formed a strange contrast with the impassioned anguish of the unhappy king; "profane not the dwelling of the dead with the thoughts and the words of sin;" and he grasped the arm of his penitent to lead him away.

"Close the tomb of my mother!" exclaimed Charles, as he shook off the clasp, and raised himself to his full

height; "I will look on her no more. Maria Louisa! victim of hate—of poison. Ah, close my mother's tomb!" And as he repeated these words in a faint scream, exhausted by sickness, fatigue, and emotion, he fell senseless over an empty sarcophagus which yawned cold and void beside him.

"It is his own," said the monk, unmoved by the melancholy spectacle; while the cardinal, raising the insensible monarch in his arms, desired the attendants to bear him carefully from the vault; and a few moments subsequently the melancholy procession retrod the gloomy passage even more silently than it had been previously traversed, and conveyed Charles to the chamber which he was never again to leave with life. In another month he lay in the narrow tomb which had before received him for an instant in mimic death.*

This letter created considerable sensation in the circle to which it was confided, but it was soon forgotten amid newer and gayer interests; for ere long the court was in movement, preparing for the departure of Philip V. to assume his new throne, which it was determined by Louis XIV. should take place early in December, under the escort of his brothers, who had requested and obtained permission to accompany him to the frontier; while he was to be, moreover, attended by the Duke de Beauvilliers and the Marshal de Noailles, together with the greater portion of the young nobility, who all claimed the privilege of rendering him this last honor.†

It was, however, previously arranged that on the second of the month the boy-king should proceed to Meudon to take a formal leave of his father, a ceremony at which all the court of the dauphin were commanded to be present.

The Duchess du Maine, the natural sister of Mon-

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf.

† Mémoires de St. Simon.

SEIGNEUR, who possessed great influence over his mind, entreated him to invite Madame de Montespan to join the circle on this occasion, and to take leave of the King of Spain with the rest of the court, a request which the dauphin readily conceded, as it enabled him to effect two measures that were equally agreeable to his feelings: to oblige the duchess, and to annoy Madame de Maintenon, whom he had not only never received as his guest, but into whose apartment he had never entered, save on the solitary occasion when he was compelled to attend the council.

Madame de Montespan had for several years entirely disappeared from the court, where her apparition had become a reproach, and, consequently, an annoyance to the king, and where she had never received any encouragement to present herself; but her curiosity was so much excited by all that she heard of the Duchess de Bourgoyne, and she was so anxious to be brought into immediate contact with her, that she at once accepted the invitation, and prepared to attend the ceremony.

In compliance with the established etiquet, a list of the persons who were present at Meudon was delivered to the monarch on his arrival, which he read attentively throughout, after which he folded the paper with a look of perfect indifference, and thrust it into his pocket.

As the guards, by whom he was always preceded, announced him at the door of the apartment, Madame de Montespan tottered, and was anxious to withdraw; but she was restrained by one of her friends, and at that precise moment the young Duchess de Bourgoyne, who was probably anxious to observe the effect which the sight of his old favorite would produce upon the king, approached the Duchess du Maine, who was seated beside her mother, and entered into conversation with her.

In the next instant Louis XIV. entered the room. He first addressed himself to the Spanish minister, who was in attendance upon his new sovereign, and having so done he

made the tour of the apartment, and requested the ladies to resume their seats; then, pausing before the Duchess de Bourgoyne, he conversed with her for a moment, subsequently addressed a few words to the Duchess du Maine, and ultimately found himself opposite Madame de Montespan, who, pale and trembling, had great trouble to prevent herself from fainting. The king looked at her steadfastly for a moment, and then, with a courteous gesture, calmly said, "I congratulate you, madam: you are still as handsome and as attractive as ever, but that is not all; I hope that you are also happy,"

"At this moment, sire," replied the discarded favorite, "I am very happy, since I have the honor of presenting my respectful homage to Your Majesty."

As she ceased speaking, the king took her hand and pressed it to his lips; after which he continued his progress round the circle.

This was the last time that Madame de Montespan ever saw Louis XIV.*

Meanwhile all the European powers, with the exception of Austria, had recognized the Duke d'Anjou as King of Spain, and he had been proclaimed at Madrid amid the acclamations of the people.

At the close of the seventeenth century, France found herself shorn of much of her intellectual splendor. In 1662 she had lost Boisrobert, in 1666 Mansard, in 1684 Corneille, in 1688 Quinault, in 1695 La Fontaine, in 1696 La Bruyère, in 1699 Racine, and in 1700 Le Nôtre. Of these celebrated men, many had, however, already outlived their favor. Boisrobert, the favorite of Richelieu, a sensualist to the last, passed out of the world almost unnoticed; Mansard, of whose pretensions the king had long been weary, was not only unregretted, but afforded a welcome relief to the whole court by his decease; Corneille, whose fine powers had become extinguished by extreme old age,

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

had for years ceased to appear in the world; Quinault, who had been the orignator of the lyrical drama in France, died in peace, richly pensioned, and a member of the Academy; La Fontaine, after having by his improvidence rendered himself dependent on his friends for the space of more than twenty years, put forth a public protest against his *Tales*, and other immoral productions, expired in a state of intellectual childishness, and was discóvered to have worn a shirt of hair-cloth under his linen; La Bruyère, the celebrated moralist, who had been historical tutor to Louis de Bourbon, the grandson of the great Condé, in whose household he remained until his death, and where he published his celebrated "*Characters*," was received into the Academy in 1693, and when at Paris in 1696, suddenly discovered, while surrounded by an assemblage of learned men, that he had totally lost his hearing, upon which he returned instantly to Versailles; but he had not been a quarter of an hour in his apartment when apoplexy supervened, and he became a corpse.*

Three years subsequently, La Bruyère was followed to the tomb by Racine, whose death is asserted to have been hastened by an imprudence, through which he forfeited forever the joint favor of the monarch and Madame de Maintenon, at a period when he had become so utterly dependent upon court popularity that he could not survive its loss—an incident which is thus related by cotemporaneous chroniclers.

The office of historiographer to the king, which he held conjointly with Despraux, and the facilities which it afforded him of securing the friendship of all the most distinguished of the nobility, had acquired for Racine what were then designated great *privacies* at court, so much so indeed, that (as we have elsewhere recorded) when he had no public business to transact, Louis XIV., during the long evenings of winter, frequently desired the attendance of the

* Œuvres de l'Abbé d'Olivet.

dramatist in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, in order that he might report to him the progress of the work upon which he was then engaged, and amuse him by his conversation.

Unfortunately for the courtier poet, he was, like many others of his craft, subject to occasional fits of absence; and it chanced that in one of these confidential discourses, the king, after having questioned him upon the state of the opera until the topic was exhausted, turned to that of the general drama, and inquired if he could assign any cause for its visible decline in Paris. Racine, who did not dare to confess that the fact of His Majesty having himself abandoned the theaters had destroyed much of the emulation which had previously existed, cited several reasons for the defalcation; and among others the paucity of living dramatists, which, he wound up his argument by declaring, had compelled the managers to fall back upon exhausted pieces, and particularly upon the farces of Scarron, which were good for nothing, and disgusted all their audiences.

As the words escaped his lips, the blood mounted to the brow of Madame de Maintenon, before whom the name of her late husband had not been pronounced during the last fifteen years; while the king was so startled, and remained silent for so long a period, that the unfortunate poet, on looking up, and perceiving the consternation which was visible upon both countenances, suddenly became conscious of his indiscretion, and dropped his eyes in the most painful confusion.

After a few seconds passed in this mental torture, he was, however, released by the monarch himself, who coldly remarked that M. Racine was at liberty to withdraw, as he had some business to transact, and wished to be alone, an order which was no sooner given than the dramatist, so bewildered that he scarcely retained sufficient self-possession to make his parting obeisances, hurriedly left the

apartment, to reflect in solitude upon the probable consequences of his ill-timed abstraction.

There was, however, no remedy for such an imprudence, and thenceforward the king not only excluded Racine from his confidence and favor, but to the day of his death neither himself nor Madame de Maintenon ever again honored him by a word or even a look; while from that moment the poet, to whom court favor had been for many years the very key-stone of existence, fell into a state of melancholy which ultimately brought him to the grave.

The next man of celebrity who "shuffled off the mortal coil" was Le Nôtre, while Boileau, Jean Baptiste Rousseau, and Fénélon alone remained, of all the bright galaxy which had illuminated the intellectual horizon during the youth of Louis XIV.; and even of these, Boileau was only destined to survive until the year 1711, while Jean Baptiste Rousseau, although he lived forty years longer, was yet dead to France.

The life of this unfortunate poet was one long and melancholy romance. Gifted with poetical powers of a high order, he had scarcely emerged from college when he acquired a great reputation, which was, however, counterbalanced by a host of enemies, some of whom finally accused him as the writer of some libelous verses; of which he, however, affirmed that Saurin was the actual author. It would appear, nevertheless, that he failed in procuring proofs of the fact; for, on the trial which ensued, he was convicted of having suborned his witnesses, and for this crime was banished for life in 1712.

Pursued by misfortune, he for a time dragged on a miserable existence, first in Switzerland, where his only friend was the Count de Luc, the French ambassador; then at Vienna, under the protection of Prince Eugène, and finally at Brussels, where he died in extreme poverty, declaring in his last moments that he was innocent of the libel which had been attributed to him.

The author of Telemachus had, meanwhile, long preceded him to the grave, having died in 1712 at his diocese, full of years and virtues, regretted alike for his high talent and his universal charity; and to replace all these great names, only one star of magnitude had arisen on the intellectual horizon; but it was that of Voltaire, whose birth took place in the year 1694.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Political Position of France—Illness of the Dauphin—Les Dames de la Halle—A new Campaign—Affront to the Duke de Chartres—His increased Libertinage—Regal Retorts—Quarrel of the King and Monsieur—Indisposition of Monsieur; his Death—Terror of Madame—Interview between Louis XIV. and the Duke de Chartres—Want of Feeling of the King—Grief of the Duchess de Bourgoyne—The Brelan Table—Novel Position of the Duke de Chartres—Late Court of Monsieur—Madame, and Madame de Maintenon.

The accession of the Duke d'Anjou to the throne of Spain had, meanwhile, destroyed the equilibrium of Europe, and William III., then recently dead, but even beyond the grave the most resolute enemy of Louis XIV., had bequeathed to him the new league which bore the name of the Great Alliance, and which had for its aim to place the Spanish crown upon the head of the Archduke Charles, the son of the Emperor of Germany; or, in default of dispossessing Philip V. of his kingdom, to trace round the two nations of France and Spain a limit which should never be overpassed by the ambition of either.

Menaced on all sides, Louis XIV. accordingly found himself once more compelled to sustain a war against the European powers, and preparations for hostilities had already commenced when Versailles was again convulsed by new terrors.

On the night of the 19th of March, 1701, the king, while at prayers at Marly, previously to retiring to rest, was startled by hearing a confusion in his cabinet, accompanied by inquiries for his physician and surgeon. The dauphin had suddenly been attacked by severe indisposition. He had passed the day at Meudon, where he had partaken only of a slight luncheon, but at the royal supper had eaten

immensely of fish, and immediately retired to his apartment, after having taken leave of the king in his closet. He had, however, scarcely terminated his prayer, and seated himself in an arm-chair, in order that his valets might undress him, when he fainted; and his attendants, and such of the courtiers as were in his apartments, had hastened in their terror to those of the king to summon assistance. Louis XIV., half disrobed as he was, lost not a moment in hastening by a dark, narrow, and inconvenient stair-case to the chamber of his son, whither he was accompanied by the Duchess de Bourgoyne, who had also been alarmed by the outcry. They found MONSEIGNEUR in a state of extreme suffering, contending against Felix, who persisted in bleeding him, in which attempt he at length fortunately succeeded; and efficient remedies being subsequently applied, the royal invalid was in a few hours declared convalescent, although the attack proved sufficiently violent to confine him during several days to his bed.

The dauphin was very popular in Paris, where he frequently appeared at the opera, and also conciliated the populace by the affability of his deportment: and on this occasion the *Dames de la Halle*,* being anxious to testify their attachment to his person, deputed four of their principal members to proceed to the palace, to inquire in person into the progress of His Royal Highness's convalescence. When they arrived the dauphin ordered them to be admitted to his chamber, upon which the most enthusiastic of the deputation rushed to his bedside, threw their arms about his neck, and kissed him on both cheeks; while the others, more moderate in their demonstrations, contented themselves by kissing his hand. They were warmly welcomed, conducted over the palace, and ultimately entertained to dinner; while MONSEIGNEUR presented them, on their departure, with a sum of money, to which another was added by the king; and they were so

* Fishwomen of Paris.

much gratified with the honors which had been lavished upon them, that they commanded a *Te Deum* at St. Eustache, and afterward gave a grand entertainment in commemoration of the event.

Meanwhile the organization of the troops had been completed, and the command of those destined for Flanders given to the Marshal de Boufflers, while those against Germany were to serve under the Marshal de Villeroy. The Duke de Bourgoyne had been originally named to the command of the latter, but the appointment was subsequently canceled, in consequence of the undisguised annoyance of *Monsieur* that the offer of his son to serve in this campaign had been rejected.

The king had, indeed, consented to the suggestion merely in the hope of what actually ensued, feeling convinced that *Monsieur*, piqued that no command had been given to the Duke de Chartres, would not accede to such an arrangement, and, therefore, made it dependent upon his approval; but both *Monsieur* and the Duke de Chartres at once felt that if they consented to accept a less distinguished position in this campaign, it would not be possible to refuse the latter, at his age, the command of an army in the following year, and they consequently decided that they would overlook the slight. Louis XIV., who, for this very reason, had been averse to accepting the services of his nephew, was accordingly both astonished and embarrassed when he found that *Monsieur*, as well as his son, agreed to such a sacrifice; but his will proved stronger than his vexation, and once more he positively refused to permit the Duke de Chartres to join the army. He did not, however, by these means escape the mortifications from which he shrunk; for the young duke, at once indignant and exasperated at a pertinacity which destroyed all his hopes of military renown, abandoned himself to an open career of libertinage, which angered and perplexed the monarch in a greater degree than ever.

The position was one of considerable embarrassment, even to Louis XIV., who was at some loss how to act toward a nephew whom he had compelled to become his son-in-law; and toward whom, save in the writings of the bond, he had falsified every promise; while, as regarded *Monsieur*, this new affront aroused the old grievance of the government of Brittany, which was one of the pledges of the marriage contract, and which had never been redeemed, while *Madame*, justly incensed that her son had not even reaped the pecuniary advantages consequent upon what she persisted in designating as his disgraceful alliance, visited upon *Monsieur* all the violence of her indignation—a demonstration rendered the less necessary by the fact that the prince himself had already bitterly regretted his weakness.

Thus were things situated when it was reported to the monarch that the Duke de Chartres had become the father of a son,* whose mother was Mademoiselle Séry de la Boissière, one of the maids of honor of *Madame;* and his anger was so great, that he took an opportunity of reproaching *Monsieur* with a want of authority over his own child, which was, as he declared, entailing disgrace upon all the royal family of France.

The temper of the prince, already soured by his disappointment, placid as it genrally was, gave way before this attack, and he demanded, with a haughty asperity which startled the king, what he could expect from a young man of that age, who was weary of pacing the galleries of Versailles and of wearing away the pavement of its courts, of being married against his will, and of remaining unprovided for, while he saw his brothers-in-law inundated with governments, establishments, and honors, without reason, policy, or precedent; alledging, moreover, that his son was placed in a worse position than the more youthful nobility

* Known as the Chevalier d'Orleans, and subsequently grand-prior of France.

of France, who were allowed to join the army, and upon whom military rank was conferred ungrudgingly.

Louis XIV., anxious to terminate this unexpected ebullition, endeavored to turn the conversation once more upon the extreme libertinage of the duke; but *Monsieur* had now passed the Rubicon, and, for the first time in his life, was not to be awed into silence and submission by the frown of his august brother. He consequently retorted that idleness was the mother of all vice, and that no one could see with more regret than himself, the increasing imprudence and recklessness of the Duke de Chartres; but that he nevertheless witnessed them without surprise, and could not be guilty of the cruelty of reproaching him with faults and follies into which he had been precipitated by the mortifications entailed upon him by the king himself.

Conscious that he could advance no argument sufficiently feasible to controvert this assertion, and wearied by a conflict in which he felt aware that he was by far the weaker party, Louis XIV. was sufficiently master of himself to reply only by a fraternal smile; and embracing *Monsieur*, who lent himself very unwillingly to this sudden burst of tenderness, he assured him that he felt no displeasure at the heat with which he had expressed himself, as he was convinced that he had forgotten the prince in the parent, and that their interview should have no effect upon his affection.

Thenceforward, however, although the duke scrupulously observed all necessary etiquet, and even behaved toward the king in public as though no coolness existed between them, all the blandishments of his royal brother could not efface his resentment; but, nevertheless, perceiving that no consideration for his feelings would induce the monarch to forego his determination, and to allow the Duke de Chartres to serve in the approaching campaign, he was at length prevailed upon by his favorites to abate

somewhat of his hostility, and to endeavor to compel his son to pursue his pleasures less openly.

Despite this precaution, however, when some days subsequently *Monsieur* proceeded from St. Cloud to Marly, in order to dine with the monarch, and entered his cabinet according to his habit at the close of his council, Louis XIV. once more reverted to the dissolute habits of the young prince, and became so harsh in his accusations, that the duke, unable to endure further annoyance upon the subject, replied, bitterly, that fathers whose lives had not been without reproach could possess little authority over the morals of their children. The blow told, and the king made an evasive answer, merely expatiating upon the patience of his daughter, and the necessity there existed of at least concealing from her eyes the results of her husband's folly; upon which a sarcastic smile passed over the features of the duke, as he remarked that His Majesty appeared to have forgotten the period when he had compelled the queen, his wife, not only to associate with his mistresses, but even to be seen publicly with them in her carriage.

Driven beyond his patience by this direct attack, Louis XIV. burst into a fury of rage, which was met with equal violence by *Monsieur*, and the altercation became so vehement, that all the courtiers who were awaiting the appearance of the king, when he should pass to the dining-hall, in an adjoining saloon, separated from the royal cabinet merely by a screen of tapestry, were innocently rendered auditors of the whole of this stormy dialogue, which was only terminated by the appearance of an usher upon the threshold, to announce that His Majesty's dinner was served; upon which the king immediately left the cabinet, remarking to *Monsieur* that the forthcoming war would oblige him to make retrenchments, which he should commence on the property of those who had shown themselves careless of his pleasure.

He had scarcely entered the saloon when he was followed by *Monsieur*, who was in so great a state of excitement that it was generally remarked, should he neglect the precaution of losing blood, he would, inevitably, expose himself to severe illness. At table the duke ate immensely, as was his usual habit, although he was evidently suffering, as was evinced by the extreme dilation of his eyes and the heightened color of his complexion. He however completed his repast without authorizing any remark or offer of assistance; and, on rising from table, accompanied the Duchess de Chartres to St. Germain, where she paid a visit to the Queen of England, and afterward returned with her to St. Cloud.

In the evening, *Monsieur*, still without uttering a complaint, joined the supper party, and again ate largely; but during the meal, as he was pouring out a glass of liqueur for the Duchess de Bouillon, it was remarked that he stammered, and made a gesture with his hand. As he was occasionally in the habit of expressing himself in Spanish, it was at first believed that he had done so on this occasion, and one of the guests requested him to repeat the phrase; but as the words escaped the speaker, the decanter dropped from the hand of the prince, and he fell into the arms of the Duke de Chartres, who was seated near him. The consternation was universal, for it was at once perceived that he had been stricken with apoplexy, and he was hastily conveyed to his chamber, where he was bled at intervals, and every means vainly employed to restore him to consciousness.

A courier was immediately dispatched to Marly with the melancholy tidings; but the king, who habitually hastened to the bed-side of his brother, however slight might be the indisposition from which he was suffering, contented himself, on this occasion, by commanding that his equipages might be in readiness should they be required, and by sending the Marquis de Gesvres to St. Cloud to ascer-

tain the real condition of the sufferer; after which he proceeded to the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, where he remained for a quarter of an hour, and then retired to bed, persuading himself that this sudden assumption of illness was a subterfuge on the part of *Monsieur* to induce a reconciliation, for which his own visit might serve as the pretext.

Only an hour and a half had, however, elapsed, when a messenger arrived from the Duke de Chartres, with the intelligence that every remedy had proved unavailing, and that *Monsieur* was rapidly sinking. Upon this announcement the king left his bed, and as the carriages were still in waiting, departed without further delay for St. Cloud. The courtiers, who had followed the example of the monarch, and already retired to their beds, immediately rose in their turn, summoned their attendants, and in twenty minutes all the inmates of Marly were on the road to the palace of the dying prince; while the dauphin, who was accompanied by the Duchess de Bourgoyne, was so overcome by the recollection of his recent escape, and the anticipation of the scene of which he was about to become a witness, that it was with great difficulty he was supported to his carriage by an equery.

At three o'clock in the morning the king arrived at St. Cloud; but it was already too late. Not a symptom of consciousness had been detected in the sufferer since the first moment of the attack. The emotion of the monarch was violent, and he had not been many instants in the chamber ere he was drowned in tears. Until within the last two months no cloud had ever passed between himself and the affectionate and submissive brother, who had been the playmate of his infancy, and the friend of his manhood. The scene of the morning was also fresh in his memory, and its fearful results were now before him. *Monsieur* was, moreover, his junior by two years, and had throughout his life, enjoyed health more robust than his

own; and it is therefore probable that all the tears shed by Louis XIV. in that crowded sick-room did not fall for his dying brother.

The king attended mass at St. Cloud, and at eight o'clock, the condition of *Monsieur* rendering all amendment hopeless, the Duchess de Bourgoyne and Madame de Maintenon suggested his return to Marly, whither they accompanied him in his carriage. As he was about to retire, and was condoling with M. de Chartres, the young duke exclaimed, mournfully, "Ah! sire, what will now become of me? I am about to lose *Monsieur*, and I am aware that you do not love me."

The king, surprised and affected by this heartfelt appeal, embraced him tenderly, assured him that he might rely upon his affection, and then departed from the house of death.

When the monarch reached Marly he proceeded to the apartments of Madame de Maintenon, still accompanied by the Duchess de Bourgoyne; and three hours afterward, his physician, whom he had commanded to remain beside *Monsieur* so long as he should continue to breathe, appeared upon the threshold of the chamber.

"My brother is, then, dead!" exclaimed the king, as he recognized the intruder.

"He is, sire," was the reply; "no remedies would produce any effect."

As Louis XIV. was thus made aware that all was indeed over, he buried his face in his hands, and for a time again wept bitterly; but when he was urged by the duchess to take some refreshment in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, and to spare himself the tedium and restraint of a public dinner, he resolutely refused to be guilty of so serious an infraction of etiquet, and declared his determination to dine as usual with the ladies of the court. To this resolution he adhered; but the repast was not prolonged, and at its termination he gave audience to the ministers

and the master of the ceremonies, with whom he arranged all the detail of the royal funeral; received a visit of condolence from the Queen of England; and, finally, made a tour of the gardens before he retired to rest.

The king had no sooner passed the gates of St. Cloud than the crowd which had thronged the apartments gradually dispersed, until at length the body of *Monsieur* was surrounded only by the menial servants of his household; who, some from affection and others from interest, were his most sincere mourners. *Madame* was in her own apartment; but, as we have already stated, never having felt either affection or esteem for her dying husband, she was weeping over herself and her own prospects, and exclaiming, at intervals, "Not a convent! They must not speak to me of a convent! I will not be sent to a convent!" And it was no sooner ascertained that *Monsieur* had at length expired than she got into her carriage, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess de Chartres, and followed by all their attendants, and proceeded to Versailles.

On the following morning M. de Chartres was admitted to the bedside of the king, who had not yet risen, and who received him with great tenderness, desiring him thenceforth to look upon him as a father, who would be careful of his interests, and forget all the subjects of annoyance which had arisen between them, which he trusted that he would also cease to remember, and replace by a mutual affection.

The young duke answered this address only with his tears and stifled ejaculations of gratitude.

After a scene of so much terror and affliction, and the emotion which Louis XIV. had evinced at the loss of his only brother, it was anticipated that the period which still remained to pass at Marly would be one of gloom and melancholy; but, to the astonishment of the ladies of the palace, who at mid-day entered the anteroom of Madame de Maintenon, which adjoined her apartment, and where

the king and the Duchess de Bourgoyne had borne her company for the last hour, they were greeted by the sound of his voice, singing an air from one of the new operas; and a few moments afterward they were summoned to enter and assist in amusing the duchess, who was, as the monarch expressed it, overcome by some *unaccountable* fit of low spirits.

In fact, the poor young duchess, lost in terror at the remembrance of the first death-bed that she had ever witnessed, could not shake off the impression which it had made upon her mind, and was unable to exert herself, as she was accustomed to do, for the entertainment of the king, who, having himself recovered from the fatal event of the preceding evening, was unable to understand that the sensibilities of another might be less flexible than his own. Nor was this all; for, on leaving the dinner-table at two o'clock, about six-and-twenty hours after the death of *Monsieur*, the Duke de Bourgoyne challenged the Duke de Montfort to a party at *brelan*—a game of chance then greatly in vogue at the French court. The astonishment of the courtier was excessive, and he ventured to reply by the remark that His Royal Highness must for a moment have forgotten that the remains of *Monsieur* were not yet cold.

"Pardon me," answered the prince, "I am well aware of it; but the king will not consent to see any one dull at Marly, and has commanded me to form the tables, with an express order that I am to set the example."

All further objection was, of course, impossible. The *brelan* party was formed, and the saloons soon became a scene of universal play.

Such was the mourning of Louis XIV.; while, as regarded Madame de Maintenon, who had always disliked the deceased duke, and apprehended that he might eventually exercise an influence over the mind of the monarch, which could not fail to prejudice her own interests, she had so much difficulty in concealing her satisfaction at his

demise, that she was delighted when the egotism of the king afforded her a legitimate opportunity of throwing off all outward semblance of sorrow, and of recurring to her usual mode of life.

The dauphin, who had amused himself by the antics of a learned pony while his own mother was on her way to the grave, could not reasonably be expected to feel deeply for his uncle, although that uncle had perpetually entertained him with balls and ballets, and all the pleasures to which he was the most partial; and accordingly, on the day succeeding his death, having spent his morning in wolf-hunting, and on his arrival at Marly found the gaming-tables in full operation, he conformed to the fashion of the hour, and wound up the evening with cards. The dukes de Bourgoyne and Berri, as they seldom saw *Monsieur*, save on state occasions, felt his death only as that of a relation of whom they knew little, and did not profess a grief which they were not called upon to experience; but such was far from being the case with the young duchess, whose sorrow was sincere, as from the period of her marriage *Monsieur* had treated her with the utmost tenderness and indulgence; but she was compelled to reserve her tears for the solitude of her chamber, prohibited as they were in the circle of the king.

The deepest mourner was, however, the Duke de Chartres. *Monsieur* had been to him a kind, a fond, and a forgiving father, from whom he had never experienced either severity or restraint, while he had also protected him from the displeasure of the monarch, to which he was now exposed. The latter source of regret was, however, silenced for a time by the magnificence with which the king fulfilled to the young prince the pledge that he had given over the dead body of his brother; for, in addition to the personal pensions that he had previously possessed, Louis XIV. secured to him those also which had been enjoyed by *Monsieur*—a liberality by which, when the dower and

other claims of *Madame* were paid, the Duke de Chartres found himself in possession of eighteen hundred thousand annual livres, including his appanage, besides the Palais Royal, St. Cloud, and his other residences. He was, moreover, allowed Swiss and body-guards—an arrangement hitherto without precedent, no princes of the blood having previously been so attended, save the sons and grandsons of sovereigns—his own guard-room in the interior of the palace of Versailles; a chancellor and an attorney-general, in whose joint names he could plead without appearing by his own; and the right of nomination to all the offices of his appanage, with the exception of the bishoprics. He, moreover, assumed the title of Duke of Orleans; and retained, not only the regiments, both of cavalry and infantry, which had belonged to *Monsieur*, but also his own troops of gendarmes and light-horsemen.

The king wore mourning for six months, and defrayed all the expenses of the funeral, which took place with great magnificence.

By the death of *Monsieur* the court lost much of its attraction; for he alone had, for the last few years, relieved its monotony by a succession of splendid amusements, which had afforded a reflection of past times; and, despite his prejudice in favor of high rank and noble blood, his affability and courtesy had insured him universal popularity. As a host he was unequalled, sacrificing both his time and his convenience to the gratification of those around him, while nothing afforded him so much pleasure as to see his court numerously and brilliantly attended. At St. Cloud, where all his household were accustomed to assemble, many ladies were admitted who were not to be met with elsewhere; but they were all of high rank, and addicted to high play. The pleasures provided within the palace, and the extreme beauty of its situation—where carriages almost innumerable were provided for the accommodation of those who were too indolent to walk—the

delicious concerts, and the splendid fare, rendered it an abode of luxury and comfort, without, however, detracting from its magnificence and grandeur; for the innate dignity of the prince commanded respect, even in his moments of familiarity.

Madame, meanwhile, had rather endured than assisted in these regal hospitalities; for, although she dined and supped with the court, and even occasionally drove out with some of her ladies, she frequently became sullen, and occasionally discourteous, uttering sarcasms which were the terror of the whole circle; and it was consequently a relief when she retired to her cabinet, in which she passed the remainder of her time gazing upon the family portraits with which she had lined the walls, and writing whole volumes of letters to her absent relatives, of which she afterward made copies with her own hand.

On the 11th of June the court returned to Versailles, where the king had no sooner arrived than he visited *Madame* and the Duke and Duchess de Chartres in their private apartments.

The widowed princess, when apprised of this gracious intention, became, however, so much alarmed at the prospect of receiving him, that she requested the Duchess de Ventadour to see Madame de Maintenon, and to inquire what was the probable motive of His Majesty in according to her so great a favor, when she had reason to be aware that he believed himself aggrieved by her conduct. The answer was by no means calculated to allay her fears; for it was reserved even to caution; and the duchess returned only with the information that Madame de Maintenon would pay a visit to *Madame* when the king had dined, and that she had, moreover, expressed her wish that the duchess herself should be present at the interview.

At the appointed time, accordingly, Madame de Maintenon was announced, when *Madame*, having caused all her ladies to retire save Madame de Ventadour, desired that

a chair might be placed for her visitor—an attention which sufficed at once to convince the favorite that the princess was conscious of her dependence on her good offices.

This courtesy was no sooner offered and accepted than *Madame* opened the conversation by complaining of the indifference evinced by the monarch during a temporary indisposition from which she had suffered since the death of her husband; and Madame de Maintenon permitted her to expatiate upon her disappointment and mortification until the subject was exhausted, when she informed her that she was authorized by His Majesty to assure Her Royal Highness that their common loss had effaced all that was past from his memory, provided her future deportment were more consonant to his wishes, not only as regarded himself, and all that had taken place on the subject of the Duke de Chartres, but also on other points, which had in reality induced the neglect of which she complained.

Madame, who, save as regarded her son, and her want of respect for court etiquet, believed herself safe, vehemently insisted that she had not, upon any other point, afforded the least pretext for a displeasure which had been so heavily and so conspicuously visited upon her, and became even indignant in her own justification; whereupon Madame de Maintenon drew a letter from her pocket, and inquired if she recognized the handwriting.

As the princess received it, she with difficulty retained her self-possession, for she instantly recognized it as one that she had addressed to her aunt, the Duchess of Hanover, to whom she was in the constant habit of writing by every post, and in which, after having detailed the current news of the court, she had declared that she could no longer determine whether Madame de Maintenon were the wife of the king or only his mistress, and thence digressed to the state of the kingdom, both within and without, giving it as her decided opinion that it was at that moment reduced to a state of depression from which it could never hope to re-

suscitate. This unhappy and ill-judged epistle had been opened by the authorities of the post-office, as was common at the time; but, instead of furnishing an extract for the information of the monarch, and then being suffered to proceed to its destination, it had been detained, and submitted to his perusal in its original shape.

Madame had, accordingly, no sooner affected to read its contents, in order to obtain time to recover a portion of her composure, than she burst into tears; upon which Madame de Maintenon, in her most measured tones, passed the letter in review, expatiating upon the enormity of its several and separate contents, and the effect which they were calculated to produce in a foreign country. In vain did the unhappy princess assert that her words were merely the echo of what passed around her, and that she had written jestingly, and without an idea of malice: the cold and impassible countenance of her auditor convinced her that she would depart with no such reply, and she was finally condemned to descend to apologies, to supplications, and to promises.

When a perfect understanding was established on the subject of the letter, Madame de Maintenon, who still pertinaciously retained her seat, informed the princess that she should esteem it a favor if, now that she had executed the commission with which she had been intrusted by the king, she would permit her, before she took her leave, to trouble her upon a subject in which she was herself more particularly interested, and to inquire why, after the honor which Her Royal Highness had originally done her, of accepting her friendship, and even of volunteering her own in return, she had withdrawn entirely from her circle?

As this inquiry was made, *Madame* recovered her presence of mind, and hastened to reply that she congratulated herself upon the opportunity which it afforded to her of retorting upon Madame de Maintenon herself the accusation of a change as causeless as it was uncourteous; for,

that while she had for a time exerted herself to maintain an intimacy which she would gladly have continued to the end of her life, she had been met only with coldness, neglect, and even an absence of that respect which was due to her rank.

This was the very admission which Madame de Maintenon had been anxious to educe from the lips of the haughty Bavarian; and it was, therefore, no sooner made than she answered, coldly and proudly, that Her Royal Highness did her no more than justice; for that she was aware it had only depended upon herself to continue the intimacy which had once existed between them; but that circumstances which had come to her knowledge had rendered all further professions of friendship toward Her Royal Highness inconsistent with her own sense of dignity and self-respect, and she had, in consequence, considered it necessary to withdraw from all such demonstrations.

The princess impatiently demanded her reasons, affirming that she had a right to learn of what she was accused, and who were her accusers; nor was she destined long to remain in ignorance of either. Madame de Maintenon had listened unmoved to her disclaimers, and the defiance which she boldly threw out, declaring that no one would dare to assert that she had injured the marchioness in any way; and when they were at length brought to a close, she replied, with one of those cold and ambiguous smiles which were rapidly becoming the terror of Louis XIV., that she should not hesitate to satisfy the duchess upon both these points, although she had for ten years confined the secret to her own bosom; but that, as the dauphiness had now been in her grave for that period, she considered herself at liberty to inform Her Royal Highness that during the last hours of that lamented princess, who had done her the honor before her death to recognize the affectionate attachment which she bore to her person, and to accept her services during

her final illness, she had learned from her own lips the unsparing manner in which *Madame* had sported alike with her happiness and with her reputation. And then, in order to enforce upon the bewildered princess the extent of her information, she repeated, with a steady voice and blenched lips, a multitude of sarcasms and accusations, each in itself a deadly affront, with which Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria was only too well acquainted.

This second blow was too much even for the haughty spirit of *Madame*, who saw all her future hopes of peace and consideration dependent on the mercy of a woman whom she both hated and despised, but to whom she found herself compelled to sue for pardon. She had consequently no alternative save to weep more bitterly than before—to exclaim against the treachery of the dauphiness, who had repeated conversations idly and thoughtlessly carried on, and understood to be purely confidential, and to be forgotten as soon as uttered; and then she took the hand of Madame de Maintenon, and pressed it between her own, which were humid with her tears.

After having for a time coldly triumphed in the abasement of her enemy, the visitor at length suffered herself to be appeased, as she had previously determined to do, and even consoled the terrified princess by promising, in the king's name, that the reconciliation which had now taken place should involve his own, and that he would never on any occasion mention either of the subjects under discussion to *Madame*, but entirely dismiss them from his memory—an assurance which, more than any other, tended in some degree to console the princess for the degradation to which she had been subjected.*

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

CHAPTER XXV.

Marriage of Philip V.—The young Sovereigns—The Princess des Ursins—The Cardinal d'Estrées—Court Flatteries—Death of the Iron Mask—Progress of the Persecutions in the Cevennes—The Marshal de Villars—John Cavalier—Meeting of Louis XIV. and the Calvinist Leader—Flight of Cavalier from France—Decline of the Military Glory of the French Armies—Accusation against the Duchess de Bourgoyne; her Position at Court: her Errors—Death of Madame de Montespan; her last Hope; Occupation of her closing Years; Fate of her Remains.

On the 11th of September of the same year an alliance was formed between the young King of Spain and Maria Louisa of Savoy, the sister of the Duchess de Bourgoyne. This princess, although short in stature, was beautifully formed, with a fine complexion, and eyes of singular brilliancy. Full of talent and good sense, graceful, amiable,

but withal possessed of considerable pride, she bore about her all the evidence of high birth and innate dignity, and eventually distinguished herself by a courage and firmness which were remarkable in her sex and at her early age; while they were, moreover, eminently advantageous to her husband, who, although by no means deficient either in sound judgment or powers of mind, was nevertheless the victim of an extreme indolence, augmented by the perpetual restraint to which he was subjected and encouraged by the cold and reserved nature of his character.

The young sovereigns, alike strangers to each other and to the country which they were called upon to govern, were placed in a position of so much peril and difficulty, that Louis XIV. considered it expedient to provide them with a prudent and intelligent friend, who might serve at once as their companion and adviser; and his selection ultimately fell upon the Princess des Ursins,* who, having passed a great portion of her life at foreign courts, was familiar with the habits of that of Spain, and was, moreover, a woman of powerful talent and high breeding. Possessed of these advantages, which were no sooner made known to him by Madame de Maintenon than he fully appreciated their value, this princess had appeared to the monarch the most eligible person upon whom he could confer so important a charge as that of initiating a queen, yet in her girlhood, into the difficult art of maintaining her court with befitting dignity, while, although Madame des Ursins could not be considered by the Spaniards as a stranger, he still hoped that she would be sufficiently estranged from them as a nation not to involve herself in the intrigues and cabals of the court of Madrid.

During the widowhood of Madame Scarron, the princess

* Anna Maria de la Tremouille de Noirmoutier was the widow of Talleyrand, Prince de Chalais, and wife of the Duke de Bracciano, a grandee of Spain, and representative of the Ursins family.

had expressed considerable sympathy with her misfortunes and interest in her fate, although she had never carried either so far as to prove an active friend; but she had no sooner ascertained that the Spanish appointment was to take place than, profiting by their former acquaintance, she had immediate recourse to the influence of Madame de Maintenon, who had, as she did not scruple then to express herself, "the goodness to speak of her to the king;" and it was doubtlessly through that very influence that this haughty, rich, and independent woman obtained, with the title of *Camerera Major*, the right to receive the dressing-gown of the King of Spain from his own hands when he was about to get into bed, to present both his dressing-gown and slippers when he was preparing to rise, the pleasure of snatching her repasts whenever she could find a moment in which to do so, of rising at a particular hour, however greatly she might need rest, of fulfilling the most menial offices about the young queen, and, finally, as she herself boasted, of emulating half a dozen hired attendants. "I feel sure," she wrote to her sister-in-law, "that the Piedmontese waiting-women of the queen will not wash her feet or draw off her shoes and stockings so expeditiously as I have done."

But the princess was resolved, at whatever cost of comfort or condescension, to acquire the confidence and regard of the royal pair—an attempt in which she perfectly succeeded.

Madame des Ursins was associated in her office of friend and counselor with the Cardinal d'Estrées,* who

* Cæsar d'Estrées, Cardinal Abbé of St. Germain-des-Prés, was born in 1628, and was the son of Francis Annibal d'Estrées, duke, peer, and marshal of France. He was raised to the bishopric of Laon in 1653. The king selected him as mediator between the Pope's nuncio and the partisans of the bishops of Aleth, Beauvais, Pamiers, and Angers, in which office he secured a reconciliation, which, for a time, restored peace to the French church. Admitted to the conclave in 1674, he was sent to Bavaria in 1680 to arrange the marriage treaty

was instructed to maintain a perfect intelligence between the cabinets of Versailles and Madrid, and to reconcile their common interests. For this purpose Louis XIV. commanded his recall from Vienna, where he was at the moment on a diplomatic mission, believing him to be, as he declared, "the most able man in his dominions;" but the French king had forgotten that they were cotemporaries, and that the cardinal, like himself, was beginning, both physically and morally, to experience the united effects of unceasing labor and increasing years; and this want of memory was the more excusable as the high breeding, the ready wit, and even the person of the courtly cardinal, were still the wonder of all who remembered how long they had been exposed to the cares of office and the vicissitudes of climate.*

As a proof of this fact, St. Simon relates of him that he had to the last preserved his teeth, which were extremely fine, almost in their original integrity—a circumstance the more fortunate as, from his having an unusually large mouth, they were more than commonly conspicuous; and that on one occasion when he was dining with Louis XIV., who was much attached to him, and always unbent in his society, upon the monarch complaining of the inconvenience to which he was subjected by his want of teeth, "Oh! sire," replied His Eminence, with one of his broad est smiles, "who on earth has teeth in the present day?"

It would appear, however, that the cardinals drew on flattery as smoothly as their scarlet stockings, and were not always scrupulous as to its quality or extent; for the same writer relates an anecdote of another Eminence, to whom Louis XIV. was, as a mark of especial favor, doing

of the dauphin, and, after upholding at Rome the interests of France, he was ultimately appointed to follow Philip V. to Madrid to assist him in his ministry. He returned to France in 1703, and died in 1714.

* Mémoires Politique et Militaires, par Adrian Maurice, Duc de Noailles.

the honors of the gardens at Marly, when at a considerable distance from the palace they were overtaken by a slight shower, which induced the monarch to express his regret that his guest should be exposed to the rain in so light a dress. "Sire," was the courtly but vapid reply of the Cardinal de Polignac, "the rain of Marly can not wet any one."

On the 19th of November, 1703, the curate of the church of St. Paul in Paris incribed upon his register this brief record of a decease within his jurisdiction:

"This 19th of November, 1703, Marchialy, aged about forty-five years, died in the Bastille, and his body was interred in the cemetery of St. Paul, his parish, on the 20th of the said month, in the presence of M. Rosarges, major, and M. Reilhe, surgeon-major of the Bastille, whose signatures follow."

And this was all—though a long, a fearful, and a mysterious history might have been appended to the registry; for this Marchialy, who died a prisoner, and was put into an obscure grave, unwept and unnoticed, was, as it is asserted, no other than the enigma which all Europe has as yet endeavored in vain to solve—the Man with the Iron Mask.

Meanwhile, the war to which we have already alluded, and which was destined to secure to that Prince Eugène, whose pretensions had been the jest of Louis XIV. and his generals, an undying reputation, was convulsing all the European nations; but as it affords a prominent page in the world's history, we shall not pause to record its vicissitudes, but rather turn our attention to that intestine struggle which was still deluging the fairest provinces of France with misery and blood.

After the assassination of the Abbé de Chayla, the Calvinists, conscious that the reprisals of their enemies would be deadly, retired to the rocks and forests, where their numbers rapidly increased; and from these wild fastnesses

they made occasional sallies into the adjacent country, carrying ruin in their path. A great proportion of the peasantry secretly favored their cause, for their war-cry was "No taxes, and liberty of conscience," and the appeal came home to the heart of every man, while their hopes of ultimate success were sustained by the occasional aid which they received from both Holland, Savoy, and Geneva; the two former supplying them, whenever they were enabled to do so secretly, with arms, men, and money, and the latter with preachers or prophets of both sexes, by whose assumed inspirations they were guided in all their enterprises.

The suppression of this revolt (for such was the name that it originally bore) had been intrusted to the Marquis de Bâville, the intendant of Languedoc, who had only succeeded by his bigotry and oppression in swelling the revolt into a rebellion; while the second general who was sent against them was the Marshal de Montrevel, who carried on the conflict rather like an executioner than a soldier. Under his auspices the wheel and the fagot did the work of the sword and the pike; and the excesses committed by his dragoons were so unparalleled, that the contest assumed the name of the *Dragonade;* while the rebels on their side, driven to exasperation, repaid every cruelty in kind.

The king, embarrassed by a foreign war, could not send against them a sufficient body of troops to overpower or disperse their numbers, and it was difficult to take them by surprise, distributed as they were among almost inaccessible rocks which they had been the first to climb, in caverns hitherto inhabited only by the wild denizens of the forest, and in the depths of tangled woods where no pathway could be distinguished, but from whence they emerged at intervals, armed to the teeth, and uttering yells of defiance. They had little, moreover, to apprehend from the treachery of the natives of the province; not only the

peasantry affording them help and shelter, but the owners of many of the châteaux readily granting them refuge when they were pursued, and supplying them with food, with which they returned laden to their hiding-places; while even the city of Nismes and other minor towns were detected in making sundry efforts to uphold their cause.

Once they met their enemies *en masse*, when the royal troops were so signally defeated that the result, happily for both Christendom and humanity, was the recall of M. de Montrevel, and the substitution of the Marshal de Villars.*

As the new general soon ascertained that it was as difficult to track the rebels as to vanquish them, he had no sooner made himself feared, than he proposed an amnesty, to which some among their leaders, weary of a life of perpetual hardship and bloodshed, at length consented.

Of these, the most remarkable was John Cavalier, who had been one of the principal chiefs of the Cévenols, and who consented, not only to lay down his own arms, but

* Louis Hector, Marquis and subsequently Duke de Villars, was born in 1653, entered the army at an early age, and soon distinguished himself by his intrepidity. Appointed adjutant-general in 1690, he gained the victory of Friedlingen, where he was opposed to the Prince of Baden, in 1702, and the following year that of Hochstet. Appointed marshal of France, he was intrusted with the pacification of Languedoc, and succeeded in his mission. Recalled to Germany, he arrested the progress of Marlborough, and beat the enemy at Stolhoffen (1707), after which he passed into Dauphiny, where he defeated the plans of Prince Eugène. In 1709 he returned to Flanders, where he fought the unfortunate battle of Malplaquet, in which he was both worsted and wounded; but he revenged his defeat by the victory of Denain, which, while it insured the safety of the nation, also induced the treaty of peace in 1714, at Rastadt. Appointed president of the council of war, and admitted to the council of the regency after the death of Louis XIV., he became at one and the same time duke and peer, governor of Provence, a grandee of Spain, and a member of the French Academy. On the recurrence of the war in 1733, he took the command in Italy, with the title of general of the camps and armies of the king. He returned to France, and died in 1734, leaving behind him the *Memoirs* which bear his name.

also to induce his followers to do the same, on condition that the marshal would guaranty to him the title of colonel, and the command of a regiment which he undertook to raise. To these terms M. de Villars readily consented, for at the period when the proposition was made, Cavalier was at the head of eight hundred men, and was the more formidable from the fact that he was especially protected by their most powerful prophetess, who had declared him to be appointed to the post which he then occupied by the direct influence of the Holy Spirit.

Barely three-and-twenty years of age, small in person, and with a physiognomy singularly gentle and attractive, Cavalier had rather the appearance of a priest than a soldier; but his extraordinary courage and intrepidity, the perseverance with which he overcame every difficulty, and the skill with which he conducted all his enterprises, rendered him the most dangerous enemy against whom the royal forces were called upon to contend.

When his proposal had been received by the marshal, and that Cavalier was summoned to present himself at Nismes, in order that the ratification of the amnesty might be finally arranged, his usual caution did not forsake him; for previously to placing himself in the power of the royalist general, he demanded hostages, which were unhesitatingly granted, and ultimately insisted that he should be attended during the interview by the same number of armed men as formed the guard of M. de Villars himself; this condition also was conceded, and thus escorted, and accompanied by a brother chief named Roland, the Cévenol leader signed the terms of the capitulation, during which ceremony the natural dignity and perfect good breeding of Cavalier excited the astonishment of the marshal, who had ascertained that, previously to the revolt, the quick-witted and courageous soldier before him, whose sole word had sufficed to control a numerous and undisciplined army, was merely an apprentice to a baker, obscure in birth as

in station, and betraying no symptoms of the fiery and resolute spirit which he afterward evinced.

As M. de Villars, upon the pacification of the Cevennes, was reappointed to the army in Flanders, he determined, on his return to Versailles, to present the new colonel himself to the ministers; and both he and his proselyte endeavored to induce Roland, who had long been the friend and comrade of Cavalier, also to accept service under the king. The young chief, however, resolutely refused to abandon his party, declaring that he should never believe Cavalier himself to be sincere in his defalcation until he saw him bend his steps toward Paris in company of the enemies of his province and of his faith; which he had no sooner done than he once more rallied the dispersed Calvinists—who, disheartened by the desertion of their most influential leader, had begun to disband themselves, and to attempt an escape across the frontier in separate bands—and renewed, although with less activity and success, the struggle which had been momentarily suspended.

As he proceeded toward the capital, the young Cévenol chief was met by strong demonstrations of respect and affection; and at Mâcon, during a temporary halt, he received an order from the controller-general to proceed at once to Versailles, where his welcome from the minister was so marked and courteous, that, at the termination of the interview, he felt secure of the realization of all his brightest visions for the future. Cavalier knew nothing of the court, nor of court diplomacy: he was in a new world; the wild child of the mountains was breathing the close and scented atmosphere of a ministerial apartment; and when the great personage to whom he had been admitted informed him, with a bland smile, that he was at that moment the one topic of the courtly circle, promised him his own protection, and assured him that half the nobility, both male and female, were prepared to do the same, no wonder that the heart of the young and ardent soldier beat

high with pride and gratified ambition. But the climax of his triumph was yet to come; for before he left the cabinet of the minister it was confided to him that the king himself desired to see him, and that he must in consequence be in readiness for his presentation on the day after the morrow, when he would have a place assigned to him on the great stair-case, near which His Majesty must pass.

Cavalier attired himself magnificently; his graceful figure, handsome face, and martial demeanor, had never before been so conspicuous; and his whole appearance when he took up the station appropriated to him with a calm and dignified but modest self-possession, which silenced even those who had already begun to make merry on the subject of his origin, and then shook back the redundant masses of long fair hair which fell in glossy curls about his brow and shoulders, as he swept the circle with a keen and rapid glance, excited universal comment and admiration; but as no one was yet assured of the reception which awaited him from the king, and that none were anxious to compromise themselves by any premature demonstration, the young soldier was not greeted by a single courtesy, and stood leaning against the gilded balustrade of the stair-case, with his legs crossed negligently, and waving the light plume of his hat to and fro, in complete and somewhat disdainful silence.

Suddenly a loud murmur of voices was heard, and as Cavalier turned to ascertain its cause, he found himself in the presence of the king. He had never before seen Louis XIV., and the blood instinctively mounted to his brow as he assumed a more respectful attitude.

When he reached the landing upon which Cavalier was stationed, the king paused, affecting to direct the attention of one of his ministers to a new ceiling which Lebrun had just completed, but actually that he might be enabled to contemplate at his ease the singular young man who had contended for so long a time against two marshals of France,

and had finally made a treaty with a third; and when he had at length satisfied his curiosity, he inquired, as he indicated by a gesture that he spoke of the Cévenol chief, the name of this young noble whom he now saw for the first time.

On being informed by the minister, who made one step forward to present him, that it was Colonel John Cavalier, "Oh, true," was the contemptuous reply, "the baker's boy of Anduze;" and, with a disdainful shrug of the shoulders, the monarch moved on. On his side Cavalier had advanced a pace, believing that Louis XIV. would address him, when this insulting rejoinder fell upon his ear, and for an instant he stood as though he had been petrified to stone; but in the next he convulsively grasped the hilt of his sword, and, feeling that he was lost if he ventured to remain among the crowd who were watching his every motion, he sprung down the steps under the vestibule, rushed into the garden, which he traversed at a rapid pace, and returned to his hôtel, cursing the hour in which, confiding in the promises of the Marshal de Villars, he had abandoned his native mountains, amid which he had been as truly a monarch as Louis XIV. in the gilded galleries of Versailles.

In the course of the same evening he received an order to leave Paris, and to rejoin his regiment, which he immediately obeyed; and at Mâcon he found himself once more among those of his companions who had resolved to share his fortunes, and who were, consequently, included in the treaty. To these, without making the mortifying confession of his reception by the king, he at once hinted that he had not only lost all faith in the redemption of the promises which he had received through M. de Villars, but that he even apprehended personal danger should he remain in France; and ended by suggesting that they should all gain the frontier without delay, and seek their fortunes in another country.

The word of Cavalier was a law to his adherents; and consequently these men, without murmur or discussion,

forthwith commenced their march, alike ignorant and careless as to its termination.

At Dinan they performed their devotions, and then deserting in a body the inhospitable nation which had given them birth, they traversed Mont Belliard, threw themselves into Porentruy, and took the road to Lausanne.

Aware that all was at an end as regarded his faction in France, Cavalier first proceeded to Holland, and thence to England, where he was graciously received by the queen, and was appointed to the command of a regiment of foreign emigrants, at the head of which, at the battle of Almanza, he found himself opposed to a corps of French infantry; when the old enemies had no sooner recognized each other than, yelling out their hate, as if by one common impulse, they rushed forward, regardless alike of discipline and order, and a perfect butchery ensued, scarcely any survivors being left on either side. Cavalier was, however, one of the few who escaped; and, in recompense of the courage which he had displayed, he was raised to the rank of a general officer, and appointed governor of the Isle of Wight.

He survived until 1740 in his adopted country, and finally died in Chelsea Hospital, at the age of sixty years.

The military fame of Louis XIV. and his army had, in 1702, reached its culminating point, and thenceforward it began to decline. Three great defeats ruined the strength of the united kingdoms of France and Spain: that of Vigo, where a French fleet which was escorting some Spanish galleons was compelled to self-destruction by fire, in order to prevent its capture by the enemy in the year named; the defeat of Hochstet, where twenty-seven battalions of infantry and four regiments of dragoons were forced to surrender without striking a blow, in 1704; and, finally, the retreat of Ramillies, where, in 1706, the army lost all its camp-equipage and ammunition while hotly pursued, and was compelled to disband itself.

The French had been so unaccustomed to reverses under Louis XIV. that they could not induce themselves to believe that this successive ill-fortune arose from ordinary causes, such as the exhaustion of their forces or the error of their generals, but attributed it to treason; and it was ere long broadly asserted that information of all the measures decided at Versailles was sent from Meudon, where the dauphin held his court, to the Prince de Vaudemont, governor of Milan, who was devoted to the interests of the archduke—not, indeed, by the prince himself, but by some women of rank who were in his confidence. This report, however, gradually lost credit, as it was remembered that no rational motive could be assigned for so foul, so dangerous, and so unprofitable a treachery.*

The next suggestion was still more mischievous. The young Duchess de Bourgoyne had, it was said, witnessed the progress of the war in Piedmont with as much tranquillity as though she had been born a princess of France but no sooner saw the army approach Turin than she apprehended the total ruin of her father, and, anxious to spare him so bitter a mortification, exerted herself strenuously to affect the raising of the siege; in which attempt she secured the coöperation of Madame de Maintenon, who, seeing the rapidity with which age was gaining upon the king, and believing that she might, upon some future day, require the support of the duchess, lent her all the assistance in her power.

To this circumstance were accordingly attributed the restrictions under which the Duke d'Orleans assumed the command of the army in Italy, and the authority confided to the Marshal de Marsin,† without whose sanction the

* Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

† The Count de Marsin was the descendant of a noble family of Liége, who passed into France at the age of seventeen years; and, having been appointed major of cavalry, served in Flanders in 1690, and was wounded at Fleurus. In 1693 he was present at the battle of

prince was forbidden to undertake any movement of importance, as well as the abandonment of the siege of Turin, after a desperate engagement, in which Marsin was killed, and the Duke d'Orleans himself grievously wounded.

This accusation against the young duchess was based upon the assertion that the Duke of Savoy, menaced even in his capital, neglected every measure of defense, and that when he eventually became uneasy at the approach of the French troops to his very walls, and wrote to the Queen of England soliciting her assistance, he received from the Duke of Marlborough, in the name of his royal mistress, a reply to the effect that he need not be alarmed by the success of the French forces, as they had already flattered themselves wrongfully more than once on their advantages, and that upon this occasion they would do so again; while he, moreover, spoke so positively of their failure in the attack upon Turin, although it was undertaken by so strong an army, and under circumstances which appeared to render its capture inevitable, that it was impossible to read the letter without feeling convinced his assurance was based upon solid grounds.*

To those, however, who were not blinded by party spirit or mortified vanity, these circumstances were considered capable of perfect refutation; nor was it probable that the Duchess de Bourgoyne would commit an act of treachery against the country of which she might in a short period become the queen, in favor of her father, who, by allying

Nerwinde, and at the taking of Charleroi, after which he joined the army in Italy. In 1701 he was sent to Spain as ambassador from the court of Louis XIV. to that of Philip V. In 1703 he was created marshal of France, and in 1704 he commanded the retreat at the battle of Hochstet. Ordered once more to Italy, he was so mortified at having caused the defeat before Turin in 1706, that he exposed himself imprudently during the engagement, and lost his life. He was the last male representative of his family.

* Histoire du Règne de Louis XIV., par *Reboulet.*

himself with its enemies, was weakening its resources, rendering the court at which she resided a scene of anxiety, and separating her from a husband to whom she was attached, and whose life was constantly endangered throughout the whole of the campaign. It is the less feasible, moreover, from the fact that not even the indignation excited by the defalcation of the Duke of Savoy in the mind of Louis XIV. even for an instant influenced his feelings toward his beloved granddaughter.

Admitting her freely into his confidence, he transacted business with his ministers in her presence, and had the delicacy never to allow any discussion on the subject of her father to reach her ears. In private he permitted her to hang upon his neck, or to seat herself upon his knee, to torment him with her unceasing playfulness, to open and read his letters in his presence, and to take an equal liberty with those of Madame de Maintenon. She was, in short, the joy and the light of his old age—the only being who had ever compelled him to forget the monarch in the parent, and to acknowledge to himself that he had the feelings and the affections common to his kind; while she became doubtlessly the more endeared to him by the fact that even while she was conscious that her wishes were all-powerful, she exerted her influence only to serve those who required her aid; and that never, on any single occasion, did she utter a word which might tend to injure the humblest individual in his estimation; but affable to every one, courteous and considerate to those about her, and living with the ladies of her household in perfect harmony and friendship, she was at once the idol of the court and the beloved of the people.

Unfortunately, amid this general homage, the duchess distinguished with more than common favor the Marquis de Nangis, a young and gallant soldier who had attached himself to the court of the Duke de Bourgoyne.

The prince, passionately devoted to his wife, was, as

we have elsewhere stated, although possessed of moral qualities of a high order, by no means calculated personally to excite the attachment of such a nature as that of Adelaide of Savoy, while M. de Nangis, young, handsome, and graceful, at once captivated her fancy, and subjugated her reason so thoroughly, that ere long this unhappy passion was known to every one save her husband.

At the commencement of 1707 intelligence of the death of Madame de Montespan reached the court. Another link between the present and the past was broken. For the last few years she had placed her conscience under the direction of the Père de la Tour, the General of the Oratory, and had devoted herself entirely to her religious duties, while the first act of penance to which he compelled her was so bitter that all those by which it was succeeded became comparatively easy. This penance was no less than to address a letter to her husband, couched in the most submissive terms, in which she offered to return to him if he would condescend to receive her, or to take up her residence at whatever place he should think proper to assign. The diplomacy of her confessor was most admirable; for, when once the haughty spirit of his penitent had been bent to such a depth as this, he felt that his task would be light indeed.

It was long, however, ere Madame de Montespan could sufficiently conquer her pride and resentment to consent to such a humiliation; but the reverend father of the Oratory was no cowled courtier, ready to compromise with the conscience of his penitent, and he was at length obeyed. Humbly as the letter was dictated did she write it; but the terror of her suspense was quickly terminated; for the marquis had no sooner received the self-abnegatory missive of his guilty wife than he caused her to be informed that he would neither admit her into his house, prescribe any rule for her future conduct, nor suffer her name to be again mentioned in his presence; and i·

this resolution he some time afterward expired, without having ever overcome either his mortification at her desertion or the passion which he had never ceased to feel for her.

The death of the marquis tended, however, to increase the difficulties of the confessor; for Madame de Montespan no sooner found herself a widow than a new hope sprung up in her heart. Still beautiful, and convinced that the king had only been induced to discard her from conscientious motives, she could not contemplate the fact that she was at length free, and couple it with the recollection that she was the junior of Madame de Maintenon by five or six years, without believing that the weak health of her rival would soon liberate the monarch also, whose affections, excited anew by the tenderness of their children, might again be restored to her, although the single fact should have sufficed to prove the hollowness of such an anticipation, that Louis XIV. never, even in his most indulgent moments, spoke to them of their mother, or consulted her wishes upon any subject connected with their welfare.

Her principal hope lay in the influence of her daughters and the Count de Toulouse, whom she loved more tenderly than any of her other children, and who repaid her affection in kind. From the Duke du Maine she anticipated no support, nor did she seek it; but in the respectful attachment of the young count she imagined that she saw the pledge of her success. The prince did not possess, like his brother, "the wit of the Mortemars," but he was the impersonation of honor, principle, and uprightness, with a deportment as affable as was consistent with a reserved and even cold expression. His rank as high-admiral of France had induced him to make a study of his profession, and to do honor to the confidence which had been placed in him by the king. He had already given repeated proofs both of his personal cour-

age and of his matured judgment; and, although the monarch preferred the society of the Duke du Maine, he nevertheless did justice to the good sense, the truthfulness, and the other sterling qualities of the Count de Toulouse.

Thus the world had once more opposed its barrier between the penitent and her spiritual director; but it was, after a time, overthrown by the resolute firmness of the latter; and the unhappy woman, after this last struggle, perceiving that the constant presence of her children, whom it had long been her only happiness to overwhelm with presents and caresses, tended to maintain in her breast an ambition which she had pledged herself to abandon, at length resolved to permit their visits only at long intervals, and to confine her liberality to the poor, while, not satisfied by bestowing upon them the riches which had become comparatively useless to her, she worked for several hours each day upon the coarsest and most ungainly materials, alike for the sick in the hospitals and for the needy in their squalid homes. Her table, which had hitherto been splendid and profuse, was reduced to mere frugal comfort; and she ultimately adopted the penances of which she had formerly made a disdainful jest, and not only wore haircloth next her skin, but also an iron girdle armed with points, which at every movement lacerated her body.

Morbidly alarmed at the bare idea of death, she was accustomed, during a thunder-storm, to seat an infant upon her knees, in order that she might find protection in its innocence; she also constantly slept with all her curtains thrown back, a number of tapers burning in her room, and several women to watch throughout the night; and, when restless, she listened jealously to ascertain that they were either talking, gambling, or eating, in order to keep themselves awake.

Nevertheless, although subjecting herself to bodily suf-

fering and to moral subjection, there was one darling weakness to which Madame de Montespan adhered to the last, and over which even the Père de la Tour himself had no power. The princely etiquet which she had established in her hôtel endured to the period of her death; and, by a strange caprice, the whole of the court submitted to the ostentatious and almost insolent regulations she had adopted, and visited her zealously, she meanwhile addressing all her guests, whatever might be their rank, like a queen receiving the homage of a circle to whose respect and deference she had a claim.*

Always imagining herself to be in weak health, or making this idea a pretext for constant movement, Madame de Montespan was continually on the road from Paris to Bourbon-l'Archambault, thence to her estate at Antin, and thence again to Fontevrault, of which magnificent house her sister was the abbess.

On quitting Paris for the last time for Bourbon, although, as she was even herself compelled to admit, in admirable health, she had a presentiment that she should never return, and, before her departure, paid all her pensioners—who were principally impoverished members of the nobility—a sufficient sum to enable them to exist until they could secure some other means of subsistence, declaring that she should not live to supply their further wants. Her friends smiled at her prediction; but, by a singular coincidence, she had only arrived at Bourbon a few days when, during the night of the 26th of May, her women were alarmed by seeing her struggling against suffocation, and, with considerable difficulty, extorted her consent that they should summon her confessor and her son, the Marquis d'Antin. The priest was soon at her side; but even at that moment of peril the dying woman persisted, despite the discouraging comments of her physician, to maintain that she already felt better, and should ultimately recover.

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

Amid these protestations, however, her strength was rapidly ebbing away, and before M. d'Antin arrived she had become insensible; but this was not the circumstance which engaged the attention of her visitor; for the door of his traveling-chaise was no sooner opened than he desired a weeping attendant, who presented herself to receive him, to bring his mother's casket to the carriage, as he should not alight. The woman only replied by sobbing out that her mistress was at that moment in the death-agony.

"That is not what I asked," said the marquis, coldly; "I inquired for her casket."

The femme-de-chambre disappeared, and a few minutes subsequently returned, carrying a small ebony box, clamped with silver.

"Where is the key?" inquired M. d'Antin.

"The marchioness never intrusts it to any one; she wears it about her neck."

"Shall I, then, be compelled to enter the house and seek it myself?" he asked impatiently.

"I fear so, Monsieur; for no attendant of the marquise could be induced to perform such an office at such a moment."

Without further comment, the marquis sprung from the chaise, rapidly ascended the stairs, and entered the death-room, where his once beautiful mother lay gasping in the last struggle of dissolution. With a steady hand he drew back the costly lace which veiled her bosom, seized the small key that rested on it, opened the casket, thrust all its contents into the pockets of his *haut-de-chausses*, and regained his carriage, without the utterance of one word unconnected with the absolute purpose of his visit.

An hour afterward Madame de Montespan expired, and it was ascertained that she had bequeathed her body to the tomb of her family, situated at Poitiers, her heart to the convent of La Flèche, and her entrails to the priory of St. Menoux, near Bourbon. When this arrangement be

came public, a courtier before whom it was related exclaimed, with affected surprise, "The entrails of Madame de Montespan! Did she really possess any?"*

A village surgeon performed the necessary duties, and separated those portions of the remains which were destined to be conveyed elsewhere from the body; after which the corpse remained a considerable time at the door of the house, while the canons of the holy chapel and the priests of the parish contended for a point of precedence. The heart, inclosed in a leaden case, was forwarded to Le Flèche, and, finally, the intestines were deposited in a small trunk, and committed to the care of a peasant, who was instructed to convey them to St. Menoux. But, as though the guilty and haughty woman, who had just looked her last upon that world which had throughout her life been the object of her adoration, was destined to convey a moral to her kind, even beyond the grave, it chanced that the porter, having seated himself midway of his journey to rest, and placed the box beside him, was suddenly seized with a desire to ascertain its contents, which he had no sooner done than, believing that he was merely the jest of some comrade who desired to make merry at his expense, he emptied the trunk into the ditch beside which he sat, and had scarcely done so, when a lad who was herding swine drove them toward him, and, as they groveled in the mire at the foot of the bank, they came upon the burden with which he had been intrusted, and in a few instants the most filthy animals in the creation had devoured a portion of the remains of one of the haughtiest women who ever trod the earth!†

Thus perished, at the age of sixty-six, Madame de Montespan, who, after spending sixteen years in achieving an infamous celebrity, passed the succeeding twenty-two in expiating at once her folly and her guilt; nor could any

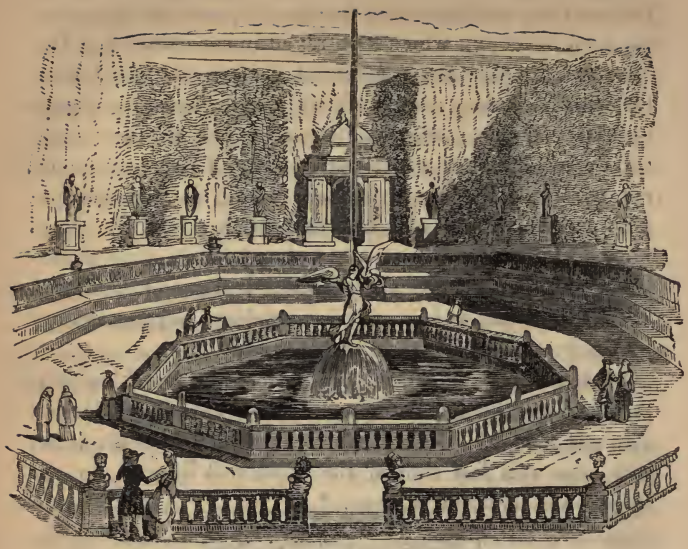
* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf

† Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

thing exceed the indifference with which Paris and Versailles received the intelligence of her demise, save the disgraceful want of feeling which it betrayed in her children. The Marquis d'Antin alone assumed even the outward semblance of mourning: neither the Duke du Maine, the Count de Toulouse, the Duchess de Bourbon, nor *Madame*, evinced the slightest respect to the memory of their erring, but not the less affectionate mother; while, as regarded the king, to whom her will had once been a law, the news reached him as he was about to start on a shooting excursion; and the precaution with which it was communicated by the messenger was at once rendered supererogatory by the manner in which it was received.

"Ah, indeed," said Louis XIV; "so the marchioness is dead! I should have thought she would have lasted longer. Are you ready, M. de la Rochefoucauld? I have no doubt that after this last shower the scent will lie well for the dogs. Let us be off at once."*

* Chroniques de l'Œil-de Bœuf.



CHAPTER XXVI.

Anticipations of the Dauphin—The female Cabal—Prejudices of the Dauphin—Death of Père la Chaise—The new Confessor, Michel le Tellier; his Portrait—Famine of 1709—Royal Plate once more sent to the Mint—Military Reverses—Egotism of Louis XIV.—The Duke de Fronsac—Children of the Duchess de Bourgoyne—Death of the Duke de Bourbon-Condé—Marriage of the Duke de Berri; his Portrait—Character of his Bride—The Union an unhappy one—The Children of the Duke du Maine created Princes of the Blood—An unpleasant Interview—Murmurs of the Courtiers—Victory of Villa Viciosa—Death of the Emperor Joseph—Public Joy—Illness and Death of the Dauphin—A Prince and his Mistress—Dispersion of the Meudon Cabal—The Duke de Bourgoyne Dauphin of France—Isolation of the Duchess de Bourbon.

Despite the attachment which the dauphin had always evinced toward Louis XIV., he had at this period attained his forty-eighth year, and was suspected of looking anx-

ously toward the throne which he was one day to inherit. The extreme jealousy with which the king had excluded him from all participation in public affairs, long after his age had rendered him eligible to assume the position to which he was entitled by his birth, and the unconquerable timidity which rendered him almost powerless in his presence, had become alike irksome and mortifying; while there were several about him who did not scruple to murmur openly at the long duration of a reign whose glory had for many years grown dim.

That the prince listened at least complaisantly to these regrets is evident, from the fact that the Duchess de Bourgoyné on one of her visits to Meudon, found him, in company with Mademoiselle Choin, the ladies Lillebonne, and the Duchess de Chartres, seated before a table on which lay a folio volume of engravings, representing the details of a coronation, which they were examining with so much earnestness that even her entrance did not cause them to abandon their occupation; and the heart of the young duchess swelled as she listened to the comments of the ladies by whom he was surrounded, and by which he was evidently both amused and gratified, as they identified him with the several ceremonies.

The imprudence of this proceeding was manifest and dangerous; and had the princess desired to revenge the slight and contumely to which both herself and her husband were exposed at the court of Meudon, they had placed an efficient weapon in her hands; for although possessed of talents and virtues of which a father might justly have been proud, the Duke de Bourgoyne experienced neither confidence nor affection from the dauphin, who had been taught by those about him to look with distrust and suspicion on a son toward whom Louis XIV. had latterly evinced an affection too long withheld.

The prejudices which had been infused into the mind of MONSEIGNEUR, and the satisfaction which he derived

from the mortification of his son, were, indeed, rendered painfully obvious during the Flemish campaign in 1708, where M. de Bourgoyne commanded the army, having as his lieutenant-general the Duke de Vendôme, one of the supporters of the cabal of Meudon, and where he experienced the greatest affronts to which a prince of the blood was ever exposed by a subject.

On the 20th of January, 1709, Père la Chaise expired, at the age of eighty years, during thirty-two of which he had been the director of the royal conscience. Upon several occasions, even while both his health and his intellect continued unimpaired, he had requested permission of the king to resign so responsible an office; but his petition was rejected, and thus he was compelled to pursue his arduous task with the increasing anxiety attendant upon a consciousness that he should become each year less equal to perform it efficiently. Naturally mild and conciliating, as well as just and generous, he rarely overstepped the limits of his actual position, and even then, never, save in one fatal instance, in other than a rightful cause; while it is matter of historical record that in this solitary case he was compelled by the society of Jesuits, of which he was a member, and who exercised over him at once a watchful jealousy and a stringent control, to urge a measure against which his heart and his conscience alike revolted.

We allude, of course, to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that awful atrocity which deluged the French provinces in blood, and cast an eternal stigma on the name and reign of Louis XIV.

Armed as he was by his moral authority over the monarch, Père la Chaise betrayed neither avarice, ambition, nor revenge; and although firmly Jesuitical in principle, proved an inefficient instrument in the hands of the society, from his aversion to violence and aggression, while he was, moreover, so wanting in energy, that his indulgence was frequently inimical to the rigid performance

of his religious functions. The king, on one occasion, related a reply made to him by the venerable ecclesiastic, which would amply suffice to prove this fact, were it not gratifying to believe that it was induced by the memorable persecution of the Calvinists.

"I reproached him one day," said Louis XIV., "with being too supine, when he answered, 'It is not I who am supine, but you who are too harsh.'"

His charities were, moreover, unbounded, and his disinterestedness the proverb of the court. Party spirit has sought to injure him in the opinion of posterity; but its voice is now silenced, and justice is at length done to the memory of the good but weak old man. He was for a considerable period intrusted with the distribution of the church livings, and displayed considerable judgment in his task; but at length the Jesuits, wearied of his gentleness and forbearance, by which their more ambitious aims were frustrated, intimated to him that it was time he should retire from office. Père la Chaise, thus supported in his own views, consequently preferred his request even more urgently than ever to the monarch: he pleaded his increasing years, his failing intellect, his physical prostration, and implored His Majesty to leave him time to prepare himself for another world, and to suffer him to lay down a responsibility to which he was no longer equal.

Louis XIV. was, however, resolute; and neither the trembling limbs, the failing memory, nor the lethargic habits of the superannuated confessor could induce him to supply his place; and thus, on the specified days and hours he continued to shut himself up with this living corpse, and to regulate with him all the affairs of his conscience. At length, however, on the morrow of one of these periodical journeys to Versailles, Père la Chaise became so seriously indisposed that the sacraments were administered, and he had no sooner partaken of them than he requested that writing materials should be brought to his bedside, when,

with much difficulty, he addressed a somewhat lengthy letter to the king, which was immediately answered by the monarch with his own hand, and thenceforward the octagenarian confessor devoted himself entirely to God.

Two brother Jesuits watched beside his pillow, the Père le Tellier, provincial of the order, and the Père Daniel, director of the seminary. During the intervals of prayer these officials put two questions to the dying man, the first of which was, whether he had fulfilled all the requirements of his conscience? and the second, if, during his last hours of influence over the king, he had secured the welfare and honor of the society? To their inquiries he answered that his conscience was at peace, and that it would soon be seen that he had done his duty to the brotherhood. After having given this double assurance to his companions, the exhausted old man was permitted to expire in peace; and a few hours subsequently he breathed his last.

At the *lever* of Louis XIV. two other Jesuits presented themselves, and delivered to the king the keys of his late confessor's cabinet, in which he had left a number of papers, supposed to be confidential. They were courteously received; and in the presence of the assembled attendants the monarch moreover uttered an earnest panegyric on the virtues of the deceased ecclesiastic.

For several years Père la Chaise had strongly urged his royal penitent to select his successor from the Society of Jesus, earnestly impressing upon him both the avowed and covert power to which its members had attained, and the danger to which he would inevitably expose himself by choosing his confessor from any other brotherhood; and this was a suggestion which was not likely to be disregarded. The king was anxious to enjoy the remnant of his existence in peace; and he accordingly dispatched the dukes de Chevreuse and de Beauvilliers to ascertain which individual of the society was, in every point of

view, the most worthy of the honor he was about to confer, when their selection fell upon Père le Tellier.*

To Louis XIV. this Jesuit was personally unknown, nor had he even been aware of his existence until, a short time previous to his death, when Père la Chaise had included his name in a list which he delivered to the king, and in which he had particularized the individuals whom he considered the most eligible to succeed to the high office that must so soon become vacant.

Michel le Tellier was heart and soul a Jesuit, having passed through all the degrees of the society, and been in turn professor, theologian, rector, provincial, and controversialist. Jealous of the honor and advancement of his own order, he was merciless toward every other religious sect; an able and zealous proselytist, he was unscrupulous as to the means by which he insured his object; and self-centered and cold, he had no sympathy with his fellow-men, not even with those of his own confraternity, save as they advocated his principles and facilitated his measures.

His intellect, at once concentrated, determined, and indefatigable, was incessantly applied to questions of importance; and he disdained, or rather could not comprehend, the cultivation of those more refined and elegant accomplishments by which it would have been at once relieved and embellished. A resolute enemy of amusement and relaxation of every description, he exacted from others the same perpetual labor to which he was himself devoted; and, gifted with a frame of iron, and a power of mental endurance almost unparalleled, would never admit the necessity of rest. In disposition he was deceitful, treacherous, and cunning; ever misleading those who con-

* Michel le Tellier was a native of Vère in Normandy, was born in 1543, the son of a poor peasant, and in 1661 entered the Society of Jesuits. He pursued his studies in the college of Louis le Grand, and ultimately died in exile at La Flèche in 1719. He was a member of the French Academy.

fided in his sincerity, and then sneering at the dupes whom he had made.

Rapacious and exacting, his hand was extended only to receive; egotistical and avaricious, his heart was closed against every appeal; prompt to promise, and equally ready to falsify his pledge when it interfered with closer interests, he was unrelenting in his vengeance upon those who reproached him with his perfidy; ignorant of the most common courtesies of civilized society, and retaining all the original coarseness of his birth, he was nevertheless insolent and overbearing. In fine, he was a man to shun, and an enemy to deprecate, for his whole nature was absorbed in the single idea of self-aggrandizement and personal revenge. At once hard and impetuous, his heart resembled a volcano, whose lava, when it has ceased to burn, turns into stone.

On the occasion of his first presentation, Louis XIV. saw himself approached by a man of repulsive exterior, with a gloomy physiognomy, a ferocious squint, and a dogged but still ill-assured demeanor. As soon as he was announced, and had advanced into the cabinet, the monarch inquired, with a smile, if he were a relative as well as a namesake of his former minister.

"I, sire!" exclaimed the Jesuit, with a reverence so profound that it seemed as though he sought to humble himself to the very earth—"I a kinsman of the minister! I am, indeed, far from advancing such a claim, being merely the son of a poor peasant of Lower Normandy."

Such was the advent of Michel le Tellier at court, where his name was soon to become the watchword of terror and persecution.*

In the same year France was visited by a fearful famine. The olive-trees of the south proved barren, the fruit-trees remained leafless, and brought forth no produce, while the corn perished on the ground before the seed had formed.

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

The storehouses throughout the kingdom being exhausted, an effort was made to import grain from the Levant, but the merchant-ships were captured by the vessels of the enemy; and while the French army was daily perishing from hunger, the Dutch were vending to the hostile forces, without increase of price, every description of provision.

Once more Louis XIV. sent his plate to the mint, but he did so in direct opposition to the advice of the chancellor and the controller-general, who represented in vain that, while such a measure was inefficient to supply the wants of the people, it betrayed the extent of their distress to the enemy. Famine rendered the populace desperate; and, for the first time, Louis the Great was condemned to see himself placarded ignominiously, not only in the public thoroughfares, but even upon the pedestals of the statues which had been erected in his honor. The dauphin, whose popularity had never failed, dared no longer be seen in the streets of the capital, for his carriage was no sooner recognized than it was surrounded by famishing crowds, who cried aloud to him for bread, and he was unable to comply with their demands. In this extremity a new tax was proposed, which was named the *tax of the tenths*, from its involving a tenth of the revenue—a burden so excessive that it was for a considerable time resisted by the monarch, who felt that, however it might be justified by the necessities of the crisis, the imposition was so heavy as to leave upon his mind considerable doubt as to his right to levy so extreme a contribution. This scruple was, however, removed by his confessor, and a week subsequently the edict was promulgated.

The conscience of the king was tranquillized by the recollection that his own sacrifice had produced the sum of four hundred thousand livres, that most of the principal nobles had followed his example, and that Madame de Maintenon no longer ate any but oaten bread; and under

these circumstances he did not even hesitate to propose a peace with Holland.

Well, indeed, might Louis XIV. sigh for peace, when he was compelled to witness the fearful exigencies which had been the result of his headlong and uncompromising ambition. He had lost, successively, the four great battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Turin, and Malplaquet. By the first defeat he had been deprived not only of a formidable army, but also of all the country situated between the Danube and the Rhine, while the same engagement had cost the hereditary possessions of his ally, the Prince of Bavaria; Ramillies had involved the loss of the whole of Flanders, and a retreat which had only been arrested at the gates of Lille; Turin had wrested from him the possession of Italy, with the exception of a few fortified towns, and even these were ready to be surrendered to the Emperor of Germany in consideration of his permitting a free passage to the fifteen thousand men by whom they were then garrisoned; and, finally, the battle of Malplaquet had driven back the French arms from the banks of the Sambre to Valenciennes.

Nothing could exceed the gloom which hung over the court. For the first time it did not pause upon the royal threshold, but made its scowl visible even in the sculptured galleries of Versailles, and in the gilded saloons of Marly, where, instead of the heaps of gold which had so lately cumbered the tables and changed owners on the fortune of a card, the great and the haughty were to be seen testing the oats, and barley, and pulse, which had been fashioned into bread, in order to decide which would suffice the best, if not to satisfy, at least to cheat, the hunger of an exhausted populace.

The only resource of the king in this time of trouble he found in the affection and the fascinations of the Duchess de Bourgoyne, whose power over his heart continued unabated. She was, however, long ere she recovered her

spirits after the death of *Monsieur;* and she had scarcely done so, when, having imprudently bathed after eating a quantity of fruit, she became seriously indisposed; and as this illness occurred during the month of August, at which period the king was accustomed to visit Marly, and as his affection even for herself was not sufficiently disinterested to induce him either to defer his own removal, or to leave her to terminate her recovery at Versailles, she was compelled to bear him company—a fatigue which so greatly exasperated the worst symptoms of her disorder, that she was soon declared to be at the point of death, and this was no sooner the case than the monarch, Madame de Maintenon, and the Duke de Bourgoyne were in despair, believing that the prediction of the astrologer was about to be verified.

Youth and a happy constitution, however, ultimately triumphed, and she was no sooner declared convalescent than Louis XIV., anxious to return to Versailles, was about to destroy all the new-born hopes to which this amendment had given birth, by once more dragging her from her bed to perform a second journey; nor was it without much difficulty that the entreaties of Madame de Maintenon, and the declaration of the physicians that this new exertion must inevitably prove fatal, prevailed with him to delay his departure for another week, at the termination of which interval the invalid was transported from her bed at Meudon, to that at Versailles, where she was compelled to remain a prisoner for a considerable period.

The convalescence of the duchess was still progressing when a new courtier made his appearance in the royal circle, who at once attracted universal attention. Francis Armand, Duke de Fronsac, subsequently so famous under the reign of Louis XV. as the Duke de Richelieu, was then barely fifteen years of age, and had already become the husband of Mademoiselle de Noailles, in virtue of a compact made between their mutual parents three years

before his birth. The resolute estrangement of the boy-duke from his enforced bride, combined with his extraordinary personal beauty and fearless disposition, at once made him the idol of the court, where he had no sooner arrived than he became passionately attached to the Duchess de Bourgoyne, who, on her side, received his homage with an imprudence which soon rendered their mutual preference a matter of so much publicity that the king. indignant alike at the presumption of De Fronsac and the levity of his granddaughter, condemned the young duke to the Bastille, where, for fourteen months, he remained a close prisoner, little suspecting that he was then merely serving his apprenticeship to captivity, and that he was fated to find himself, on four different occasions, an inmate of the same royal and gloomy fortress.

Amid all these intrigues the duchess had, meanwhile, become the mother of two sons, one of whom was already dead, while the other was not long destined to survive and who had each received at its birth the appellation of Duke de Bretagne.*

Three important events took place in the family of Louis XIV. during the year 1710: the death of the Duke de Bourbon-Condé, his son-in-law; the marriage of his grandson, the Duke de Berri; and the rank conceded to the offspring of the Duke du Maine.

M. de Bourbon survived his father, the prince Henri Jules de Condé, only eleven months; and thus passed his whole life in a state of mental and moral vassalage to a stern and capricious father. He was brave, passionate, generous, and satirical, sparing neither friend nor foe in his moments of anger or in his intervals of bitterness, and at once a fond, a jealous, and an imperious husband. By his death a second of the daughters of the king became a widow.

After speaking of a prince who at once destroyed his

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

own happiness and that of those about him, turn we to another, whose amiable qualities, estimable virtues, and winning disposition, secured to him the hearts of all around him, save, unfortunately, that over which he the most strenuously sought to obtain an empire. The Duke de Berri, the third son of the dauphin, was at once good-looking and graceful, fond of society and social pleasures, accessible and courteous, utterly devoid of personal vanity, but by no means deficient in dignity. Full of good sense and manliness, an accomplished listener, and of sound judgment, he was truthful, just, and pious, but without either asceticism or gloom. Possessed of considerable firmness, he could not endure restraint—a fact which induced apprehensions that, as he attained to manhood, he would not prove so amenable as might be desired in a younger branch of the royal family—and, in consequence, he received so many and such violent checks, that he became timid and embarrassed in all affairs of business. His governors and preceptors, while endeavoring to suppress his moral energies, had labored to fix his attention upon literature and science, but they only succeeded in disgusting him with both; and like the dauphin, of whom he was the favorite child, this disgust endured throughout his life. He also resembled his father in his dread of Louis XIV., and trembled when he addressed him on any subject more serious than a game of hazard or the details of a hunt.

Two princesses aspired to his hand for their daughters—the Duchess de Bourbon and the Duchess d'Orleans. The first was high in the favor of the dauphin, and the second in that of Madame de Maintenon, with whom she cultivated a close friendship, and of whose influence she had the greatest need, in order to secure the success of her hopes. Mademoiselle d'Orleans, even at an early age, was dissipated, vain of her personal charms, and initiated into all the vices of a court life. Slander had already been busy with her name; but she was no sooner made aware of the pos

sibility which there existed of her one day becoming the wife of the Duke de Berri, than she conducted herself with so much art, and cast so impervious a veil over her natural propensities, that for two years previously to her marriage Madame de Maintenon heard constant encomiums upon her modesty and retiring habits.

Convinced that her fortune depended upon her deportment, Mademoiselle d'Orleans at Versailles was at once so graceful and so exemplary that no suspicion was entertained of her real disposition; and the constraint to which she thus voluntarily subjected herself was the less extraordinary, as at the age of twelve years, some time before she appeared at court, on discovering that she was likely to increase in size, and thus to mar her beauty, she had resolutely condemned herself to abstinence and exercise, although naturally both sensual and indolent.*

The marriage proved unfortunate. The extreme affection of the prince, and the readiness with which he acceded to the caprices of his beautiful young wife, might have produced a happy effect upon a less faulty disposition, but could have no such result as regarded the new duchess, who, from the very day succeeding their union, revenged herself upon the restraint of the last two years, and showed herself in all her haughtiness and impropriety. For her husband she disdained even to affect attachment, openly ridiculing his intellect, and making a jest of what she termed his bigotry. Her egotism and irregularity were a constant misery to the duke, who, thralled as he was by her extreme loveliness, could not remain blind to her vices; while the Duchess de Bourgoyne, who had strenuously exerted herself to forward the marriage, and who had believed that it would prove a new source of happiness to herself, was compelled to feel that she had only raised up another and a formidable enemy, who, jealous of her influence over the king, and of the increasing favor of her hus-

* Lettres de Madame de Caylus.

band, was covertly exerting every stratagem to separate the brothers, in which attempt she was, however, frustrated by their mutual affection.

While zealously employed in securing advantageous establishments to his daughters, Louis XIV. had, however, by no means been unmindful of the interests of his legitimated sons; and a feeling of compunction made him look with different eyes upon the children who had been born to the throne and those who could advance their claim only through himself. He regarded the first as the offspring of the nation, great in themselves, and requiring no extraneous privileges; while he looked upon the last as blameless but unfortunate beings, separated by law from the crown, and depending solely upon his own power.

Pride and affection alike urged their cause; and to withdraw them from their position of enforced inferiority, was a resolution which flattered his vanity as much as it gratified his heart. In 1694 Louis XIV. had given, both to the Duke du Maine and to the Count de Toulouse, the precedence over all the other peers; but this distinction was merely personal, and the children of the Duke du Maine were without tangible rank. The reflection was painful to him; and, accordingly, on the evening of the 15th of March, 1710, when he had risen from supper, and given the order of the day according to his usual habit, he walked with even more than his accustomed gravity to the outer cabinet, where he was followed by the court; and placing himself before his *fauteuil*, but still remaining seated, he glanced slowly round the circle, and then, without addressing any particular individual, he declared that from that hour he gave to the children of the Duke du Maine the same rank and the same honors held by their father.

A deep silence followed this announcement, and before it ceased the monarch passed on into his private closet, desiring the dauphin and the Duke de Bourgoyne to follow. The princes obeyed; and then, for the first time in his life,

the proud and absolute sovereign humbled himself before his son and his grandson, and entreated them, when they should reign in their turn, to secure to the offspring of the Duke du Maine the privileges which he had just accorded to them, from affection for himself, and in consideration of his attachments for their parents; adding that he was then old, and that he asked this favor of them out of the respect which they would bear to his memory.

The princes remained silent; and, at length, hopeless of receiving an answer, the king summoned to the conference the Duke du Maine, who was pacing the outer cabinet, where no word had yet been spoken; and, leaning heavily upon his shoulder in order to compel him to bend before the princes, he again reiterated his request, to which they replied only by a few inaudible words. The Duke du Maine, becoming alarmed lest they should resist the appeal, then voluntarily moved a step forward, and prepared to throw himself at their feet, when Louis XIV., with tears streaming from his eyes, implored the dauphin and his son to embrace the duke in his presence, as an earnest of their consent. The princes, more and more bewildered, merely, however, stammered a few more inarticulate and unmeaning words, and the king walked back to his chair.

All was still silent; and after the pause of a moment he again glanced round the assembly, observing that it would afford him pleasure that the court should offer their congratulations to the Duke du Maine—a command which was complied with on the instant; and while the discomfited courtiers were engaged in this ungenial duty, an order was given by the monarch to the grand master of the ceremonies to record the event in his register.

The crowd had, however, no sooner quitted the state apartments than a general murmur rose on all sides. The feelings of the dauphin and the Duke de Bourgoyne had been sufficiently visible throughout the whole ceremony to assure the assistants that by them at least the common dis-

content would be appreciated; nor was it long ere the king, whose spies were dispersed throughout the palace, was informed of the universal clamor raised against the measure which he had just adopted; and, wounded and alarmed, he was on the point of retracting his given promise, when Madame de Maintenon, by whom he had been urged to this unpopular demonstration, called to her aid the Duke and Duchess du Maine, who, assisted by their partisans, surrounded the wavering monarch with flatteries and encomiums, expatiating on his power, his justice, and his generosity, and assuring him that the promptitude with which his wishes had been obeyed by the whole court sufficiently testified the ardor with which they entered into his views, while the citizens were, on their side, unanimous in their applause.

Louis XIV. was old: in his most palmy days he had been gratified by the servility of those about him; and now, when he was bowed by years, and that his laurels had been rudely rent, he clung more tenaciously than ever to his power of compelling obedience. For a while he hesitated; but the blandishments of his daughter-in-law, the arguments of Madame de Maintenon, and the entreaties of the Duke du Maine proved irresistible, and the decision was not revoked.*

The famous victory of Villa Viciosa, gained by the Duke de Vendôme, together with the death of the Emperor Joseph about this period, infused new life into the desponding kingdom of France. The league formerly formed against Louis XIV. had for its object to prevent his possessing at once France, Spain, America, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and it was now immediately felt that the succession of Charles VI. to the crown of Austria, the empire of Germany, and the pretensions of his father to Spain and America, would, if ratified by the other powers, become as fatal an imprudence as that

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

which they had previously labored to prevent, and rendered the Emperor of Germany as powerful as they had dreaded to behold the King of France.

Paris was in a turmoil of delight; Versailles teemed with joy and gratulation. The glories of past years appeared to live again; but the old age of Louis XIV. was fated to expiate the errors of his youth. In April, 1711, the dauphin, when on his way to Meudon, encountered at Chaville a priest who was carrying the holy viaticum to a dying man. He immediately stopped his carriage, alighted, and with the Duchess de Bourgoyne, by whom he was accompanied, knelt until the priest had passed, when, on inquiring of what malady the sufferer was dying, he was informed that it was small-pox. This disorder was the perpetual terror of the dauphin, who had been only slightly affected by it in his youth, and he shuddered at the reply, although at the moment he made no remark; but on the same evening, when conversing with his physician, he observed that he should be by no means surprised if, in a few days, he were attacked by the disease.

On the following day he rose at his usual hour, in order to attend a wolf hunt, but, while dressing, he became faint, and fell back in his chair. His physician immediately compelled him to return to bed; and he had scarcely complied ere he was seized with fever. An hour subsequently the king was informed of his indisposition; but he attached no importance to the circumstance, believing it to be merely one of those temporary ailments to which the prince was subject. The Duke and Duchess de Bourgoyne, however, although far from apprehending the extent of the danger, hurried to his bedside, and lavished upon him all the care and watchfulness which must otherwise have devolved upon his attendants; nor did they quit him for an instant until they were compelled to attend the supper of the king, whom they assured of the gravity of the dauphin's attack.

On the ensuing morning Louis XIV. was assured, on his awaking, that the life of the prince was in extreme peril, when he instantly declared that he should hasten to Meudon, and remain there, whatever might be the nature of the disease, until the recovery of his son, forbidding at the same time that any one should follow him who had not previously had the small-pox, particularly any member of the royal family.

The disease in due time declared itself, and the prince rallied so perceptibly that he was believed to be out of danger—an announcement which so thoroughly tranquilized the king that he presided at the council, and worked with his ministers as usual, paying two and sometimes three visits a-day to the invalid, and on every occasion approaching his bed side. As the convalescence progressed, the Dames de la Halle, the faithful adherents of the dauphin, once more appeared to tender their congratulations; and the prince, grateful for this unswerving attachment, caused them once more to be admitted to his chamber—an indulgence which they repaid with such enthusiasm that they rushed toward his bed, and kissed his feet through the coverlet; after which they retired again to sing a *Te Deum*, and to rejoice the capital with the intelligence of the recovery.

Thus did things progress until the 14th, when Monseigneur complained of increased suffering; his face became frightfully swelled, his fever augmented, and he fell into delirium. The Princess de Conti approached his bed, and spoke to him, but he did not recognize her.

At four in the afternoon he had sunk so perceptibly that his physician proposed additional advice; but Fagon, who was present, positively refused to admit any further aid, and peremptorily forbade that the monarch should be informed of this relapse until he had supped; and, accordingly, the king was actually at table while the august invalid continued to sink in so rapid a manner that all those about him were at once terrified and bewildered

Fagon himself, alarmed at the responsibility which he had assumed, applied one remedy upon another, but all were without effect, while the curate of Meudon, who went every evening to the palace to ascertain the health of the prince, on reaching the stair-case, finding the doors open and the attendants absent, entered at once into the sick-chamber, and rushing toward the dying man, flung himself upon his knees, and began to talk to him of another world.

The dauphin was still conscious, but he had nearly lost the power of articulation. The priest, however, wrung from him a few disjointed words, intended as a confession, dictated to him a few prayers, which the expiring dauphin attempted to follow, as he beat his breast feebly with his nerveless hand, and the curate was repaid for his pious zeal by the gentle pressure of the sick man's fingers.

The king had just risen from table when Fagon met him with a look of terror, exclaiming that there was no longer any hope, for that the dauphin was then dying.

Louis XIV. staggered, and had nearly fallen; but rallying on the instant, he hurried toward the chamber of his son, and was about to enter, when the Princess de Conti thrust him back, exclaiming that he must henceforward think only of himself. The blow was too sudden, and the aged monarch fainted upon a sofa, which he afterward refused to quit, demanding of every one who left the chamber if his son were indeed beyond help. Madame de Maintenon endeavored in vain to induce him to retire; he persisted in his determination to remain upon the spot until the dauphin was no longer in life.

The last agony endured throughout an hour, and for the whole of that period Louis XIV. sat near the door of the death-room, until at length Fagon announced that all was over; when he tottered toward his chamber, supported by Madame de Maintenon, the Duchess de Bourgoyne, and the Princess de Conti; and the king had no sooner

left Meudon than all the courtiers who were in the palace hurried as usual, to escape in their turn, taking possession of the first carriages which drew up, without waiting to ascertain the names of their owners. In half an hour Meudon was deserted.

The Feuillants,* who, according to the privilege of their order, claimed the right of praying beside the body of the prince, were not permitted to perform this sacred duty; and the remains of the dauphin were left during forty-eight hours in the chapel, perfectly deserted, until Dumont, the faithful attendant of MONSEIGNEUR, indignant at so indecent a disregard of the common usages of civilized society, summoned from their cloister six Capuchin monks of the convent of Meudon, who, in default of the privileged Feuillants, repeated the service for the dead, and performed the customary duties toward the body of the prince.

These preparatory rites were, however, very inefficiently concluded; for the corpse was deposited unembalmed in a plain coffin, standing upon tressels, which was not even covered by the royal pall sprinkled with *fleurs-de-lis*, habitually used for members of the royal family, but simply by that of the parish church of Meudon, while the funeral procession was equally undignified and squalid. The body was placed in a bright-colored carriage, which, being too short, permitted a portion of the coffin to appear

* A religious fraternity which originated at Feuillants, a village near Rieux (Upper Garonne) in 1575, and was founded by John de la Barrière. The monks went barefooted and bareheaded, slept on planks, used only earthen vessels, and ate upon their knees; but a general chapter of the order held in 1595 ameliorated in some degree the severity of these rules. The order was divided into two congregations—that of France being known as Our Lady of the Feuillants, and that of Italy as the Reformed Brothers of St. Bernard. The costume was a white robe without a scapulary, a hood of the same color, round in the front, and terminating in a point behind. The Feuillants possessed in France eighty communities and an hospital.

beyond it; and not a single mourning-coach followed to the grave the son of Louis XIV. and the heir to the throne of France.

The indignation of the populace, as this strange procession made its way to the royal vaults of St. Denis, was loudly and fearlessly expressed. "Why did they not demand a subscription?" was asked by several in the crowd; "the citizens of Paris would gladly have contributed a million of livres to have saved the court so deep a degradation as this!" "Where," demanded others, "are the dukes of Bourgoyne and Berri? Where are the sons of the dead prince?" but they asked in vain: those who followed the dauphin to his last resting place were knit to him by no ties of blood.*

The hands of strangers stretched him in his tomb.

The king regretted in the dead prince a respectful son, whose docility and obedience had never failed; while the nation saw the hope which it had entertained from the known goodness of his character frustrated forever. To the courtiers, however, his death was a relief; for they had begun to feel their position difficult, between a monarch whose robust old age gave promise of a prolonged life, and a prince who, in his fiftieth year, had begun to weary of his dependence.

The actual blank left by his death was merely that occasioned by his high station; for as regarded his individuality he was almost *nul.* Obstinate beyond measure, his life had been a mere tissue of puerilities, to which he had attached all the importance that others would have reserved for great and striking events. Mild from indolence rather than from temperament, he was fearful of yielding to anger from the disagreeable effect which it invariably produced upon his system; while, familiar to excess with his attendants, he entered into the most minute details of their several duties and expenditure, and ques-

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf.

tioned them in a manner which occasionally produced the most extraordinary impression.

Utterly insensible to the sorrows or sufferings of others, and reserved to a degree which closed his lips upon every subject save those in which he chanced to be immediately interested, he never, throughout the whole of their acquaintance, made a single communication even to Mademoiselle Choin on politics, or any other topic of public interest; and the only occasion upon which he ever evinced any anxiety as to her own fate in the event of his death, was when he departed for the army, and on taking leave placed a paper in her hand which he desired her to read. This was a will, in which he had bequeathed to her an income of a hundred thousand livres; but Mademoiselle Choin had no sooner cast her eyes over the document than she tore it into fragments, remarking that while he lived she could desire no such sacrifice, and that, should she have the misfortune to survive him, a thousand crowns annually would suffice for her subsistence in a convent, which amount she had already inherited from her family.

At the death of the prince Mademoiselle Choin redeemed her word. She had never received from her royal lover (or husband) more than sixteen hundred louis each year, which he paid her every quarter, placing the money in her hand on the appointed day, without the subtraction or addition of a livre. Nor was he less matter-of-fact at the period of his death, having taken Mademoiselle Choin strictly at her word, and never once mentioned her name in any one of the multitudinous papers which he left behind him. The monarch was, however, more generous; for upon the demise of the dauphin he conferred upon her, unsolicited, a pension of ten thousand livres, when she immediately withdrew from the court, and, establishing herself at Paris, lived to an advanced age in perfect retirement.

With the dauphin expired the cabal of Meudon, which had long been tottering to its fall. The Prince de Vaude-

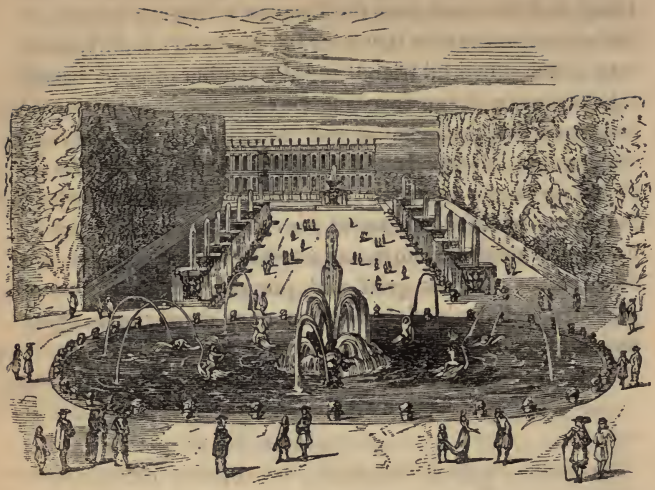
mont,* who had been its chief support, had lost his favor in consequence of the defection of the princes of Lorraine, who were his cousins, and whose conduct he was suspected to have sanctioned, and had consequently no hold upon the court save through his nieces, the ladies Lillebonne; while even this was broken by the marriage of Elizabeth with Louis de Melun, prince of Epinoi, who, once secure herself, cultivated the friendship of Madame de Maintenon, to whom she revealed the secrets of her party, in order to insure her reception by the court; while her sister, who could not brook mere toleration where she had so long reigned through the favor of the dauphin, and was moreover conscious that she had, by her ill offices, irritated the Duchess de Bourgoyne, departed for Lorraine with her uncle, where she proposed to reside for a few months, until she had determined her future plans.

During that period, the small-pox having carried off several of the children of the Duchess de Lorraine, and among others a daughter of eight years of age, whom she had recently caused to be elected Abbess of Remiremont, the abbey was offered to the acceptance of Mademoiselle de Lillebonne, and she succeeded to the dignity with an income of forty thousand livres.

After this event the remainder of the circle dispersed. The two daughters of the king, who had been sincerely attached to the dauphin, were very differently affected by his loss. The Princess de Conti withdrew into comparative retirement, and found consolation in the society of a few chosen friends, by whom she was continually surrounded; while the grief of the Duchess de Bourbon-Condé, which was at first immoderate, was not lessened by the position in which she found herself when deprived of his support. Disliked by Madame de Maintenon, in open rupture not

* The Prince de Vaudemont was celebrated for his famous retreat before the Marshal de Villeroy, after the battle of Namur, when he was about to be attacked by an army of 24,000 men.

only with the Duchess de Bourgoyne, but also with the Duke du Maine, and with the Duchess d'Orleans, her sister, she was, moreover, at law with her husband's family, destitute of one powerful friend, and the mother of a son barely eighteen years of age, two daughters approaching to womanhood, over whom she had already lost all control, and several children yet infants. In this position she found herself compelled to regret even her husband and her father-in-law, for whose loss she had never previously mourned; but as hers was a nature by no means adapted to despondency, she shortly shook off her grief, and, plunging into a vortex of pleasure and dissipation, became once more the haughty and unprincipled woman of former days.



CHAPTER XXVII.

Increasing Confidence of Louis XIV. in the Duke de Bourgoyne; its Effect upon his Character; his Court; his Mode of Life; his Political Liberality—Heedlessness and ready Wit of the Dauphiness—The fatal Present—The Dauphiness poisoned; her Death—Regrets of the Nation—Sickness and Death of the Dauphin—Despair of Louis XIV.—The Duke de Bretagne declared Dauphin; his Death—The treble Interment—The Duchess de Ventadour—Narrow Escape of the Duke d'Anjou—Death of the Duke de Berri—Accusation against the Duke d'Orleans—Popular Tumult—Court Factions—The Duke d'Orleans applies to be put on his Trial; is refused—Mediation of M. de Pontchartrain—Departure of the Duke from Paris—Unpopularity of Louis XIV.—Profligacy of the Duchess de Berri—Private Sorrows of the King.

Louis XIV., after the death of his son, became more unreserved with the Duke de Bourgoyne, who, on the demise of his father, assumed in his turn the title of dauphin

He forthwith began to confide to him the national diplomacy, and to invest him with an importance to which he had never hitherto attained; and the result of this policy was immediately perceptible. The prince, who had until this period been timid, self-centered, constrained, and cold, become affable, accessible, and less disposed to render inconveniently conspicuous his extraordinary erudition; by which (perhaps involuntary) habit he had estranged the late dauphin—who, conscious of his own mental deficiency, could not brook the superiority of his son—and occasionally humbled the king, who was the more inclined to take offense upon the slightest pretext, that Madame de Maintenon spared no exertion to injure the duke in the estimation of the monarch, in order that he should not obtain credit in the event of his complaining of the levity of his wife.*

Hitherto M. de Bourgoyne had appeared, when in the court circle, like a man who felt that he was wasting time which might have been more worthily employed; shrinking before the mortifications to which he was exposed from the Meudon cabal, and spending entire days in his study, where he divided his hours between works of devotion and books of science. The surprise was consequently great and general when he was seen to unbend, and to show himself frequently in public; to do the honors of Marly with a face beaming in smiles, and gradually to substitute for the puerilities which had heretofore composed the conversation of the circle, subjects combining interest with amusement; which, from their very novelty, enchained the attention of the courtiers, who felt that they were obtaining information even while the time passed more speedily than it had ever previously done, either at the gaming-table or in the idle gossip of the court.

It is, however, by no means doubtful that, blended with

* Letters de Madame Charlotte-Elizabeth de Bavière, Duchesse d'Orleans.

this new faculty of enjoyment, the noble guests of Meudon found an added charm in the eloquence and intellect of their new idol, when they remembered that he was now the heir to the French throne, and contemplated the promise which he gave of filling it with a dignity and ability far superior to those which had been possessed by his father. Nothing could exceed the rapidity with which he won the admiration, the esteem, and the attachment of those with whom he came into contact, and the vehemence with which they disclaimed their former estimate of his character. The Duke de Beauvilliers was besieged with exclamations of wonder, but he admitted no change in the actual disposition of his pupil; such as he now appeared in public, as he declared, such he had always been in private, while it was merely circumstances which had developed his natural qualities, and not those qualities which had been the growth of circumstances.

Madame de Maintenon, enchanted by the popularity of the Duke de Bourgoyne, because it reflected upon the dauphiness, and delighted to see the grandson of the king give promise of a future fraught with honor, also abdicated all her ill will, and, by embracing his interests and forwarding his views, materially augmented the tardy attachment of the king himself. She initiated the prince into the demeanor most agreeable to the jealous self-worship of Louis XIV., and taught him at once to adopt a more marked expression of respect and submission to his will than he had hitherto done, and to assume a more courtier-like assiduity about his person, while these attentions, strengthened by the tenderness felt by the king for the young duchess, soon produced a marked alteration in his deportment to the dauphin. Louis XIV. had never ceased to enact the sovereign toward his son, but he became a father, and an indulgent one, to his grandson.

The dauphin was at this period nearly thirty years of age, and although his career was destined to be short, it

was eminently useful to the nation, for he applied himself with vigor to the studies necessary to enable him to perform the duties to which he was apparently about to be called at no very distant period; while, in order efficiently to master this new science, he abandoned all minor pursuits, and spent his time between his religious exercises, which he somewhat abridged, and the public business, to which he paid a zealous and unwearied attention. The more he found himself agreeable and necessary to the monarch, the more submissive and self-abnegating he became, nor did he once betray a symptom of impatience to ascend the throne, upon whose step he already stood.

In his own immediate circle he showed himself anxious to be surrounded only by men of character and probity; rejected personal pomp as a mere accessory, wearisome in its action, and injurious to the interests of the people, and carried his respect for the public privileges so far as to declare that sovereigns were made for their people, and not the people for their sovereigns—a great but hitherto unacknowledged truth, which he boldly uttered unchidden in the very presence of Louis XIV. himself.

Nor was the dauphiness more constrained in the expression of her sentiments. She had now attained her twenty-seventh year, and although the graces of her girlhood had vanished, she had retained the fascinations which were originally its greatest charm, and had superadded to these the more matured dignity of graceful womanhood. At once playful and strong-minded, the king appreciated her judgment while he was soothed by her tenderness, and not even her faults had been able to alienate for a moment the affection which he had vowed to her from their first meeting.

A ready wit, which repaired the imprudence of a thoughtless disposition, was conspicuous throughout her life, and was evinced on one occasion when the conversation had turned upon the policy of Anne of England. "Aunt,"

she exclaimed heedlessly to Madame de Maintenon, "it must be confessed that in England the queens govern their kingdom more judiciously than the kings;" but immediately conscious of a mistake, perhaps more calculated than any other to wound and anger Louis XIV., she continued, in the same breath, "Do you know why? Because it is generally women who are influential under a king, and men who influence the decisions of a queen."*

On the 3d of February, 1712, the Duke de Noailles presented to the dauphiness a box of Spanish snuff, with which she was delighted; and the rather perhaps that it was a habit in which she indulged unknown to the king, whose abhorrence of tobacco in every shape we have elsewhere noticed. After having profited by this present, the duchess placed the box upon a table in her study, where she could recur to it at pleasure, while no one had access to the apartment without her special permission. On the 5th she spent a considerable part of the day with the monarch, in continual exertions to interest and amuse him, and at five o'clock retired to her apartments, where she several times had recourse to the forbidden luxury. Two hours subsequently she was attacked by shivering fits which menaced fever, and threw herself upon her bed, in order to recover sufficient strength to enable her to attend the supper of the king; but she soon found herself so much worse that she had neither energy nor courage to undertake such a fatigue.

On the following morning, however, after having suffered severely from fever throughout the night, she made an effort to rise, and although sick and stupefied, still contrived to perform her usual duties; but after sunset had a relapse which deprived her of rest, and on the morrow she complained of a sharp and settled pain above one of her temples, which was so excruciating that when the visit of the king was announced to her, she sent to implore him

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

not to enter her chamber. A few hours subsequently she became delirious, and continued so until the following day, the disease resisting every remedy, although she was copiously bled, and that opium was administered in large doses.

So sudden and extraordinary an indisposition deluged the court with dark and indignant rumors, and as at that period few sudden deaths had occurred which were not traced to other than natural causes, all the immediate attendants of the dauphiness began to question each other upon the several incidents which had preceded the attack; when it was suddenly remembered, that on the evening of the 5th, when the princess was compelled to retire to bed, she had expressed a desire to relieve her head by having recourse to the powerful snuff of the Duke de Noailles, and directed one of her ladies of honor to bring the box. The Duchess de Lude had obeyed; but she sought throughout the closet in vain—the box had disappeared; another and another lady pursued the search, but with the same result; and ultimately the dauphiness, after expressing her disappointment, desired that no further notice should be taken of the circumstance, lest it should reach the ears of the king. Now, however, it flashed terrible conviction upon the minds of her attendants. The donor himself was above suspicion, for his ardent affection for the dauphiness was well known; but there no longer existed a doubt among those who were in the secret, that, by whomsoever introduced, the poison under whose effects their beloved dauphiness was now suffering had been conveyed in that fatal snuff. Still, however, they remained silent, lest by avowing the fact they should excite the displeasure of the monarch against their mistress.

During the night of the 9th the princess fell into a stupor, despite the fever which still continued to increase in violence, and only partially recovered her consciousness at short and infrequent intervals. Certain appearances

upon her skin for a time indicated an attack of measles, but this hope vanished within four-and-twenty hours; and on the following day her condition was considered to be so hopeless, that it was intimated to her that it would be desirable to summon her confessor. This advice agitated and alarmed the dauphiness, who had not apprehended danger, although she at once consented to the proposition; but as she deferred commanding his presence, he at length entered her chamber unbidden, and proceeded to prepare her for confession. As she heard his voice, she looked toward him, to signify that she understood his exhortation, but afterward, to his great surprise, remained resolutely silent.

As it was evident that she was rapidly sinking, and equally apparent that from some inexplicable cause she felt unwilling to unburden her conscience to himself, the anxious ecclesiastic suggested to her that this was no moment for ceremony, and that, should his conjecture be a correct one, he implored her to name the individual whom she desired to see; when she immediately indicated M. Bailly, a priest of the Versailles mission. He was, however, absent; and the princess ultimately consented to receive a monk of the Order of St. Francis, named Noël, who was immediately summoned.

The repugnance evinced by Madame de Bourgoyne to confer her last confidence upon her own confessor, to whom she had ever appeared greatly attached, produced an unpleasant impression on the minds of those about her, and created unfavorable surmises as to the nature of the secrets which she had shrunk from divulging, save to a stranger. Her wishes were, however, held sacred, and on the arrival of the new functionary, the dauphin, who had never quitted her bedside since the moment in which he ascertained her danger, left the room in a state of mental agony, which, superadded to the fatigue that he had undergone, had prostrated his strength.

The confession occupied a considerable time, and at its close the monk forthwith administered extreme unction to his penitent, which he had scarcely done when the holy viaticum was announced, and the king hastened to meet it at the foot of the great stair-case. When she had communicated, the dauphiness requested that the service for the dying might be read; but she was informed that her case was not yet altogether hopeless, and was advised to make an effort to sleep.

During this time a medical consultation had been held, and it was decided that the princess should be bled in the foot, and in the event of the failure of this remedy, that an emetic should be subsequently administered—the whole science of medicine under Louis XIV. being comprised in these two operations, which, on this occasion, however, utterly failed in producing any amendment; while on the succeeding day the disorder increased so rapidly that those around the invalid became thoroughly bewildered, and permitted every one who chose to enter her chamber, although the king was still seated near her bed. Toward the evening Louis XIV. was with difficulty prevailed upon to retire, and he had not reached the door of the palace when she expired. At the foot of the great stair-case he was assisted into his carriage, drowned in tears, and so crushed by grief that he returned immediately to Marly with Madame de Maintenon, whose anguish was equal to his own; while neither the one nor the other had courage to see the dauphin before they left the house of death.

The decease of the young and amiable princess involved universal mourning, but none suffered so bitterly as her husband. Her apartment had been immediately above that of the dauphin, who, when banished from the dying bed of the sufferer by the express command of the king, had passed hours of agony, listening to every sound; but as those which were now to succeed would necessarily prove even more unendurable, he was at length prevailed

upon to leave the palace, and at seven in the morning of the 13th he threw himself into his traveling-carriage and was conveyed to Marly, where he had scarcely strength to totter to his room. The king, who was immediately apprised of his arrival, hastened to weep with him over their mutual loss; but he had no sooner looked attentively into his countenance, than he was startled at the change that the last two days, during which they had not met, had produced in his whole appearance, for his eyes were dilated and flamed with an unnatural brilliancy, while his face was covered with livid stains. Louis XIV., alarmed by these fatal symptoms, with which he had unfortunately become too familiar, instantly summoned his physicians, who declared the dauphin to be seriously indisposed, and advised him to lose no time in retiring to his bed. Their advice was followed, and once more the poor old king found himself surrounded by the terrors of another death-scene.

On the morrow the mysterious disease had made alarming progress, and the prince announced his conviction that he was not destined to survive many days; but this was so frightful an anticipation that his physicians refused to admit the possibility of such a result. On the 17th, however. his agony became so intense that he declared his entrails were on fire, and during the ensuing night sent to request that the king would permit him to receive the holy communion in his chamber. This was conceded; and at half-past seven he partook of the sacrament, which he survived only one hour.

When the fatal truth was conveyed to the aged and heart-stricken monarch, who sat on his velvet cushions in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, with his head bent down upon his breast, and his fingers tightly clasped over the hand of the Duke de Berri, who was seated at his feet, he flung his arms passionately about the neck of the young prince, exclaiming in an accent of anguish which sounded

like the last cry of despair—"Alas, my son, you alone are now left to me!"

It was a terrible moment, and the heart of the monarch sunk under the sense of his bereavement. He dared not look back upon the past, and he shuddered at the contemplation of the future. Death was about him on every side, smiting down the young and the great, and making his gilded palace at once a marvel and a mockery. None talked of consolation, for none knew whence it could come, and the gloom had fastened alike upon the hearts of all.

On the death of the Duke de Bourgoyne, the title of dauphin descended to his elder son, the Duke de Bretagne, but the name was destined to be unfortunate. This was the third son of the unhappy prince who had borne the same designation. Two were already in their graves; and only sixteen days after the decease of their father, the new dauphin and his infant brother, the Duke d'Anjou, sickened in their turn. The king felt that the hand of God was outstretched against his house; and on the first announcement of this new misfortune, commanded that they should both be baptized upon the instant.

The Duke de Bretagne had just attained his fifth year, and the Duke d'Anjou his second; and for a short time hopes were entertained that the attack might prove merely to be one of those transitory indispositions to which children are frequently subject. This error, however, was of brief duration, for on the second day the Duke de Bretagne breathed his last, and the same funeral car conveyed to the vaults of St. Denis the father, the mother, and the child.

The Duke de Bretagne had no sooner expired than the Duchess de Ventadour* established herself at the bedside of his suffering brother, where, assisted by her women, she took the whole responsibility upon herself, resisted alike

* Mademoiselle d'Houdincourt subsequently Duchess de Ventadour and lady of honor to *Madame*.

entreaties and menaces, and refused to allow the infant prince either to be bled or to swallow any drug prescribed by the physicians. Fearing, moreover, that the rumors of poison which were daily gaining ground were only too well founded, she procured from a friend an antidote, which she had received from the Duke of Savoy, and by which her own life had been some time before preserved; and to this antidote, which she immediately administered to the Duke d'Anjou, his escape from death was universally attributed.*

This opinion was the more feasible as the cry of poison had become general, and the unfortunate dauphin had been so fully convinced of the nature of his malady, that it was ascertained he had sent, while upon his bed of death, to entreat the monarch to be careful of his own life, and to avoid all contact with whatever did not reach him through sure and trustworthy hands. In this frightful conviction he had himself expired; and in this frightful conviction the sovereign of a great nation, already bowed beneath the infirmities of age and the pressure of moral suffering, was destined to live on, powerless against the evil which was mowing down all he loved, and haunted by the apprehension that he might, in his turn, become its victim.

Nor was the outstretched hand of destruction yet withdrawn. On the 4th of May, 1714, after an illness of four brief days, the Duke de Berri, to whom, in his hour of bitter bereavement Louis XIV. had clung, as to the last prop of his declining age, expired under an exhibition of the same symptoms which had destroyed his brother. He had just attained his twenty-eighth year, and was the handsomest and the most amiable of the three sons of MONSEIGNEUR, but also the most ignorant, his preceptors never having succeeded in enabling him to do more than read and write—a fact which had the effect, when he had reached manhood, of rendering him so diffident that he never ven-

* Louis XIV. et son Siècle.

tured to converse with any one save his most intimate friends, lest he should expose himself by the utterance of some absurdity.

Once more the fearful outcry which had already desolated France was heard; and this time its echo penetrated not only throughout the capital, but even into the provinces and foreign nations, which witnessed with terror and indignation the determined progress of a crime that threatened to leave the throne of France shorn of all natural support, and the last years of an aged monarch isolated and hopeless.

Of the existence of poison in this case, also, no doubt could indeed remain; and although the French people, guided to such a suspicion by some unacknowledged but powerful influence, still continued to fasten the crime upon the Duke d'Orleans, it is rendered probable by circumstances that in this instance it might have been justly traced to another hand. It is at least certain that a short period only before the death of the prince, he had been outraged by the insolence of his wife's chamberlain, to a degree which had induced him to complain with considerable bitterness to the Duke de St. Simon, his friend and confidant, of the indignities to which he was exposed through her irregularities, to which his eyes had been at length reluctantly opened. In reply, St. Simon declared that His Royal Highness was too forbearing, and would do well to complain to the king of the disgrace which the duchess was constantly entailing upon both herself and him; and this advice he followed up by placing in the hands of the dishonored husband some letters of which he had become possessed, that had passed between Madame de Berri and her chamberlain, and among others, one in which she proposed to elope with him, together with his reply, wherein he declined to take a step that must inevitably ruin his for tunes.

The poor young duke had no sooner glanced over the cor

respondence with a burning brow and a flashing eye, than he declared his determination forthwith to submit these documents to Louis XIV., and to demand an immediate separation from his guilty wife; but as the king was at the time at Rambouillet, and private business delayed M. de Berri's departure for a few hours, the duchess was informed in the interval of the animated conversation which he had held with his confidant—a fact which she had no sooner ascertained, and combined with his recent departure for Rambouillet, than she instantly suspected the motive of his sudden visit to the monarch, and ordering her carriage without the delay of a moment, she followed him with such speed that she arrived only a few minutes after him. These had, however, sufficed to afford the prince time to display the damning proofs of her guilt, upon which he was already expatiating when Madame de Berri appeared.

"How is this, sir?" asked the king as she approached: "you talk to me of an elopement, and the duchess is at Rambouillet!"

"What brings you here, madam?" demanded the duke angrily.

"I come, sir," replied the beautiful delinquent, so soon as she had calmly performed her salutations to the monarch and Madame de Maintenon, "to reproach you for the discourtesy of not having desired me to accompany you in so agreeable a visit."

"You have lost all shame!" furiously exclaimed the outraged husband.

"Because I come alone?" asked the duchess, with an affectation of ingenuousness; "you know I am not timid."

"Well might you be so, madam, nevertheless," gasped out the prince, holding toward her the fatal letters which he still clutched in his trembling hand, "aware as you are that I here hold the proofs of your dishonor."

"You surely jest!" retorted the duchess, with bitter irony; "or it may be that the memory of Your Royal Highness

is deficient upon certain points. I believe that two years ago we entered into an arrangement to which I have remained faithful, while you violate it; and yet you are the person who complain."

"Must I, then, shut my eyes to your disgraceful intrigues?"

"I have been indulgent on this point to Your Royal Highness."

"No more of this," interposed the king, indignantly; "such recriminations are unbecoming to your rank, and in my presence."

"I only request of Your Majesty to shut up my wife forthwith in a convent," cried the exasperated duke.

"And I merely beg to suggest to you, sire, the expediency of consigning my husband on the instant to a lunatic asylum," was the contemptuous retort of the duchess.

The words had, however, scarcely escaped her lips when she received a violent kick from the heavy traveling-boot of the prince, which flung her into the arms of Madame de Maintenon; and she had no sooner recovered the shock than, without one word of leave-taking even to the monarch, with a heightened color, and a haughty step, she regained her carriage, and returned with all speed to Versailles.

"I may have received no physical injury," she remarked coldly, to one of the ladies of her household, who was endeavoring to find consolation for the insult in her bodily escape; "that is indeed possible; but the mark will remain *here*"—and she placed her hand upon her heart.

Meanwhile, Louis XIV., outraged by the disrespect with which his presence had been forgotten or disregarded by his grandson, had, in the first impulse of his displeasure, raised his cane to strike him; but already alarmed at his own violence, and blushing at the unmanly action of which he had been guilty toward a woman, the Duke de Berri hastily withdrew.

Mutual error rendered mutual forgiveness, or at least its

semblance, essential both to M. and Madame de Berri; and, accordingly, the duchess professed herself satisfied with the apology offered by His Royal Highness; while the king, glad to be so easily rid of an affair which had originally threatened a more serious result, affected to forget his own share of the affront.

On the 4th of May Louis XIV. held a wolf-hunt in the forest of Marly, and among those who followed the chase were the Duke and Duchess de Berri, both of whom were in high health and spirits. The run was a long one; and the prince, with whom this was a favorite sport, having ridden hard, had become ultimately heated, and was perishing with thirst when he encountered the duchess, of whom he inquired whether she or some person of her suite could give him a draught of liquid of any description. The duchess replied in the affirmative, and handed to him from the pocket of her carriage a small bottle in a red morocco case, in which, as she affirmed, she always carried a small quantity of exquisite ratafia, in the event of overfatigue. The prince seized it with avidity, drained it to the last drop, declared it to be excellent, and returned the empty bottle to the duchess.

"I am glad to have met you so opportunely," said Madame de Berri with a smile; and so they parted.

A few hours subsequently the grandson of Louis XIV. had breathed his last.*

This extraordinary adventure, however, never became public, and suspicion still pointed toward the Duke d'Orleans, who, when he proceeded to the palace to sprinkle the body of the Duke de Berri with holy water, was subjected, on his way, to the bitter insults of an exasperated populace, and heard, as he passed along, the most atrocious accusations heaped upon his head without restraint or measure. Many pointed toward him with outstretched fingers and dark threats, and the mob appeared to have

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf.

difficulty in permitting him to pursue his journey without personal aggression. At the funeral these demonstrations were renewed with tenfold violence; and, in lieu of accents of sorrow, nothing was heard save menaces of vengeance; while so great was the public fury, that it was found necessary to take measures for his safety. In the neighborhood of the Palais-Royal, before which the procession passed, the tumult became at length so menacing, that for some moments a deed of violence was apprehended; but the sensation ultimately exhaled itself in execrations and abuse; and, meanwhile, the indignation of the courtiers, although more restrained, was not less marked. Few among them sought even to conceal the horror which they felt toward the prince, and when he attempted to address them, turned away gloomily, inquiring one of the other, if so atrocious a crime were, indeed, destined to remain unpunished, or if justice would yet be done.

The same dark suspicion had gained even the king and Madame de Maintenon. In default of direct heirs, the Duke d'Orleans became the rightful sovereign of France, and this fact, combined with the knowledge that the unfortunate prince was addicted to chemistry, and had even erected a laboratory, where, assisted by his chemist Homberg, he amused himself in experiments at that period at once extraordinary and, in the public estimation, closely allied to magic, sufficed to fasten upon him the accusation of the foulest murders.

Louis XIV. was sinking under the weight of years; the poisoned chalice appeared forever at his own lips; he was oppressed by the fearful mystery which enveloped him; and any light, however horrible, thrown upon the fatal occurrences of the last few years, seemed to his shrinking spirit preferable to the darkness by which he had been hitherto surrounded. He had supported the death of the Duke de Berri with a firmness which astonished all about him, and had commanded that the body of his grandson

should not be opened, for he shuddered at a renewal of the horrors through which he had already passed; and the funeral was no sooner performed than he terminated the mourning at Versailles.

The court was at this juncture divided into two distinct parties. The one was composed of the princes of the blood, who were represented by the houses of Orleans, Condé, and Conti, and all those scions of pure and ancient race, who gloried in their ability to display, above the portals of their palaces and on the panels of their equipages, a shield unsullied by the bar of bastardy; and to these were attached the dukes and peers whose interests were involved in the same cause: while the opposite faction was that of the legitimated princes, and consisted of the Duke du Maine, the Count de Toulouse, and the other natural children of the king; strengthened, moreover, by the influence of Madame de Maintenon, to whom they had extended a hope that she should yet become the recognized and acknowledged queen of France. The first party based their claims upon their legal rights, and the second upon their acquired privileges.

The latter struck the first blow, and it was a heavy one. The Duke d'Orleans became branded as an assassin.

The principal motive of this heartless and miserable calumny was to deprive the prince of his right of regency during the minority of the Duke d'Anjou, which must, should the plot prove successful, necessarily revert to the Duke du Maine; and Le Tellier, the confessor of Louis XIV., conscious of the undisguised hatred of the prince toward the Jesuits, of whose order he was one of the most zealous representatives, lent himself without hesitation to the faction of the bastards; and thus, while the populace vented their invectives in the public streets against the Duke d'Orleans, Le Tellier labored, less audibly but even more effectively in the confessional; repeating without compunction to his august penitent, that the death of every

prince of the royal house advanced his nephew one step nearer to the throne; expatiating upon his hidden studies as a work of destruction rather than of improvement, and compelling the harassed and bewildered monarch to lend a quailing ear to the outcry of a bribed rabble, who, on seeing the prince leave the palace, yelled out their execrations within the very hearing of their sovereign.

The Duke d'Orleans was, meanwhile, a prey to the most violent mental anguish. The Marquis de Canillac, one of his fastest friends, made his way on one occasion through the excited mob, and entered his apartment, where he found him extended upon the floor in a state of the most gloomy despair, from which his remonstrances were, for a considerable time, unable to arouse him; but once awakened from his stupor of agony, he declared his resolution to justify himself to the king.

His entrance was not forbidden, though the reception which he met was stern and cold; but the prince had already suffered too much to be discouraged by a bent brow, and he hastened to inform the monarch that he came as a suppliant, to entreat that he might be arrested and conveyed to the Bastille, to be forthwith put upon his trial. A smile of disdainful distrust settled upon the lip of Louis XIV. as he replied that he would not suffer so foul a subject to be made the cause of further scandal to the public, and that the duke would do so at his peril; adding that if he presented himself at the fortress, he should allow him to remain there.

The prince then suggested that at least his chemist Hom berg should be imprisoned, in order that by the evidence adduced upon his trial he might himself be justified; but the king, perplexed, uncertain, and irritated between the conflicting interests which he was called upon to judge, turned his back upon him before he had concluded his appeal, and left the apartment.

On his return to Paris the duke ascertained that Hom

berg had surrendered himself, and was already a prisoner in the Bastille; and he had scarcely informed his family of the reception which he had experienced from the king, when he received a message from the chancellor, Pontchartrain, entreating him not to risk another personal appeal to the sovereign, and pledging himself that he would immediately see the monarch in his behalf, and represent the disastrous consequences which must inevitably accrue to the state from a trial involving the life of a prince of the blood royal. The Duke d'Orleans, by the advice of his friends, accepted this mediation, and accompanied by all the princes and princesses of his party, departed for St. Cloud, there to await the result of the king's interview with M. de Pontchartrain.

The almost royal procession of the princes, as they left the city, was so numerous, so noble, and so magnificent, that for once the duke passed on unimpeded; and he had not long established himself at St. Cloud ere he received the welcome intelligence that, after a long audience, in which the king had fully recognized his innocence, the minister had received an order to liberate Homberg from his captivity.

Nevertheless, Louis XIV. never overcame his distrust of his brother's son; and although in private he passed hours in his chair, with clasped hands and bent head, evidently absorbed by the most bitter reflections, he still possessed sufficient self-control to devour his grief in public, and continued as accessible as before. All these domestic miseries had fallen upon him at the close of a long and disastrous war, and at a time when his kingdom was the prey of famine: but still he strove to carry his head erect before his subjects, and to enact the monarch to the last, however wretched might be his solitary moments. And they were wretched; for he could not conceal from himself that at the very period in which he most needed support and consolation the affection of his people had

become alienated by the disorder of the public finances, to which he could apply no remedy; while his unbounded confidence in Père le Tellier, by whom it was abused, added to their discontent.

They had forgiven the errors of his manhood, but they could not pardon the weakness of his old age.

Meanwhile, the Duke du Maine exerted, in the name of the king, and through the influence of Madame de Maintenon, all the privileges of royalty; and had no longer a wish ungratified, save that the regency should be wrested from the Duke d'Orleans, and devolve upon himself.

It was far otherwise, however, with the monarch, whose cup of bitterness was not yet full. The Duchess de Berri, now a widow, was the only legitimate princess who remained of an age to preside over his court, and her conduct from the first period of her marriage had been, as we have already stated, of the most revolting description. Fascinating in her conversation, but perfidious from a mere love of falsehood, she possessed no one virtue to redeem her many and unblushing vices. The pride which caused her upon every opportunity to insult her mother with the stain upon her birth, by which she was disabled from competing with herself, and her arrogance in assuming precedence of her upon every state occasion; her contempt for her husband, whose mental deficiencies were daily the subject of her sarcasms, and the pertinacity with which she opposed his will, whenever he ventured to express it, were, unfortunately, only her minor defects; and thus the stately court of Anne of Austria, the punctilious circle of Maria Theresa, and the elegant society of the Duchess de Bourgoyne, were, at the very period of his life when Louis XIV., at length disenchanted of the greatness, and disgusted with the vices of this world, was seeking to purify his heart and to exalt his thoughts, that they might become more meet for heaven, superseded by the orgies of a wanton, who, with unabashed brow, and unshrink

ing eye, carried her intrigues even into the very saloon of Marly.

The blood of Madame de Montespan had not belied itself.

Turn whithersoever he would, therefore, the unfortunate monarch was surrounded by mortification, gloom, and disappointment; and even his most intimate circle, his most cherished retirement, was invaded by remorse and regret. He could not look forward; for even Louis XIV., at seventy-two, could not speculate upon a future, while the most glorious portions of the past were tainted by error, injustice, and ambition; and these vanished, what had remained? He could not reflect upon the sinister events of his reign, particularly of those which were yet recent, without becoming the victim of the most fearful and harassing suspicions. Richard in his war-tent never contemplated a train of more appalling shadows than those evoked by the memory of Louis XIV., as he sat, supported by cushions and pillowed upon velvet, in his sumptuous apartment. Henrietta of England, the Queen of Spain her daughter, the dauphin, the fair and fond Duchess de Bourgoyne and her child, and last of all the Duke de Berri, the sole prop left to that throne which must soon be empty, save a frail infant—such were the shapes that haunted his last reveries; and well might the pale old man in his solitary moments bend down the proud head which had no longer strength to bear a crown, and eschewing the arrogance of those years in which he had assumed the bearing of a demi-god, confess to his own heart that he was human.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Moral Lassitude of Louis XIV.—Indecision on the Question of the Regency—Persecutions of his Private Circle—The Duchess du Maine and her Children; they are declared eligible to succeed to the Crown—Retirement of M. de Pontchartrain; he is succeeded by M Voisin—Party Arguments—Council of Regency—The Will concealed—Remorse of Louis XIV.—Reception of the Persian Ambassador—Illness of the King—Premature Dispatches—Review of the Household Troops—Anxiety of the King to conceal his Decay—Anxiety of the Duchess du Maine—A Marriage refused—A tardy Confidence—Last Hours of Louis XIV.—Was Louis XIV. a Jesuit?—Indifference of the Nation to his Death—A parting Scene—Louis XIV. and his Successor—Madame de Maintenon and the Captain of the Body-Guard—Madame de Maintenon's Departure for St. Cyr—The last Agony—Death of Louis XIV.—"The King is dead! Long live the King!"

In such a state of moral lassitude as that by which Louis XIV. was now oppressed, he was little able to contend against the intrigues of an uncompromising faction; and

thus, although not blind to the interested views of those by whom he was persecuted to effect a measure repugnant alike to his principles and to his feelings, he gradually suffered himself to be persuaded, even if he could not be convinced, by the specious sophistry of their arguments. It is true that he had declared himself convinced of the innocence of the Duke d'Orleans of the foul charges which had been made against him; but the mystery was yet unsolved—that innocence was but presumptive; while, on the other hand, the immoral habits, atheistical principles, and reckless disposition of the prince, were ill suited to the responsible position to which his birth had called him.

The Duke d'Anjou was yet an infant; it was an existence as yet unformed, a heart and a mind yet to be shaped and fashioned, and, above all, it was a life to be preserved; a king to be reared to manhood, alike for his own nation and for all Europe; and as these things were daily murmured into his aching ears, despite himself he shuddered and he doubted.

Nevertheless the measure was one of such vital importance that the king still hesitated; and assured that this hesitation must be concluded by other means than those of persuasion, Madame de Maintenon became convinced that a systematic neglect, and the deprivation of that support which had hitherto been afforded with officious zeal to the dependent monarch, would alone tend to make him conscious of his actual position. In accordance with this cruel policy, therefore, both the Duke du Maine and herself suddenly became silent, serious, and frequently even gloomy, never replying save when they were directly addressed, and then answering only in monosyllables. The great age of the king and his peculiar position not permitting him to seek amusement beyond his own immediate circle, he was consequently condemned to the monotonous routine of music and cards, which was now rendered doubly irksome by the want of that enlivening con-

versation to which it had hitherto been indebted for its greatest charm; and this privation was the more felt that he was now subjected to it for the first time. The ladies who habitually composed the society of Madame de Maintenon, and who were not in the secret of this new stratagem, strove for a time to raise her spirits, believing them to be depressed by some unacknowledged annoyance; but they soon discovered that their zeal was unwelcome, and, embarrassed by a mystery which they could not fathom, they became in their turn taciturn and ill at ease; and thus the monarch found himself surrounded by an atmosphere of melancholy and constraint, which unnerved his mind and destroyed his energies.

The Duchess du Maine wielded, moreover, another weapon. When the old king caressed her children, she wept over them, and when he would have made them the companions of his drive, she hurried them away, not daring, as she declared, to exhibit them in public while so dark a stain rested upon their birth. At other times she affected to shrink from collision with the Duchess d'Orleans, her sister, who, by her marriage with the nephew of the king, had effaced the stigma of her illegitimacy; and when the aged monarch, heart-wrung and weary, could bear no further pang, Madame de Maintenon soothed him by recalling to his recollection that he had but to will it, and these trials would be terminated forever.

Louis XIV. sighed for peace; his strength was sapped by the perpetual murmurs to which he was exposed, and it was at length extorted from him, in one of those moments of moral exhaustion, that the children of the Duke du Maine should be created princes of the blood, with all the prerogatives essential to that dignity, especially the privilege of succeeding to the crown in default of a direct and legitimate heir.*

But although he suffered this concession to be forced

* Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

from him, and found the immediate recompense of his compliance in the renewed attentions and gayety of his little circle, the king was nevertheless dissatisfied with himself; and in reply to the self-gratulatory acknowledgments of the Duchess du Maine, and the equally earnest but more measured thanks of her husband, he answered sadly, and even sharply, "You would have it so; and, therefore, should you find that, after having become great during my lifetime, you are reduced to insignificance after my death, remember that it has been your own work; and profit by what I have done, should it be in your power."

The Chancellor Pontchartrain no sooner ascertained the aim of this last intrigue than, pretexting his advanced age and failing health, he requested his dismission, which was, after some difficulty, conceded, and his place supplied by M. Voisin,* who was devoted to the interests of Madame de Maintenon and the Duke du Maine. To him had been intrusted the delicate task of bringing the mind of the king to dwell upon a future in which he could bear no part; but it is doubtful that he would have succeeded in his aim, had not the domestic persecutions to which we have alluded come in aid of his diplomacy.

Throughout the whole of the transaction the word WILL was never pronounced before Louis XIV.; he was entreated only to insure the observance of his *wishes;* nor was he fatigued even by the summary of these, for he had those about him who prompted every measure, reasoned upon its justice and validity, and combined the whole with a promptitude and sophistry which rendered all his objections of no avail. In vain did he declare that the birth of the Duke d'Orleans entitled him to the regency; he was answered by the suspicion of poison and the fact of profligacy: and when, with a return of his former pride, he declared that he could not brook that his last wishes should be disregarded, as those of his father had previously been

* Son of a councilor of state.

he was reminded of the vast discrepancy which had existed between Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., and assured that no one would dare to controvert his own pleasure to the end of time.

This avarice of power was the weak point of the monarch; and at length, as we have stated, the victory was obtained. In the last document to which his signature was appended he established a council of regency, over which the Duke d'Orleans was to preside, to which the Duke de Bourbon was to be called when he should have attained the age of twenty-four, and whose other members were to be the Duke du Maine, the Count de Toulouse, the chancellor, four marshals, the like number of secretaries of state, and the controller-general.

In this council every measure was to be decided by a majority of voices; but that of the president was to have weight only when he had the casting vote, while the person of the infant monarch was to be placed under the government of the collective members.

Moreover, the Duke du Maine was intrusted, not only with the education, but also with the safe-keeping of the young king, with absolute control over the body-guard; and, in case of his decease, the same privileges were to descend to the Count de Toulouse; while the Duke-Marshal de Villeroy was appointed governor, under the authority of the Duke du Maine. This arrangement, as will be perceptible at the first glance, left to the Duke d'Orleans no power save what was secured to him by law, while even that was burdened with precautions well calculated to excite his indignation.*

The royal will was no sooner completed than it was concealed in a cavity opened in the wall of a tower behind the state apartment, where it was inclosed within an iron door protected by three different keys, one of which was deliv-

* Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Universelle de l'Europe, par le Père d'Avrigny.

ered to the first president of the chambers, a second to the attorney-general, and the third to the public registrar. It was, moreover, accompanied by an edict which forbade it to be opened before the death of the king, and then only in the presence of the assembled parliament, the princes, and the peers.

As Louis XIV. placed these documents in the hands of the president, he said, gloomily, "Here is my will. The example of the kings, my predecessors, and even that of the king, my father, will not allow me to remain in ignorance of what may happen to it; but it has been solicited; I have been tormented to frame it, and I have been allowed neither peace nor rest till I complied. I have, therefore, purchased comfort through its means. Take it away. Happen to it what may, at least I shall now be left quiet, and hear no more upon the subject."*

This incident will suffice to demonstrate the persecutions to which Louis XIV. was subjected during the later period of his existence; but, despite his private annoyances, he continued resolutely to hold the helm of government, and, the more deeply he became conscious of his physical weakness, the more determined and extraordinary were his efforts to preserve the interests of the state firm and intact.

The last occasion on which Louis XIV. appeared in all the pomp of his regality was at the reception of Mehemet-Riza-Beg, the *soi-disant* Persian ambassador. The most magnificent preparations were made for the ceremonial of the apocryphal envoy, and the dignified and venerable appearance of the gray-haired but still stately monarch excited universal comment and admiration. The departure of the ambassador was, however, the signal for renewed monotony; and this brief interval of splendor and representation past, the king resumed his usual habits, occupied himself in forming treaties and renewing alliances, ar-

* Mémoires de St. Simon.

ranged his papers with scrupulous exactness, burned such as he did not desire should be made public, and even dictated certain minute details connected with the ceremonial to be observed toward the dauphin.

On the 3d of May, 1715, Louis XIV. rose at an early hour in order to witness an eclipse of the sun, and having attentively observed it in all its phases, he complained, toward the evening, of extreme fatigue. Nevertheless he supped in the apartment of the Duchess de Berri; but, feeling weary and exhausted, left the table and immediately retired to bed. A rumor forthwith spread that the king was seriously indisposed, and the report gained ground so rapidly that the several foreign ambassadors dispatched couriers to their respective courts to announce the intelligence —a circumstance which soon reached the ears of the monarch, who, indignant at such indecent precipitancy, and resolving to prove that he was yet superior to the decay on which they based their faith, commanded that preparations should be forthwith commenced for a grand review of his household troops.

This magnificent exhibition consequently took place on the 20th of June, when, for the last time, the several troops of gendarmes and light-horse, in their state uniforms, defiled in front of the terrace of Marly, which they had no sooner done than the monarch appeared at the principal entrance of the palace, habited in the same costume which he had worn in his earlier years, and descending the marble steps, mounted his horse, and remained four hours in the saddle under the eyes of the foreign envoys, who had already announced his approaching death to their sovereigns.

This, however, was the expiring effort of his pride. A short time subsequently the court returned to Versailles; and on the eve of the festival of St. Louis the king dined in public; but his evident exhaustion, and the change which had taken place in his countenance, betrayed the violent

struggles to which he had subjected himself in order to conceal his rapidly approaching decay. The repast had scarcely concluded when he complained of indisposition, and in another hour he was attacked by fever.

During the whole of the last year it had been the study of Louis XIV. to deceive himself, and above all, to deceive others, as to the extent of the physical debility induced by his great age. He had risen at a late hour, in order to curtail the fatigues of the day; received his ministers, and even dined, in his bed; and once having prevailed upon himself to leave it, passed several hours in succession in his cushioned chair. It was in vain that his physician urged upon him the necessity of exercise, in order to counteract his tendency to revery and somnolency, and equally in vain that he reminded him of the swollen and discolored state of his feet and ankles; the invalid admitted the justice of his arguments, but the system which he so zealously advocated alarmed the increasing indolence of the monarch, who could not rise from his seat without pain, and would never attempt to do so until all his attendants had left the room, lest they should perceive the state of weakness to which he was reduced.

Great, therefore, had been the two efforts which we have described, where the monarch had for a time conquered the man, and where pride had supplied the place of strength. The only exercise which he ultimately consented to take was in the magnificent gardens of Versailles, where he was wheeled through the stately avenues which he had himself planted, in a bath-chair, a prey to pain, which was visibly depicted upon his countenance, but which he supported with cold and silent dignity, too haughty to complain. To the last he wore rouge, preserved the symmetry of his figure by artificial means, and even studied to observe the same style of walk and gesture which he had adopted during the elasticity of youth.*

* Versailles Ancien et Moderne.

Although, as we have shown, the faction of the legitimatized princes had succeeded in wresting from Louis XIV. a will favorable to their interests, they were, nevertheless, not suffered to inform themselves of its precise contents, and had consequently only a general impression of its tendency; and so long as the monarch remained in health this imperfect knowledge had sufficed to satisfy them; but they had no sooner ascertained that he was, in all probability, upon his death-bed, than the Duchess du Maine urged her husband to explain to Madame de Maintenon the vital necessity of their comprehending, not only in its full but also in its most minute bearings, the whole bent and nature of the document, in order that they might adopt such measures as should appear the most prudent under the circumstances in which they were about to be placed.

This necessity was at once admitted by their counselor; but when the duke proceeded to entreat that she would obtain the desired information from the monarch, Madame de Maintenon hesitated. To assail his sick-bed with such a request appeared to her a certain method of incurring his displeasure; and she shrunk from involving herself in so gratuitous a risk. The urgency of M. du Maine, however, bore down this objection. He declared that at such a moment it would be impossible for the king to have any feeling save one of tenderness toward a person of whose devotion he had during so many years had daily and hourly proofs; and at length reassured by this argument, and unable to resist the pleading of her favorite friend and pupil, she consented to make the attempt.

Skillfully, however, as Madame de Maintenon seized her opportunity, the king was startled by the inquiry. He was conscious that in his tenderness for his illegitimate children, he had already in a great degree overpassed the boundary of justice, and all that could be extorted from him was his consent to inform them of what they desired

to know only on the express condition that they would pledge themselves to keep it a profound secret, and would adopt no measures in consequence.

As the royal compliance was rendered nugatory by these restrictions, the Duke du Maine considered it prudent to decline the confidence, but he ere long repented his decision; and as it was impossible to repair the error, it was next decided that the faction should limit their inquiries to the simple fact of the succession, and entreat the king to inform them whether or not he had decided that it should devolve upon the King of Spain.

This question he answered in the negative, whence they inferred that the Duke d'Orleans must necessarily hold a prominent position, be it what it might, under the regency; yet they declined the advances which, in complete ignorance of the success of the intrigue, he had recently made toward a reconciliation, and even evaded an alliance, at which he more than hinted, between Mademoiselle de Valois, his daughter, and the Prince de Dombes, the elder son of the Duke du Maine. It is true that the king, when it was mooted, showed some disinclination to the proposed marriage, which they made no effort to remove; while the suggestion also involved certain minor difficulties that were permitted to outweigh its obvious advantages.

To this fault they added another infinitely more serious, by informing the Duke d'Orleans that there was no mention made of Philip V. in the royal will—an assurance which, thanks to their own indiscretion, at once convinced the prince of the stability of his position.

As the fatal indisposition of Louis XIV. progressed, and the extreme languor under which he suffered convinced all around him that he was rapidly drawing near his end, the alarm of the Duchess du Maine augmented, and she once more assailed Madame de Maintenon with entreaties that she would induce the king to speak without reserve, and also to adopt the most stringent measures to

insure to the legitimatized princes, beyond all risk of failure, the privileges to which they had attained.

On this occasion, however, Madame de Maintenon met her request with a resolute refusal, and declared her determination to resist every attempt which might be made to disturb and embitter his last moments; and it was consequently freely, and without solicitation, that the monarch ultimately imparted to the Duke du Maine all the clauses of the will. In vain did the bewildered listener expostulate with him upon the difficulties to which he should be exposed by such an arrangement; in vain did he assure him that he had invested him with an authority which, while it was sufficiently great to secure to him the animosity of the Duke d'Orleans, was still too limited to support him against his resentment; the king resisted all his arguments, and persisted in declaring that he would not alter in anywise the arrangements that he had made.*

There can indeed be little doubt that in the endeavor to aggrandize the Duke du Maine, Louis XIV. had adopted measures eminently calculated to frustrate his object. He might have foreseen that, in subjecting his nephew to the trammels of a council of regency, he should, as a natural consequence, excite his indignation, and impel him to attempt every expedient, however extreme, to liberate himself from such a thraldom; and he had long had sufficient experience of the hot and reckless nature of the Duke d'Orleans, whose habit of resisting every intrusion upon his individual privileges was little likely to desert him in a conjuncture which involved alike his power and his pride, not only in his own eyes but in the eyes of all Europe, to have convinced him that the prince would not tamely brook so glaring an affront; nor can his self-delusion, in framing such a will, be explained in any other manner than by the inference, that, having been implicitly obeyed throughout his life, he deemed it impossible that

* Louis XIV., sa Cour, et le Regent.

his wishes should be opposed when he was in his grave, forgetting that he had himself disregarded the dying injunctions of his own father.

Return we to the suffering monarch. On the day succeeding his attack, the king declared himself considerably recovered, and commanded a concert, during which the musicians were instructed to play none but cheerful melodies; and they had already ascended the orchestra, when the tapestry hangings of the royal chamber, which had been drawn back, were suddenly closed, and the court physicians were summoned, who declared the condition of the king to be so precarious that expresses were immediately dispatched to his confessor and the Cardinal de Rohan, who both arrived in great haste at a moment when the danger of dissolution appeared so immediate, that while Le Tellier was receiving the confession of his illustrious penitent, the cardinal hurried to the chapel in search of the viaticum, and sent to desire the immediate attendance of the curate with the holy oils.

Two of the king's almoners summoned by the cardinal, a few of the inferior domestics of the palace bearing torches, two of the physician's private servants, and lastly Madame de Maintenon, were all who followed the pyx to the royal chamber, by a private stair-case; and not more than a dozen individuals surrounded the dying-bed, where the cardinal expatiated to the expiring monarch upon the importance and solemnity of this great and closing ceremony.

The aged king listened firmly, and with an expression of pious devotion, and when he had received the sacrament, and touched the holy oils, all who had been present left the chamber, save the chancellor and Madame de Maintenon; and they had no sooner retired than a small table was placed beside him, upon which he wrote a few lines comprising a last codicil in favor of the Duke du Maine; and, this done, fell back upon his pillow, in apparent tranquillity.

On the 22d of August mortification had taken place in one of his legs, and the Duke d'Orleans, whose saloons had for some time been totally deserted, found himself suddenly the center of a brilliant circle; but an empiric, who declared himself capable of renewing the strength of the king with an elixir of which he alone possessed the secret, and who succeeded in inducing his attendants to test its efficacy, having so far renovated him that he was enabled to swallow a small portion of food, and moreover declared that he would in time restore him to health, the crowd by whom the prince had been surrounded was so materially diminished, that as he glanced round his saloon he said, disdainfully, "Let him but make another meal, and I shall find myself alone."

The disease was, however, mortal. This last hope proved fallacious, and the king felt that he was beyond the power of human help. In his extremity he devoted himself entirely to prayer, and his tranquillity was so great that it was attributed to the rash and unmeasured assurances of his confessor. It was asserted that Anne of Austria had on one occasion exhorted him rather to strive to emulate his grandfather than his father, and when he had inquired wherefore, had replied, "Because at the death of Henry IV. the nation wept, but at that of Louis XIII. it smiled." This, however, it was generally conceded, could not be the memory by which his dying pillow was now smoothed; for after a reign of seventy-two years, and an existence of seventy-seven, sullied by the vices of his early life, so many wars recklessly undertaken, so many human lives sacrificed, so many taxes inflicted on an already burdened people, it could not be that the anticipation of the tears and lamentations of his subjects gave him this calm, and taught him to look with fearlessness upon his extinction.

The solution of the enigma was consequently supposed to exist in a report which had for some time been whis-

pered at court, to the effect that, a considerable period before his illness, Père le Tellier had induced the king to become a member of the fraternity of the Jesuits, of which he had vaunted the privileges and plenary indulgences, and had even succeeded in persuading him that whatever might be the sins of which he had been guilty, or in whatever impossibility he found himself of making reparation in this world to those whom he might have injured, the simple fact of his becoming a brother of the Company of Jesus would suffice for his complete exoneration, and infallibly induce his salvation.

Such assurances as these could not, as it was declared, have failed in their effect upon a conscience heavily burdened, and only newly awakened to a sense of its condition; and, accordingly, it was asserted that the king had taken the vows required of him, and instead of the habit of the order, had been invested with a minute sign of his confraternity, in the shape of a scapulary, which he wore upon his breast; while certain prayers and pledges which throughout the last days of his existence were exchanged between himself and his confessor, and which, having been partially overheard, were not recognized as the religious exercises commonly used before death, served to confirm the opinion that Louis XIV. was indeed, at that period, a Jesuit.

The Duke de St. Simon, however, even while recording this suspicion, proceeds to throw a doubt upon its truth, by adding, that as his own curiosity was excited upon the subject, he inquired in confidence of Maréchal, the king's principal surgeon, to whom he was much attached, and from whom he had few secrets, if such indeed were the case; when he was positively assured that the report had no foundation whatever, and even detesting Le Tellier as he did, Maréchal yet declared that although he was near the king at all hours of the day and night, he had never remarked the use of any particular formulary of prayer or

benediction; while, as regarded the adoption of the scapulary, or any other badge, he could positively declare that the king wore nothing about his person save the relics which he had carried for years.

Calm as he appeared, moreover, Louis XIV. nevertheless bitterly expiated upon his death-bed the faults and excesses of his past life. He wept over the profligacy of his youth, which he publicly avowed; deplored the madness of his ambition, by which he had brought mourning into every corner of his kingdom, and expressed the most earnest regret that sufficient time had not been afforded to him, since the termination of the war, to leave to his grandson a flourishing nation and a happy people.

That he had failed to do so was evident throughout his illness. The excessive burden of taxation, the fluctuating currency, and the discontent of the parliament, which he had subjected to slight and insult throughout the whole duration of a protracted reign, had induced every class of his subjects to look forward with anxiety to its close; while even at court, the wearisomeness and constraint that had prevailed since the deaths of the Duke and Duchess de Bourgoyne diminished, in a very perceptible degree, the anxiety which they would otherwise have undoubtedly evinced.

Some few, however, wept at the prospect of losing their monarch; but these were they who had grown old with him, and must necessarily see themselves thrust aside to make way for a new race; those whose ideas and habits were alike becoming antediluvian, and who could not conceal even from themselves, that they were little fitted to figure in a court, which would be ruled by a dissipated regent, and a king who had not yet attained to boyhood. Not even his successor mourned over the approach of a separation which must be eternal, for he was yet too young to comprehend the extent of the loss to which he was about to be subjected by the failure of that protection which

would have been his best security; while the Duke d'Orleans looked forward to the demise of his almost octagenarian uncle as a release from restraint and mortification.

Nor were the children of Louis XIV.—those children to forward whose worldly interests he had forfeited his own sense of right—more earnest in their grief; the Princess de Conti indeed exhibited sorrow, but it was placid and resigned; the Duchess de Bourbon talked of her affliction, but pursued her intrigues as usual; while the Duchess d'Orleans shed showers of those painless tears which were, with her, ever ready upon any occasion of annoyance or expediency. The Duke du Maine, it is true, struggled to compose a countenance of decent grief; but he wore the mask loosely, and deceived no one, while the Count de Toulouse preserved a cold and undemonstrative deportment which forbade one suspicion of regret.*

Madame de Maintenon had at this period reached her eightieth year, and at so advanced an age might have been more readily acquitted, had she suffered her physical weakness to overpower her moral faculties; but such was far from being the case. To her Louis XIV. was every thing on earth; in him her affections, her ambition, and her hope had alike been concentrated, and she appeared to have garnered up all her energies, in order that she might be supported through the fearful trial which was so rapidly approaching. Watchful, anxious, and unwearying, she sat beside the death-pillow of her monarch husband; he who had loved her well enough for himself, but not sufficiently for his pride—who had readily made her his wife, but who had shrunk from making her his queen.

"My grief is great," she said to one who attempted consolation, "but it is calm and unembittered. I shall weep for him often, but my tears will be those of affection rather than regret, for, in the depth of my heart, his truly Christian end will give me joy."†

* Mémoires de St. Simon. † Mémoires de la Beaumelle.

Her watch was frequently shared by the Duke-Marshal de Villeroy, to whom the monarch was greatly attached, and toward the close of his existence, having called him to his side, he said, firmly,

"Marshal, I feel that I am dying; when all is over, conduct your new master to Vincennes, and cause my wishes to be observed." Then, having sent to summon the Duke d'Orleans, as the prince approached his bed he made a signal to those who were about him to retire, which they had no sooner done than he conversed with his nephew for a considerable time in so low a voice that no portion of the conversation could be overheard. After his death, however, the duke affirmed that in this last interview the king had expressed himself in terms of affection and confidence, and had assured him that, by the dispositions contained in his will, he had preserved to him inviolably the rights of his high birth; adding, that should the dauphin not survive to claim the crown, it would become his own, and that under these circumstances he had endeavored to act with judgment; but that, as it was impossible to foresee the result, should any thing have been ill arranged, it would without doubt be remedied.

When the Duke d'Orleans retired, the king desired the presence of the Duke du Maine, with whom he spoke apart for a shorter period, after which he received the Count de Toulouse; and subsequently the princes of the blood collectively; to whom, however, he addressed merely a few words, and even those were uttered in a sufficiently audible voice to be heard by all who were in attendance.

On the 26th of August, the king dined in his bed, when all were admitted who had the privilege of the *entrées;* and as the attendants were preparing to retire at the close of his repast, he desired them to draw nearer, and then said, with emotion,

"Gentlemen, I desire your pardon for the bad example which I have set you. I have greatly to thank you for the

manner in which you have served me, as well as for the attachment and fidelity which I have always experienced at your hands. I request from you the same zeal and the same fidelity toward my grandson, in order that your example may induce those of all my other subjects. Farewell, gentlemen; I feel that this parting has affected not only myself, but you also. Forgive me. I trust that you will sometimes think of me when I am gone."

The scene was a touching one: the gray-haired king, half lying, half sitting, in his gorgeous bed, whose velvet hangings, looped back with their heavy ropes and tassels of gold, were the laborious offering of the pupils of St. Cyr, and were wrought with threads of gold and silver, and party-colored silks, representing, in a singular and incongruous mixture the principal passages of the Scriptures, interspersed with the less holy incidents of the heathen mythology; the groups of princes in their gorgeous costumes, dispersed over the vast apartment; the door opening from the cabinet thronged with courtiers and ladies; and, finally, the court functionaries, who had simultaneously sunk upon their knees as they approached the dying monarch; the gilded cornices, the priceless, the tapestried hangings, the richly-carpeted floor, the waste of luxury on every side, the pride of man's intellect and of man's strength; and in the midst decay and death, a palsied hand, and a dimmed eye.

The most stoical were moved at such a moment; and even when the attendant gentlemen had risen slowly and in silence, and disappeared across the threshold, like a procession of shadows, the stillness of the death-room continued for a time unbroken.

It was the voice of the king by which it was at length dispelled. He first informed the Marshal de Villeroy that he had appointed him governor to the dauphin; and then desired that the Duchess de Ventadour would introduce the child who was soon to become his successor; and the little

prince had no sooner knelt upon the cushion which had been placed for him near the side of the bed, still holding the hand of his gouvernante firmly grasped in his own, than the monarch, after gazing upon him for a time with an expression of mingled anxiety and tenderness, said, in an impressive voice,

"My child, you are about to become a great king; do not imitate me either in my taste for building or in my love of war. Endeavor, on the contrary, to live in peace with the neighboring nations; render to God all that you owe him, and cause his name to be honored by your subjects. Strive to relieve the burdens of your people, in which I have been unfortunate enough to fail; and never forget the gratitude that you owe to Madame de Ventadour."*

"Madame," he continued, addressing himself to the duchess, "permit me to embrace the prince."

The dauphin was lifted into his arms; and after he had clasped him fondly to his breast, he said, in a less steady voice,

"I bless you, my dear child, with all my heart."

This done, Madame de Ventadour was about to reclaim her charge, but the king did not relax his hold, until, raising his eyes to heaven, he had repeated his solemn benediction.

On the 27th, the king, having commanded all the great dignitaries and officers of the household to meet in his apartment, addressed them in a firm voice, in the presence of Madame de Maintenon and his confessor, saying,

"Gentleman, I die in the faith and obedience of the Church. I know nothing of the dogmas by which it is divided; I have followed the advice that I received, and have done only what I was desired to do. If I have erred, my guides alone must answer before God, whom I call upon to witness this assertion."

Toward the afternoon Louis XIV., next desired the at-

* Louis XV. caused the last words addressed to him by his royal grandfather to be inscribed on vellum; and it is stated that throughout his life they were attached to the headcloth of his bed.

tendance of the chancellor, to whom he delivered a casket filled with papers, a portion of which he instructed him to burn, giving distinct instructions for the disposal of the remainder: and, in the course of the evening, he sent for M. de Pontchartrain, who still acted as one of the secretaries of state, and when he appeared, said, calmly,

"So soon as I am dead, you will be good enough to issue an order that my heart may be conveyed to the church of the Jesuits in Paris, and cause it to be placed there precisely in the same manner as that of my deceased father."

Then, after a pause, he continued, in a tone of equal placidity,

"When I shall have breathed my last, and that my death has been announced according to custom from the balcony of the state apartment, conduct *the king* to Vincennes. But as it strikes me that Cavoie has never regulated the distribution of the rooms in that castle, where the court have not resided for the last fifty years, in the casket"—(and as he spoke the dying monarch indicated one with his finger)—"you will find a plan of the apartments of Vincennes; take it, and carry it to the grand-marshal of the palace, in order that it may assist him in his arrangements."

The night which succeeded was restless and agitated, and was entirely passed by the monarch in prayer; and on the morning of the 28th, immediately that he awoke, the physicians proposed to amputate the leg in which mortification had commenced.

"Will the operation prolong my life?" was the composed inquiry.

"Yes, sire," replied the head surgeon; "certainly, for several days; and perhaps even for several weeks."

"If that be all," said Louis XIV., "the result will not be adequate to the suffering. God's will be done!"

On the morning of the 30th the strength of the king was nearly exhausted.

"All is well-nigh over," he said feebly to the Marshal

de Villeroy, who stood at his bedside; "farewell, my friend, we must soon part."

The courage of the dying monarch never forsook him for an instant; neither did he exhibit the slightest emotion. He took leave of every member of his family with a dry eye and a steady voice, merely exhorting them to live, if possible, on terms of friendship, to do their duty to the young king, and to conduct themselves in a Christian spirit; nor was it until the princes and princesses had withdrawn that he at length betrayed a slight degree of feeling as he turned toward Madame de Maintenon, saying,

"At this moment I only regret yourself. I have not made you happy; but I have ever felt for you all the regard and affection which you deserved. My only consolation in leaving you," he added, as he grasped her hand, and gazed fixedly upon her with his dim and failing eyes, "exists in the hope that we shall ere long meet again in eternity."

Madame de Maintenon made no rejoinder; but she soon after rose to leave the apartment, and as she crossed the threshold, exclaimed, as if unconsciously, "A pretty rendezvous he has given me! That man has never loved any one but himself." And this equally imprudent and ill-timed ejaculation was overheard by the king's apothecary, by whom it was repeated.*

As she retired, the king saw in an opposite mirror the reflection of two of his valets-de-chambre, who were weeping bitterly. "Why do you shed tears?" he asked. "Did you, then, imagine that I was immortal? As for myself, I never believed that such was the case, and you should have been prepared, at my age, to lose me long ago."

After a time the king exhibited extreme uneasiness at the absence of Madame de Maintenon, who, believing that all would shortly be over, had already departed for St. Cyr; but having been informed that her presence was required, she excused herself when she reappeared by

* Chroniques de l'Œil de Bœuf.

stating that she had been uniting her prayers for his recovery with those of her pupils. On the 30th, however, the intellect of the monarch had become so much impaired that she again left his side, and retired to her own apartment, whither she was followed, to her extreme annoyance, by the captain of the body-guard. Her first care was to lock some papers, which she selected from among others in a bureau, into a small casket, in order to remove them; but this measure was resolutely opposed by M. de Cavoie, who informed her that he had received an order from the Duke d'Orleans to take possession of all the papers in the apartments frequented by the king. "Shall I at least be permitted, sir," she asked, after an instant of indignant silence, "to remove my furniture?"

"Every thing, madam," was the reply, "save what is the property of the crown."

"The orders with which you have been intrusted, sir," said Madame de Maintenon, more and more incensed, "are somewhat bold; the king is not yet dead, and if Providence should see fit to restore him to us, you may have cause to regret their so stringent execution."

"If Providence should indeed prolong the life of His Majesty, madam," answered M. de Cavoie, with a profound bow, "we must hope that he will recognize his real friends, and approve the conduct they have pursued." And then, after a brief pause, he added, "If you wish to return to the king's chamber you are at liberty to do so; but if not, I have orders to accompany you to St. Cyr."

Madame de Maintenon started; and then, without vouchsafing any reply, she hastily divided her furniture among her servants, and departed for St. Cyr, under the escort of Cavoie.

Once during the illness of the monarch he had been betrayed into the expression, "When I was king;" and the scene which we have just described proved that he had not been premature in separating the present from the past.

On arriving at the convent, Madame de Maintenon was instantly made conscious, by the altered manner of the superior, that although the monarch had not yet expired, her own reign was over. "Sir," demanded the abbess of M. de Cavoie, when she had greeted her visitor with a cold and distant bow, "shall I not compromise myself and my community by receiving Madame de Maintenon without the permission of the Duke d'Orleans?"

"Madam," exclaimed the captain of the guard, with generous indignation, "have you, then, forgotten that Madame de Maintenon was the foundress of this house?"

M. de Cavoie had no sooner retired than the widowed favorite desired that her pupils might be sent to her, and as they appeared, she said, emphatically, "Henceforth I will belong wholly to my God, and my children;" and then turning toward one of the nuns to whom she was much attached, she added, "I have seen the king meet his death like a saint and a hero; I have quitted a world I never loved, and I am in a retreat which is most dear to me. I wish, with all my heart, that others were as happy as myself." Even at this bitter crisis the consummate tact and self-control of Madame de Maintenon did not abandon her.

The following day was one of agony to the expiring king. His intervals of consciousness were rare and brief. The mortification extended rapidly, and toward midday his condition became so much exasperated that it was found necessary to perform the service for the dying without further delay. The mournful ceremony aroused him from his lethargy, and the surprise was general when his voice was once more heard, audibly and clearly, combined with those of the priests. At the termination of the prayers he moreover recognized the Cardinal de Rohan, and said, calmly, "These are the last favors of the Church."

He then repeated several times, "*Nunc et in horâ mortis;*" and finally he exclaimed, with earnest fervor, "Oh, my God, come to my aid, and hasten to help me!"

He never spoke again; for as these words escaped him

he once more fell back insensible upon his pillow, and throughout the night continued unconscious of every thing save bodily suffering.

At eight o'clock on the following morning Louis XIV. expired. As he exhaled his last sigh, a man was seen to approach a window of the state apartment which opened on the great balcony, and throw it suddenly back. It was the captain of the body-guard, who had no sooner attracted the attention of the populace, by whom the court-yard was thronged in expectation of the tidings which they knew could not be long delayed, than raising his truncheon above his head, he broke it in the center, and throwing the pieces among the crowd exclaimed, in a loud voice, "The king is dead!" Then seizing another staff from an attendant, without the pause of an instant, he flourished it in the air as he shouted, "Long live the king!"

And a multitudinous echo from the depths of the lately-deserted apartment answered as buoyantly, "Long live the king!"

PARDOE, JULIA

?

Louis the Fourteenth...

DC
129.
.P242